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HISTORY

OF THE

PELOPONNESIAN WAR,

BY

THUCYDIDES;

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF L. DINDORF;

WITH

NOTES:

FOR THE USE OF COLLEGES.

Κτῆμα εἰς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκοῦσαι ξύγκειται.

BY

JOHN J. OWEN, D. D.,

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NEW YORK:
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1866.

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IS

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THE REV. MOSES STUART,

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AS

A TESTIMONIAL OF AFFECTIONATE REGARD.

FROM

HIS FRIEND AND FORMER PUPIL,

THE EDITOR.

[redacted]

PREFACE.

This edition of Thucydides is based on the text of L Dindorf's edition, Leipzig, 1824. Indeed, with the single exception of punctuation, which has been modified, as will be explained in the sequel, there has been no departure from Dindorf's text, the readings which seemed to be preferable being referred to in the notes which accompany this edition. In preparing the notes, I have made free use of 1, Poppo's edition, xi. vols. Leipzig, 1821–1840. 2, Goeller's, Leipzig, 1836. 3, Haack's, Leipzig, 1820. 4, Krüger's, Berlin, 1846. 5, Bothe's, Leipzig, 1848. 6, Didot's, Paris, 1833. 7, Bekker's, Oxford, 1821. 8, Arnold's, Oxford, 1840. 9, Bloomfield's, London, 1842. I have also derived much assistance from Betant's Lex. Thucyd. now in a course of publication.

In the use of the editions before me, I have aimed at a conscientious acknowledgment of all aid received from others. If, however, my own mind arrived independently at a given result, I did not deem it to be my duty to attribute it to others, even though a coincidence might afterwards have been found to exist between my own conclusions and those of other editors. Nothing has been received on the mere assertion of other scholars, however eminent they might be. Every difficulty has been subjected to a thorough

examination, and the opinions of others have been weighed and compared impartially, and honored as their intrinsic worth appeared to demand.

The same plan has been pursued in the preparation of the notes, which I adopted in my previous publications, and it is hoped that this volume will betray no marks of less care and attention, in the selection of words and passages requiring comment, or in the kind and degree of assistance furnished to the student, than is manifest in those editions. To some it may appear at first sight that too much aid has been furnished the student. It will be seen upon examination, however, that it has not been indiscriminately bestowed, but in a way which always leaves much for the student himself to do. It will also appear, that I have not proceeded on the plan of selecting a few chapters on which to give a full commentary, and of leaving the other portions comparatively untouched, but have aimed to bestow upon every chapter and every section throughout the whole text, the amount of illustration which its difficulties seemed to require.

The general observations on the orations and other portions of the history, together with the argument affixed to each chapter, I hope will be found of great service to the student. They have cost much labor, owing to the excessive brevity of style which characterizes Thucydides, and which renders it extremely difficult to reduce his writings to a much shorter compass than he has left them, and yet retain the leading ideas.

In respect to the punctuation of the text it may be remarked, that at the instance of several eminent professors,

a more free use of punctuation-marks has been made than is found to have been done in Dindorf's edition, although not to the degree in which they are found in the older editions. In revising the punctuation of Dindorf, I have been guided mainly by my own sense of the wants of the text, although in many instances my views have been modified by the usage of other editors.

The basis of grammatical reference is the grammar of E. A. Sophocles (new edition), and Kühner's School Grammar published at Andover, 1844. References also have been freely made to the grammars of Crosby, Buttmann, Matthiæ, Rost, Krüger, and Jelf's Kühner (Oxford edition, 1842).

The map prefixed to this edition, although of necessity reduced in size, is an exact reprint of Kiepert's Map of Greece at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It is unnecessary to inform scholars of the high estimation in which the maps of this geographer are held throughout the civilized world. It would be desirable for each student to have in his possession a complete set of Kiepert's maps; but as this cannot be expected, the map accompanying this edition will be found to meet all his wants as far as relates to Greece in the times of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, etc. For much that pertains to geographical and topographical matters, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Col. Leake's "Travels in Northern Greece and the Morea," and "Topography of Athens," books which Bloomfield justly says are indispensable to the student or reader of Thucydides, and of so masterly a character as fairly to entitle the writer to the appellation of the first geographer of our age.

I take occasion again to return my tnanks to tne classical professors and teachers, for the favor with which they have received my previous publications, and for the friendly interest which they have manifested in the present work. As soon as my avocations will permit, I intend, if my life and health are spared, to offer them another volume, containing the remaining text of Thucydides, brief annotations, and copious verbal, historical, and grammatical indices of the whole work. Meanwhile I commit to their kind regards this volume, with the hope that it will contribute somewhat to the cause of classical learning in this country, and serve to introduce to more general use the writings of the man, to whom by common consent has been given the appellation PRINCEPS HISTORICUM

Cornelius Institute, May 4th, 1848.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ.

Α.

I. ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. 2. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὑρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν· ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.

II. Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπό τινων ἀεὶ πλειόνων. 2. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὂν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ. 3. μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη ἀεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων εἶχεν, ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε

τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα. 4. διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἵ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐπεποίουν, ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. 5. τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικήν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασιαστον οὖσαν, ἀνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. 6. καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὂν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολῖται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν· ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον ὡς οὐκ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν. III. δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς, δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐδὲ τοὔνομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι. 2. Ἕλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας, οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἠδύναντο καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκτικῆσαι. 3. τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος· πολλῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν, οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως, ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. 4. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἴρηκε διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἑλληνάς πω, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον εἰς ἓν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. 5. οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσσῃ ἤδη πλέω χρώμενοι ξυνῆλθον. IV. Μίνως γὰρ παλαίτατος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκράτησε· καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἤρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας. τό τε ληστικόν, ὡς εἰκός, καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον εἶναι αὐτῷ

V. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο πρὸς λῃστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων, κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς· καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἥρπαζον, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον. 2. δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἠπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λῃσταί εἰσιν, ὡς οὔτε ὧν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἴη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων. 3. ἐληίζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἤπειρον ἀλλήλους. καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται περί τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ ἤπειρον. τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς λῃστείας ἐμμεμένηκε.

VI. πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. 2. σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτε καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων. 3. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τόν τε οἰδμονα κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες, καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε. 4. μετρίᾳ δ' ἰῇ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τἆλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν. 5. ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο. τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπανται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἆθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωσμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι. 6. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ

νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον. VII. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλοϊμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον, ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν λῃστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ᾠκίσθησαν, αἵ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις· ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν· καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνῳκισμένοι εἰσί. VIII. καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον λῃσταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται Κᾶρές τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες. οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ᾤκισαν. μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσι. 2. καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλοϊμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε περ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατῴκιζε. 3. καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ᾤκουν· καί τινες καὶ τείχη περιεβάλλοντο, ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι. ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἵ τε ἧσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν οἵ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις. 4. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν. IX. Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προῦχων, καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὅρκοις κατειλημμένους τοὺς Ἑλένης μνηστῆρας ἄγων, τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι. 2. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμῃ παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον πλήθει χρημάτων, ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλύτην ὄντα ὅμως σχεῖν καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως ὅτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ· τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον· καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν

δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα, τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν. καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστῆναι. 3. ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι. 4. φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἰρηκεν αὐτὸν

πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν·

οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων, αὗται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἶησαν, ἠπειρώτης ὢν ἐκράτει, εἰ μή τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. 5. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἵα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς. X. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἄν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον οἵ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασι καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῇ δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι· καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγοῦνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν· ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱερῶν καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα· Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανερᾶς ὄψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν. 3. οὔκουν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὁμήρου αὐ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμῆσαι, ὅμως δὲ φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα. 4. πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν, τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτήτου πεντήκοντα. δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας· ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτήτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκε. τοξότας γὰρ πάντας πεποίηκε τοὺς

προσκώπους. περίπλεως δὲ οὖν εἰκὸς πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ λῃστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. 5. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι. XI. αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ, τόν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν, ἐπειδή τε ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, δῆλον δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο, φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ διτάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ λῃστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ. ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντεῖχον βίᾳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. 2. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι, ἄνευ λῃστείας καὶ γεωργίας, ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἷλον, οἵ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ ἀεὶ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον. πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον. 3. ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῆ ἦν καὶ αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα ὀνομαστότατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος. XII. ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μεταστατό τε καὶ μετῳκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασα αὐξηθῆναι. 2. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη πολλὰ ἐτεοχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον. 3. Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπο Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν· ἦν δέ τινων καὶ ἀποίκισμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν· Δωριῆς τε ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον· 4. μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε· καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε

ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν ἃ χωρία· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκτίσθη.

XIII. Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων· πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι· ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο. 2. πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι. 3. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας. ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθε. 4. ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὧν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους. ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτη ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. 5. οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἀεὶ δή ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται· ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπειδή τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλώιζον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ λῃστικὸν καθῄρουν· καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. 6. καὶ Ἴωσιν ὕστερον πολὺ γίγνεται ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ Κύρου, Περσῶν πρώτου βασιλεύοντος, καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης, Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου, ναυτικῷ ἰσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο, καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. Φωκαῆς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκιζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες· XIV. δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν, τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα. 2. ὀλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμβύσην Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις. ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικὰ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι

κατέστη. 3. Αἰγινῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὀψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ταῦς ποιήσασθαι αἵσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ αὗται οὔπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα.

XV. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα ἦν, τά τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον γιγνόμενα. ἰσχὺν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο ὅμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οἱ προσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ. ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώραν. 2. κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἑκάστοις· καὶ ἐκδήμους στρατείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ οὐκ ἔξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 3. οὐ γὰρ ξυνεστήκεσαν πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιοῦντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν. μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριέων, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἑκατέρων διέστη.

XVI. Ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, καὶ Ἴωσι, προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων, Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία Κροῖσον καθελοῦσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν, ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Φοινίκων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νήσους. XVII. τύραννοι δὲ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἔς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὔξειν δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς πόλεις ᾤκουν, ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὑτῶν ἑκάστοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. 2. οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μήτε κοινῇ φανερὸν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ πόλεις τε ἀτολμοτέρα εἶναι.

XVIII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἵ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν, ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων, μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν

Δωριέων, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο. 2. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε. καὶ μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προὔχοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο. κοινῇ τε ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ διεκρίθησαν πρός τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, οἵ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες. δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη· ἴσχυον γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ ναυσί. 3. καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὁμαιχμία, ἔπειτα δὲ διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινές που διασταῖεν, πρὸς τούτους ἤδη ἐχώρουν. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε ἀεὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια, καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι. XIX. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ναῦς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες, πλὴν Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὡς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἦνθησαν.

XX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὗρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἢν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ᾖ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται. 2. Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος Ἵππαρχον οἴονται ὑφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἱππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστρά-

του υἱέων, Ἵππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ. ὑποτοπησαντες δέ τι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παρελθόντα Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἱππίᾳ μεμνῆσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότος, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι, ἀπέκτειναν. 3. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα, καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται· ὥσπερ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν· καὶ τὸν Πιτιακάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε. οὕτως ἀπαλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. XXI. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἄν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἃ διῆλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι· καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα· εὑρῆσθαι δὲ ἰγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων, ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι, ἀποχρώντως. 2. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα ἀεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγενημένος αὐτῶν. XXII. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ἐμοί τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. 2. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἵς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών. 3. ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὑρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἑκάστοις οὐ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι. 4. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται. ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις,

κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἕξει. κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν, ξύγκειται.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυεῖν ναυμαχίαιν καὶ πεζομαχίαιν ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε· τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα προὔβη, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐκ ἔτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. 2. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαίδε ληφθεῖσαι ἠρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων, εἰσὶ δὲ αἳ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἁλισκόμεναι, οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαίδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. 3. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα, οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἳ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοί τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοί, καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. 4. ἦρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἳ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν. 5. διότι δ' ἔλυσαν τὰς αἰτίας προέγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη. 6. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι, μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἵδ' ἦσαν ἑκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XXIV. Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. 2. ταύτην ἀπῴκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δ' ἐγένετο Φάλιος Ἐρατοκλείδου, Κορίνθιος γένος, τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατακληθείς. ξυνῴκισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. 3 προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. 4. στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων

ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν. 5. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς, οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλῄζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. 6. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις ὡς μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, δεόμενοι, μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τούς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλῦσαι. 7. ταῦτα δὲ ἱκέται καθεζόμενοι ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐδέοντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ἱκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν. XXV. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὖσαν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν· καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκισταῖς, καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειρῷντο ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλε παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. 2. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τόν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες. ἐδέοντό τε μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν διαφθειρομένους, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύναι. 3. Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατά τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἧσσον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι· 4. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἐχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς. ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύντο τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἦρχοντο πολεμεῖν. XXVI. πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἅσμενοι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, οἰκήτορά τε τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουρούς. 2. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ κωλύωνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι. 3. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ᾔσθοντο τούς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ φρου-

φους ἥκοντας ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον, τήν τε ἀποικίαν Κορινθίοις δεδομένην ἐχαλέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ ὑστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ' ἐπήρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ἦλθον γὰρ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τάφους τε ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἣν προϊσχόμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατάγειν, τούς τε φρουροὺς οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀποπέμπειν· οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν. 4. ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς κατάξοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες. 5. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν προεῖπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι· εἰ δὲ μη, ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, ἔστι δ' ἰσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον, ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν.

XXVII. Κορίνθιοι δ', ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλθον ἄγγελοι ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο στρατιάν, καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι· εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλοι ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας μένειν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τἀργύριον καταβάλλοντες. 2. ἐδεήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψειν, εἰ ἄρα κωλύσιντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὀκτὼ ναυσὶ ξυμπλεῖν καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων τέσσαρσι, καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐδεήθησαν, οἱ παρέσχον πέντε. Ἑρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ. Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ᾔτησαν καὶ Φλιασίους, Ἠλείους δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται.

XXVIII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν, ἐλθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυωνίων πρέσβεων, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουροὺς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου. 2. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν ἀμφότεροι ξυμβῶσιν· ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν δικασθῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, τούτους κρατεῖν. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. 3. πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἴων ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους ποιεῖ-

σθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται, ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον ὠφελείας ἕνεκα. 4. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἢν τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπαγάγωσι, βουλεύσεσθαι· πρότερον δὲ οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν πολιορκεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι. 5. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἢν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώραν, σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

ξ' XXIX. Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆες καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, προπέμψαντες κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προεροῦντα Κερκυραίοις, ἄραντες ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίους τε ὁπλίτας ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον Κερκυραίοις ἐναντία πολεμήσοντες. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν νεῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχου καὶ Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ Τιμάνθους· τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμός τε ὁ Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰσαρχίδας ὁ Ἰσάρχου. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅμα ἐπλήρουν ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε πλοΐμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες. 4. ὡς δὲ ὁ κήρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρωντο οὖσαι ὀγδοήκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ Ἐπίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν, ἀνταναγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς πεντεκαίδεκα διέφθειραν τῶν Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογίᾳ ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δήσαντας ἔχειν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ.

XXX. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ τῆς Κερκύρας ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δήσαντες εἶχον. 2. ὕστερον δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἠσσημέροι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον, καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ χρήματα παρέσχον Κορινθίοις.

3. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ στρατιὰν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι σφίσι φίλιαι ἦσαν. 4. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ. 5. ἐπέπλεόν τε οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

XXXI. Τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον, ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πείθοντες. 2. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καί, ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐσποῖοι οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηταίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ ὠφέλειάν τινα πειρᾶσαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὑρίσκεσθαι. 3. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ταυτιχῷ τὸ Ἀττικὸν προσγενόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ᾗ βούλονται. 4. κατασταθείσης δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.

ζ XXXII. Δίκαιον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προυφειλομένης ἥκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν δεησομένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν ὡς καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἕξουσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἢν ἀτυχῶσι. 2. Κερκυραῖοι δέ, μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. 3. τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρός τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον. 4. ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἑκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἥκομεν, καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἔρημοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐν

ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένῃ. 5. τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηνται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὁρῶμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν. XXXIII. γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρους βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετ' ἀειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθεῖσθε, ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλεῖστον. 2. καὶ σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυπηροτέρα, εἰ ἣν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἑαυτήν, καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν· ἃ ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ ὀλίγοι ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἧσσον διδόντες ἢ ληψόμενοι παραγίγνονται. 3. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὅνπερ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἴημεν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἴεται ἔσεσθαι, γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμησείοντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθει κατ' αὐτῶν μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν, μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἁμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. 4. ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι, τῶν μὲν διδόντων, ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν. XXXIV. ἣν δὲ λέγωσιν ὡς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ὡς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριοῦται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. 2. ὡς δὲ ἠδίκουν σαφές ἐστι· προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἴσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ

ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν. 3. καὶ ὑμῖν ἔστω τι τεκμήριον ἃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτῃ τε μὴ παράγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δεομένοις τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουργεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη. XXXV. λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς δεχόμενοι ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων ὄντας ξυμμάχους. 2. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους ἂν ἀρέσκηται ἐλθεῖν. 3. καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν ἀπό τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἴρξουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ὠφελείας, εἶτα ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δεόμεθα. 4. πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι αἰτίᾳ ἡμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς ἕξομεν. ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώσεσθε· τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε ἢν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἢ κἀκείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους, ἢ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ' ὅ, τι ἂν πεισθῆτε ὠφέλειαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. 5. πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπείπομεν, τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν· καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἵ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἦσαν, ὅπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις, καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀλλ' ἱκανοὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἠπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἐᾶν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν. XXXVI. καὶ ὅτῳ τάδε ξυμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ, γνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβῆσον· τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὂν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἅμα οὐ περὶ τῆς Κερκύρας τὴν τὸ πλέον ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐτοῖς προνοῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν, ἐνδιάζῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν οἰκειοῦταί τε καὶ πολεμοῦται. 2. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας κυκλῶς παράπλου κεῖται, ὥστε μήτε ἐκεῖθεν ναυτικὸν ἐᾶσαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπελθεῖν, τό τε ἐνθένδε πρὸς τάκεῖ παραπέμψαι,

καὶ ἐς τἆλλα ξυμφορώτατόν ἐστι. 3. βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἕλλησι ταυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων. τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε· δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἕξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιάδε.

XXXVII. Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ δέξασθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἰκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἰέναι, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἀξίωσιν ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε, καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρείαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπώσησθε. 2. φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τἀδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν, οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. 3. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα, αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη, παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλάπτουσι τινα, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκῃ καταίροντας δέχεσθαι. 4. κἀν τούτῳ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν ἑτέροις, προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι βιάζωνται, οὗ δ' ἂν λάθωσι πλέον ἔχωσιν, ἢν δέ πού τι προσλάβωσιν, ἀναισχυντῶσι. 5. καίτοι εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀγαθοί, ὅσῳ ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τοσῷδε φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι. XXXVIII. ἀλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοίδε εἰσίν, ἄποικοι δὲ ὄντες ἀφεστᾶσί τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσι, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν ἐκπεμφθείησαν. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. 3. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα. 4. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ δ ἀγερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. 5. καλὸν

δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῖσδε μὲν ἔξαι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἐμὲ δὲ αἰσχρὸν βιάσασθαι τὴν τούτων μετριότητα. 6. ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ πλούτου πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι, καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὖσαν κακουμένην μὲν οὐ προσεποιοῦντο, ἐλθόντων δε ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἑλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσι. XXXIX. καί φασι δὴ δίκῃ πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι, ἢν γε ὁ τὸν προῦχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφιλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τά τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα. 2. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἠγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο. καὶ δεῦρο ἥκουσιν οὐ τάχει μόνον αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς· 3. οὓς χρὴ ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἠδικήμεθα, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαβόντες τῆς ὠφελείας νῦν μεταδώσετε, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἕξετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν. XL. ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοί τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἵδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ δεδήλωται· 2. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε μαθεῖν χρή. εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους τις τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων βούλεται ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἑτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἡ ξυνθήκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δεῖται, καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει· ὃ τὴν ὑμεῖς μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἄν. 3. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπίκουροι ἂν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπόνδων πολέμιοι. ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἴτε μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν τούτους. 4. καίτοι δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκποδὼν στῆναι ἀμφοτέροις· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὐναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἰέναι· Κορινθίοις μέν γε ἔνσπονδοί ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀκηκοῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε· καὶ τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι. 5. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρὴ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερῶς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς προσήκοντας ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν. 6. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε,

φανεῖται καὶ ἃ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἡμῖν πρόσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν θήσετε. XLI. δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν, ἱκανὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε, ἣν οὐκ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες ὥστε βλάπτειν, οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι ὥστ' ἐπιχρῆσθαι, ἀντιδοῦναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φαμὲν χρῆναι. 2. νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπαισάντες ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινητῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον, παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι, παρέσχεν ὑμῖν Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν, Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν. 3. καὶ ἐν καιροῖς τοιούτοις ἐγένετο οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι, ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντες, τῶν πάντων ἀπερίοπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν. φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἢν καὶ πρότερον ἐχθρὸς ᾖ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἢν καὶ τύχῃ φίλος ὤν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χεῖρον τίθενται φιλονεικίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα. XLII. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες, καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτὰ μαθών, ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ νομίσῃ δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει, ἄλλα εἶναι. 2. τό τε γὰρ ξυμφέρον, ἐν ᾧ ἄν τις ἐλάχιστα ἁμαρτάνῃ, μάλιστα ἕπεται· καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου, ᾧ φοβοῦντες ἡμᾶς Κερκυραίων κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν, ἐν ἀφανεῖ ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανερὰν ἔχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσαν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον. 3. ἡ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, κἂν ἐλάσσων ᾖ, δύναται μεῖζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι. 4. μηδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδόασι, τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθε. τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυρωτέρα δύναμις, ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλέον ἔχειν. XLIII. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ προείπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιοῦμεν κομίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ ὠφεληθέντας τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἡμᾶς βλάψαι. 2. τὸ δ' ἴσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γνόντες τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε ὑπουργῶν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ ὁ ἀντιστὰς ἐχθρός. 3. καὶ Κερκυραίους τούσδε μήτε ξυμμάχους δέχεσθε βίᾳ ἡμῶν μήτε ἐάσητε αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσι. 4. καὶ τάδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσήκοντά τε δρᾶ[illegible]τε

καὶ τὰ ἄριστα βουλεύσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

XLIV. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δὶς ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι, ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν, εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ξυμμαλεῖν, ἐλύοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί, ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, ἐάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἴῃ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους. 2. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ προέσθαι Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν, ἤν τι δέῃ, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται. 3. ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας κιλλᾶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ κεῖσθαι.

XLV. Τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθούς. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιός τε ὁ Κίμωνος καὶ Διότιμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους. προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἢν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι, καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων· 3. οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν. προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἕνεκα τὰς σπονδάς. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν.

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἠλείων μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα. 2. στρατιγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ Ξενοκλείδης ὁ Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτός. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέμιξαν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἠπείρῳ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς. 4. ἔστι δὲ λιμήν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἄπο θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. ἔξεισι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν. διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς

ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὁρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀπέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. 5. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἠπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονται τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο.

XLVII. Οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὡς ᾔσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσπλέοντας, πληρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς, ὧν ἦρχε Μεικιάδης καὶ Αἰσχύλος καὶ Εὐρύβατος, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων αἳ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα· καὶ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ δέκα παρῆσαν. 2. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμνῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἦν καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται βεβοηθηκότες. 3. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων παραβεβοηθηκότες. οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἠπειρῶται ἀεί ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν.

XLVIII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ πλέοντες καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεούσας. 2. ὡς δὲ κατεῖδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖχον τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὧν ἦρχε τριῶν στρατηγῶν ἑκάστου εἷς. 3. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο. Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες· κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἕκαστοι· εὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ταῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.

XLIX. Ξυμμίξαντες δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἑκατέροις ἦρθη ἐναυμάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων, πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι παρεσκευασμένοι. 2. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερὰ τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλέον προσφερὴς οὖσα. 3. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσβάλλοιεν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπελύον το ὑπό τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ μᾶλλόν τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὁπλίταις ἐς τὴν νίκην, οἳ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχαζουσῶν τῶν νεῶν. διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ πλέον ἐναυμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ. 4. πανταχῇ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, εἴ πῃ πιέζοιντο, φόβον μὲν παρεῖ-

χον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον, δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόῤῥησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 5. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει· οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν τε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. 6. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσῶντό τε καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν. ἧ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. 7. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ ἔργον πᾶς εἶχετο ἤδη καὶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης, ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους. L. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη μὲν οὐχ εἵλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἂς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν· τούς τε αὑτῶν φίλους, οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἥσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ, ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. 2. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὁποῖοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο. ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη Ἕλλησι πρὸς Ἕλληνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτῆς γεγένηται. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων προσεβεβοηθήκει. ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἔρημος. 4. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες αὖθις ἀθρυσθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυραίοις. οἱ δὲ ταῖς περιούσαις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντέπλεον, δείσαντες μὴ ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν. ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὀψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλεούσας· ἃς ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὦσι. LI. ταύτας

οὖν προϊδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι, οὐχ ὅσας ἑώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους, ὑπανεχώρουν. 2. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις, ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς, οὐχ ἑωρῶντο, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους πρύμναν κρουομένους, πρίν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσι· τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν. ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμενοι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο. 3. οὕτω μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. 4. τοῖς Κερκυραίοις δὲ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὗται, ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι, κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ ὥφθησαν. 5. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι, ἦν γὰρ νύξ, ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ πολέμιαι ὦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ ὡρμίσαντο.

LII. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμεναι αἵ τε Ἀττικαὶ τριάκοντα νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὅσαι πλοΐμοι ἦσαν, ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν. 2. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, ναυμαχίας οὐ διανοούμενοι ἄρχειν ἑκόντες, ὁρῶντες προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς, οὓς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὖσαν τῶν νεῶν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ. 3. τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ μᾶλλον διεσκόπουν ὅπῃ κομισθήσονται, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐῶσι σφᾶς ἀποπλεῖν. LIII. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐμβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηρυκείου, προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πεῖραν ποιήσασθαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε. 2. Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες. ἡμῖν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους τιμωρουμένοις ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. εἰ δ' ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ κωλύειν τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἄλλοσε εἴ ποι βουλόμεθα πλεῖν, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε, ἡμᾶς τούσδε λαβόντες πρῶτον χρήσασθε ὡς πολεμίοις. 3. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν, ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο. 4. Οὔτε ἄρχομεν πολέμου, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, οὔτε

τὰς σπονδὰς λύομεν· Κερκυραίοις δὲ τοῖσδε ξυμμάχοις οὖσι βοηθοὶ ἤλθομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσέ ποι βούλεσθε πλεῖν, οὐ κωλύομεν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλευσεῖσθε ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, οὐ περιοψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. LIV. τοιαῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων, οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι τόν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ' οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Συβότοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τά τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς, ἐξενεχθέντα ὑπό τε τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γενόμενος τῆς νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις ὡς νενικηκότες. 2. γνώμῃ δὲ ἑκάτεροι τοιᾷδε τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο. Κορίνθιοι μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτός, ὥστε καὶ ναυάγια πλεῖστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων, ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἔστησαν τροπαῖον· Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθείραντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε προτεραίᾳ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀντέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων, διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι νικᾶν ἠξίουν

LV. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀποπλέοντες ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον, ὃ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἶλον ἀπάτῃ· ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων· καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτακοσίους μέν, οἳ ἦσαν δοῦλοι, ἀπέδοντο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους δήσαντες ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως. 2. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτῆς. αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

LVI. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. 2. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων πρασσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται αὐτούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ποτιδαιάτας, οἳ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ

τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τούς τε ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι, οὓς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπό τε Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ξυναποστήσωσι ξυμμάχους. LVII. ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ποτιδαιάτας ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ναυμαχίαν. 2. οἵ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι φανερῶς ἤδη διάφοροι ἦσαν, Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὤν. 3. ἐπολεμώθη δὲ ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδᾳ κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιουμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο. 4. διδιώς τε ἔπρασσεν, ἐς τε τὴν Μακεδαίμονα πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἕνεκα ἀποστάσεως. 5. προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις ξυναποστῆναι, νομίζων, εἰ ξύμμαχοι ταῦτα ἔχοι ὅμορα ἔτνα τὰ χωρία, ῥᾷον ἂν τὸν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. 6. ὧν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις, ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα νεῶν ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγοῦντος, ἐπιστέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν Ποτιδαιατῶν τε ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελεῖν, τῶν τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται. LVIII. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἴ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδέν, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων, ἔπρασσον] ὅπως ἀποστάσιν τιμωρίαν, ἢν δέῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πρᾴσσοντες οὐδὲν ἤροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ τῆς αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἢν ἐπὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες. 2. καὶ Περδίκκας πείθει Χαλκιδέας, τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας, ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὄλυνθον, μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι· τοῖς τε ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς

Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾖ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνῳκίζοντό τε καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζοντο. LIX. αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καὶ τἆλλα ἀφεστηκότα. 2. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρός τε Περδίκκαν πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία, τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο, καὶ καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Ἀέρδου ἀδελφῶν ἄνωθεν στρατιᾷ ἐσβεβληκότων.

LX. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκεῖον τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι, πέμπουσιν ἑαυτῶν τε ἐθελοντάς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ πείσαντες, ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας ὁπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις ἀεί ποτε ἐπιτήδειος. 3. καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ᾗ Ποτίδαια ἀπέστη. LXI. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι· καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὡς ᾔσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστέως ἐπιπαρόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίτας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν Καλλιάδου πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν. 2. οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους Θέρμην ἄρτι ᾑρηκότας καὶ Πύδνην πολιορκοῦντας. 3. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μέν, ἔπειτα δὲ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτίδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρελθὼν ὡς, ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες. 4. καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἑλόντες, ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, τρισχιλίους μὲν ὁπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων πολλοῖς, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Παυσανίου· ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἑβδομήκοντα. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. LXII. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως Πελοποννήσιοι, προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐστρα-

τοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίητο. 2. στρατηγὸν μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ πάντες οἱ ξυμμαχοι ἤρηντο Ἀριστέα, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν· ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. 3. ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστέως, τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἢν ἐπίωσι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους, καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππον ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν· καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσι, κατὰ νώτου βοηθοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. 4. Καλλίας δ' αὖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύνθου ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὅπως εἴργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. 5. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο καὶ αὐτοί. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον. 6. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστέως κέρας, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογάδες, ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολύ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον τῶν τε Ποτιδαιατῶν καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡσσᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγεν. LXIII. ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἡσσημένον, ἠπόρησε μὲν ὁποτέρωσε διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον, δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. καὶ παρῆλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μέν τινας ἀποβιαλών, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας. 2. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλύνθου τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις βοηθοί, ἀπέχει δὲ ἑξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους καὶ ἔστι καταφανές, ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἤρθη, βραχὺ μέν τι προῆλθον ὡς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἱππῆς ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὡς κωλύσοντες· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατεσπάσθη, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἱππῆς δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτιδαιατῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων

ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός. LXIV. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχίσαντες ἐφρούρουν· τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἔν τε τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην διαβάντες τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ Ποτιδαιᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γιγνομένοις δίχα ἐπιθῶνται. 2. καὶ πυθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, χρόνῳ ὕστερον πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου στρατηγόν. ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος, κατήγαγε τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ βραχὺ προϊὼν καὶ κείρων ὅμως τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπεξῄει ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος· 3. καὶ οὕτως ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἡ Ποτίδαια ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐφορμούσαις. LXV. Ἀμστεὺς δὲ ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτηρίας, ἢν μή τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο παράλογον γίγνηται, ξυνεβούλευε μὲν πλὴν πεντακοσίων ἄνεμον τηρήσασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ σῖτος ἀντισχῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἕξει ὡς ἄριστα, ἔκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 2. καὶ παραμείνων ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσι τά τε ἄλλα ἐπολέμει καὶ Σερμυλίων λοχήσας πρὸς τῇ πόλει πολλοὺς διέφθειρε· ἐς τε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔπρασσεν ὅπη ὠφελειά τις γενήσεται. 3. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν Φορμίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν ἐδῄου, καὶ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πολίσματα εἷλε.

LXVI. Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις αἰτίαι μὲν αὗται προσεγένηντο ἐς ἀλλήλους· τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις, ὅτι τὴν Ποτίδαιαν ἑαυτῶν οὖσαν ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντας ἐπολιόρκουν· τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους, ὅτι ἑαυτῶν τε πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῆ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐμάχοντο μετὰ Ποτιδαιατῶν. οὐ μέντοι ὅ γε πόλεμός πω ξυετέθρωτο, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνακωχὴ ἦν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπραξαν. LXVII. πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζον, ἀνδρῶν τε σφίσιν ἐόντων καὶ ἅμα περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ δεδιότες· παρεκάλουν τε

εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ κατιόντες ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι σποιδάς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 2. Αἰγινῆταί τε φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δέ, οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐτίγγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς. 3. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων τε καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἠδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν εἰωθότα λέγειν ἐκέλευον. 4. καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριόντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποιοῦντο ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, δηλοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα, μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς. 5. παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι Κορίνθιοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσαντες πρῶτον παροξῦναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεῖπον τοιάδε.

LXVIII. Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἢν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησι· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἀμαθίᾳ δὲ πλέονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρῆσθε. 2. πολλάκις γὰρ προαγορευόντων ἡμῶν ἃ ἐμέλλομεν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἑκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὡς ἕνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων λέγουσι· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκαλέσατε, ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν, ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι. 3. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες ἠδίκουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διδασκαλίᾳ ἂν ὡς οὐκ εἰδόσι προσέδει. νῦν δὲ τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὁρᾶτε, τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρεσκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε πολεμήσονται. 4. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Κέρκυράν τε ὑπολαβόντες βίᾳ ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἂν μέγιστον παρέσχε Πελοποννησίοις. LXIX. καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι; τό τε πρῶτον ἐάσαντες αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ στῆσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε ἀεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι, περι-

ορῶν δέ, ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾷ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται. 2. μόλις δὲ νῦν τε ξυνήλθομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. χρὴ γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅτι ἀμυνούμεθα. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται. 3. καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷς ὁδῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας. καὶ λιτθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ὑμῶν ἧσσον θαῤῥοῦσι· γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται. 4. ἡσυχάζετε γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινὰ ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. 5. καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. τόν τε γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα, ἢ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαπαντῆσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἑκάς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας περιορᾶτε, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι βούλεσθε μᾶλλον ἐπιόντας, καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῷ δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστῆναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὑτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ἡμῶν τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένους· ἐπεὶ αἵ γε ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες ἤδη τινάς που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἔφθειραν. 6. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρᾳ τὸ πλέον ἢ αἰτίᾳ νομίσῃ τάδε λέγεσθαι. αἰτίαι μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτανόντων· κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.

LXX. καὶ ἅμα, εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, νομίζομεν ἄξιοι εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων τῶν διαφερόντων καθεστώτων, περὶ ὧν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε, οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἵους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὡς πᾶν διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. 2. οἱ μέν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ὃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. 3. αὖθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι, τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι, τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἴεσθαι ἀπολυθήσεσθαι. 4. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλητὰς καὶ ἀποδημηταὶ πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους. οἵονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀποικίᾳ

ἄν τι κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα ἂν βλάψαι. κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέρχονται, καὶ νικῶμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. 5. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. 6. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται· ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες. ἢν δ' ἄρα καί του πείρᾳ σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρείαν. μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι, διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσι. 7. καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι· καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι, καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πρᾶξαι, ξυμφοράν τε οὐχ ἧσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον. 8. ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐᾶν, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι. LXXI. ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας πόλεως, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαμέλλετε· καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖν, οἳ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἢν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὦσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε. 2. μόλις δ' ἂν πόλει ὁμοίᾳ παροικοῦντες ἐτυγχάνετε τούτου· νῦν δ', ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαιότροπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτούς ἐστιν. ἀνάγκη δ' ὥσπερ τέχνης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν. 3. καὶ ἡσυχαζούσῃ μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζομένοις εἶναι πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. διόπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται. 4. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής· νῦν δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ποτιδαιάταις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε, βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοῖς ἐχθίστοις πρόησθε, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθυμίᾳ πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ ξυμμαχίαν τρέψητε. 5. δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικον οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὁρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων. λύουσι γὰρ σπονδὰς οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἷς ἂν ξυνομόσωσι. 6. βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενοῦμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὅσια ἂν

ποιοῖμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν ἄλλους εὕροιμεν. 7. πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε εὖ, καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν.

LXXII. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ ἄλλων παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἤσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐνεκάλουν, δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντός, ὡς οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς βουλευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι σκεπτέον. καὶ ἅμα τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐβούλοντο σημῆναι ὅση εἴη δύναμιν, καὶ ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις ὧν ἤδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξήγησιν ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν. 2. προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύοι. 3. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευόν τε ἐπιέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

LXXIII. Ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμψεν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν παρήλθομεν, οὐ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες, οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ λόγοι ἂν γίγνοιντο, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ῥᾳδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλεύσησθε, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλῶσαι, ὡς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν ἃ κεκτήμεθα, ἥ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστί. 2. καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψεις τῶν ἀκουσομένων; τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἧς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἴ τι ὠφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα. 3. ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἕνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οἵαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν κατασταίη. 4. φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὕστερον ἐλθόν, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς παυδημεὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυναυμαχῆσαι, ὑπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων

πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν. 5. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε· νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσίν, ὡς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως, κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν. LXXIV. τοιούτου μέντοι ξυμβάντος τούτου, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμόν τε νεῶν πλεῖστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην, ναῦς μέν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων. 2. προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἵ γε, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθει, τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων, ἠξιώσαμεν, ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείραντες, μηδ' ὣς τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν, μηδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προετιμωρήσατε. 3. ὥστε φαμὲν οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτοὶ ὠφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἢ τυχεῖν τούτου. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπό τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐδείσατε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον, ἐβοηθήσατε· ὅτε γοῦν ἦμεν ἔτι σῶοι, οὐ παρεγένεσθε· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπό τε τῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης κινδυνεύοντες, ξυνεσώσαμεν ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρότερον τῷ Μήδῳ, δείσαντες ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολμήσαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι ἔδει ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχοντας ναῦς ἱκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῷ προεχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐβούλετο. LXXV. ἀξιοῖ ἄξιοι ἐσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας ἕνεκα τῆς τότε καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως ἀρχῆς γε ἧς ἔχομεν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι; 2. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐθελησάντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστῆναι· 3. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον καὶ ὠφελείας. 4. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἅπερ

γθημένους καί τινων καὶ ἤδη ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων, ὑμων τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φίλων ἀλλ' ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὄντων, ἀνέτας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγιγνοντο. 5. πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων περὶ κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι. LXXVI. ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγεῖσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἧσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γεγομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν. 2. οὕτως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχήν τε διδομένην ἐδεξάμεθα, καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνεῖμεν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελείας, οὐδ' αὖ πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοί τε ἅμα νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρῆσθε, ὃν οὐδείς πω παρατυχὸν ἰσχύι τι κτήσασθαι προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο. 3. ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε ἄξιοι οἵτινες χρησάμενοι τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γεγένηνται. 4. ἄλλους γ' ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα εἴ τι μετριάζομεν· ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδοξία τὸ πλέον ἢ ἔπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως περιέστη. LXXVII. καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις, φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. 2. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν, τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθί που ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἧσσον ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις οὖσι διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. 3. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἤν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἴεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμῃ ἢ δικαίῳ τῷ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερῶς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν. ἐκείνως δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεὼν τὸν ἧσσω τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. 4. ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκάζεσθαι.

5. ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δυκεῖ εἶναι, εἰκότως· τὸ παρὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. 6. ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν εἰ καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἄρξαιτε, τάχα ἂν τὴν εὔνοιαν ἣν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος εἰλήφατε, μεταβάλοιτε, εἴπερ οἷα καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησάμενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε. ἄμικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε, καὶ προσέτι εἷς ἕκαστος ἐξιὼν οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται, οὔθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει. LXXVIII. βουλεύεσθε οὖν βραδέως ὡς οὐ περὶ βραχέων, καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκεῖον πόνον πρόσθησθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὸν παράλογον, ὅσος ἐστί, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προδιάγνωτε· 2. μηκυνόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν καὶ ὁποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται. 3. ἰόντες τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρότερον ἔχονται, ἃ χρῆν ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἤδη τῶν λόγων ἅπτονται. 4. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πω τοιαύτῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντες οὔτ' αὐτοὶ οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶντες λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκῃ λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην· ἢ θεοὺς τοὺς ὁρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρησόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι πολέμου ἄρχοντας ταύτῃ ᾗ ἂν ὑφηγῆσθε.

LXXIX. Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων. 2. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει· παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

LXXX. Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμπειρός εἰμι, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὁρῶ, ὥστε μήτε ἀπειρίᾳ ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα. 2. εὕροιτε δ' ἂν τόνδε, περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλεύεσθε, οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον γενόμενον, εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο. 3. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἷόν τε ἐφ' ἕκαστα

ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας, οἳ γῆν τε ἐκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί εἰσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἑνί γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξυμμίχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥᾳδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι, καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι; 4. πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἀλλ' ἥσσους ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος ἐνέσται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἑτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν. LXXXI. τάχ' ἄν τις θαρσοίη ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες· 2. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλη γῆ ἐστὶ πολλὴ ἧς ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται. 3. εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν, τὸ πλέον οὖσι νησιώταις. 4. τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢ ταυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω. 5. κἂν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς. 6. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῃ γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα ὡς ταχὺ πανθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἢν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τάμωμεν. δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν· οὕτως εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι, μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ. LXXXII. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνωμοθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύω τούς τε ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν ἐᾶν βλάπτειν, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ καταφωρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ' ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν, κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων δύναμιν προσληψόμεθα· ἀνεπίφθονον δὲ ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα μὴ Ἕλληνας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι· καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκποριζώμεθα. 2. καὶ ἢν μὲν ἐσακούσωσί τι πρεσβευομένων ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἄριστα· ἢν δὲ μή, διελθόντων ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν ἄμεινον ἤδη, ἢν δοκῇ, πεφραγμένοι ἴμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3. καὶ ἴσως, ὁρῶντες ἡμῶν ἤδη τήν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῇ ὁμοῖα ὑποσημαίνοντας, μᾶλλον ἂν εἴκοιεν, καὶ γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν

καὶ οὔπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι. 4. μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ ὅμηρον ἔχειν, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ὅσῳ ἄμεινον ἐξεργάσεσθαι· ἧς φείδεσθαι χρὴ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀληπτοτέρους ἔχειν. 5. εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ αἴσχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πράξομεν. 6. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἷόν τε καταλῦσαι· πόλεμον δὲ ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, ὃν οὐχ ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καὶ ὅτι χωρήσει, οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι. LXXXIII. καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μιᾷ πόλει μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελθεῖν δοκείτω εἶναι. 2. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους, χρήματα φέροντες, ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἠπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους. 3. περισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα, οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλέον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προϊδωμεν. LXXXIV. καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε. σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἂν παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα. 2. καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ εὐπραγίαις τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἧσσον ἑτέρων εἴκομεν· τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυτόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἤν τις ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπείσθημεν. 3. πολεμικοί τε καὶ εὔβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία, εὔβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι, καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἴσμεν ὄντες, τὰς τῶν πολεμίων πειρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμῳόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι, νομίζειν δὲ τάς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι, καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς. 4. ἀεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὖ βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ παρασκευαζόμεθα· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἁμαρτησομένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοουμένων. πολύ τε διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς

ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται. LXXXV. ταύτας οἶν ἃς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν μελέτας καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν, μὴ παρῶμεν, μηδ' ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεῖ μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης βουλεύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν. ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἑτέρων διὰ ἰσχύν. 2. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε μὲν περὶ τῆς Ποτιδαίας, πέμπετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμαχοί φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἑτοίμων ὄντων αὐτῶν δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον τόμιμον ὡς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα ἰέναι. παρασκευάζεσθε δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ κράτιστα βουλεύσεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις φοβερώτατα. 3. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοιαῦτα εἶπε· παρελθὼν δὲ Σθενελαΐδας τελευταῖος, εἷς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὤν, ἔλεξεν ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὧδε.

LXXXVI. Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ γιγνώσκω· ἐπαινέσαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἑαυτούς, οὐδαμοῦ ἀντεῖπον ὡς οὐκ ἀδικοῖσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ὅτι ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγένηνται. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμοῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμεν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἢν σωφρονῶμεν οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν. 3. ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ τῆες καὶ ἵπποι, ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει. 4. καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλεύεσθαι ἀδικουμένους, μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλεύεσθαι. 5. ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐᾶτε μείζους γίγνεσθαι, μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.

LXXXVII. Τοιαῦτα λέξας ἐπεψήφιζεν αὐτὸς ἔφορος ὢν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. 2. ὁ δέ, κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ, οὐκ ἔφη διαγιγνώσκειν τὴν βοὴν ὁποτέρα μείζων, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερῶς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὁρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν· Ὅστις μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω

ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον· δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δυκοῖσιν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα. 3. ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν, καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδόκουν αἱ σποιδαὶ λελύσθαι. 4. προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἢν δοκῇ. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, διαπράξαμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὕστερον, ἐφ' ἅπερ ἦλθον χρηματίσαντες. 6. ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν τριακοντούτιδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκνιῶν αἳ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

LXXXVIII. Ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα. LXXXIX. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὐξήθησαν. 2. ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οἱ καταφυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ξυμμάχους· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι, ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσαντες εἷλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις. 3. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιοῦσαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἱστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν. XC. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβείᾳ, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μήτ' ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυτόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην.

2. ἠξίουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὕποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὖθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὁρμᾶσθαι· τήν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμήν. 3. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμῃ, τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἑλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν ἄρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας παντδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφέλεια ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα. 4. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπὼν τἆλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τἀκεῖ πράξοι ᾤχετο. 5. καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσῄει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προὐφασίζετο. καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὅ, τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δέ τινος οὔσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι ἐν τάχει ἥξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὡς οὔπω πάρεισιν. XCI. οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχίζεταί τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι. 2. γνοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι, ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοί, καὶ πιστῶς ἀπαγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. 3. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἧκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις, Ἀβρώνιχός τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀγγέλοντες ἔχειν ἱκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος. ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὁπότε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. 4. οἵ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη κατεῖχον, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερῶς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἤδη, ὥστε ἱκανὴ εἶναι

νώζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας· εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὡς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι τά τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. 5. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, ἄτευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὖ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι γνώμῃ φανῆναι. 6. δοκεῖν οὖν σφισι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἐκυτῶν πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι. 7. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' εἶναι, μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλεύεσθαι. ἢ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔᾳ χρῆναι ξυμμαχεῖν ἢ καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν.

XCII. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανερὰν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο· ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον· τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἁμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. οἵ τε πρέσβεις ἑκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως.

XCIII. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. 2. καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἥ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον· πολλαί τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὁμοίως κινοῦντες ἠπείγοντο. 3. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν· ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἣν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε· νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. 4. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζε. 5. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους, ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυνῳκοδομημένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολίβδῳ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἧμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὗ διενοεῖτο. 6. ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πάχει ἀφιστάναι

..., τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλάς· ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλίγων καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν φυλακήν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβήσεσθαι. 7. ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἰδών, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔφοδον εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὖσαν· τόν τε Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἢν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τἆλλα κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

ϛ XCIV. Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ξυνέπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλῆθος. 2. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέψαντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων ἔχοντων καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. XCV. ἤδη δὲ βιαίου ὄντος αὐτοῦ, οἵ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο, καὶ οὐχ ἧκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλέως νεωστὶ ἠλευθέρωντο· φοιτῶντές τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, καὶ Παυσανίᾳ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἤν που βιάζηται. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς λόγους καὶ προσεῖχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι τἆλλά τε κατιστησόμενοι ᾗ φαίνοιτο ἄριστα αὐτοῖς. 3. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετεπέμποντο Παυσανίαν ἀνακρινοῦντες ὧν πέρι ἐπυνθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἀδικία πολλὴ κατηγορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐμίμειτο μίμησις ἡ στρατηγία. 4. ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαί τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει παρ' Ἀθηναίους μεταξίασθαι πλὴν τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν. 5. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρός τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνθη, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν· κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἧκιστα Μηδισμός, καὶ ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι. 6. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκέτι ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν· οἷς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· 7. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον· καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιόντες χείρους γίγνωνται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Παυσανίᾳ ἐνεῖδον· ἀπαλλαξείοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκα-

νους ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους
XCVI. παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ
τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων, διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μῖσος, ἔταξαν
ἃς τε ἕδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ
ἃς ναῦς. πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν ἀμύνασθαι ὧν ἔπαθον δηοῦντας τὴν
βασιλέως χώραν. καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέ-
στη ἀρχή, οἳ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον. οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημά-
των ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα
καὶ ἑξήκοντα. ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ
ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο. XCVII. ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν
ξυμμάχων, καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων, τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον
πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἃ ἐγένετο πρός τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας, καὶ Πελοποννησίων
τοὺς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἑκάστῳ. 2. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτά, καὶ τὴν
ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην διὰ τόδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν
ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἢ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ
ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά· τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἥψατο ἐν τῇ
Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ
ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἵῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.

XCVIII. Πρῶτον μὲν Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, Μήδων ἐχόν-
των πολιορκίᾳ εἷλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου
στρατηγοῦντος. 2. ἔπειτα Σκῖρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν
ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί. 3. πρὸς δὲ Κα-
ρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος ἐγένετο, καὶ
χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν. 4. Νάξιοι δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ
ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστήσαντο. πρώτη τε αὕτη
πόλις ξυμμαχὶς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ὡς ἑκάστη ξυνέβη. XCIX. αἰτίαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν
ἀποστάσεων καὶ μέγισται αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἔκδειαι, καὶ λει-
ποστράτιον εἴ τῳ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἐπρασσον καὶ
λυπηροὶ ἦσαν, οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ταλαιπωρεῖν προσά-
γοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας· 2. ἦσαν δέ πως καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι
ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου
ῥᾴδιόν τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους. 3. ὧν αὐτοὶ

αἴτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ὦσι, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁπότε ἀποσταῖεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

C. Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ εἷλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐς τὰς διακοσίας. 2. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν ἀποστῆναι, διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θρᾴκῃ ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου, ἃ ἐνέμοντο. καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν, 3. ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, ὡς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδοὺς νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἠδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἠδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ξυμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ κτιζόμενον.

CI. Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχαις καὶ πολιορκούμενοι, Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο, καὶ ἐπαμῦναι ἐκέλευον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν. 2. οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἔμελλον, διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Εἵλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριᾶταί τε καὶ Αἰθεεῖς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι· ἧ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. 3. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθειστήκει Λακεδαιμονίοις· Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὡμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις, τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τήν τε ἤπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες.

CII. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ ἐμηκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ. 2. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς

δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο· βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν εἷλον τὸ χωρίον. 3. καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βίᾳ οὐχ ἡλίσκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι, μή τι, ἢν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται αὐτῶν ἔτι. 4. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλά τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου, καὶ δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κατέστη. CIII. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀνέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίασιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς· ἢν δέ τις ἁλίσκηται, τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι δοῦλον. 2. ἦν δέ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν ἱκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα ἀπιέναι. 3. ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον ἁρπάσαντες πρώην τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων. 4. προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον. καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ᾠκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τίλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί. καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἦρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι.

CIV. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμητίχου Λίβυς βασιλεὺς Λιβύων τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου πόλεως, ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλέω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο. 2. οἱ δέ, ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ἦλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμ-

φιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος, ὃ καλεῖται Λευκὸν τεῖχος ἐπολέμουν. ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.

ζ CV. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἁλιὰς πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλείᾳ Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. 2. πολέμου δὲ καταστάντος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ ταῦτα, ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ μεγάλη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέροις παρῆσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στροίβου στρατηγοῦντος. 3. ἔπειτα Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμύνειν βουλόμενοι Αἰγινήταις ἐς μὲν τὴν Αἴγιναν τριακοσίους ὁπλίτας, πρότερον Κορινθίων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας κατέλαβον, 4. καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἔσεσθαι Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν, ἔν τε Αἰγίνῃ ἀπούσης στρατιᾶς πολλῆς, καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἣν δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. 5. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ στράτευμα οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολοίπων οἵ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος. 6. καὶ μαχης γενομένης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. 7. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως μᾶλλον, ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι ἡμέρας ὕστερον δωδεκα μάλιστα, ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τούς τε τὸ τροπαῖον ἱστάντας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν. CVI. οἱ δὲ νικῶμενοι ὑπεχώρουν, καί τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τον χωρίον ἰδιώτου, ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γόντες, κατὰ πρόσωπόν τε εἶργον τοῖς ὁπλίταις, καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς φίλους, κατέλεναν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, καὶ πάθος μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' οἴκου.

CVII. Ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. 2. καὶ Φωκέων στρατευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς, τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν, Βοιὸν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν, καὶ ἑλόντων ἓν τῶν πολισμάτων τούτων, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως, νέου ὄντος ἔτι, ἡγουμένου, ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν, ἑαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων μυρίοις, καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ὁμολογίᾳ ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. 3. καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν αὐτούς, διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ βούλοιντο περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἔμελλον κωλύσειν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγὰς πορεύεσθαι. δύσοδός τε γὰρ ἡ Γεράνεια καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο ἀεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τότε ᾐσθάνοντο αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ ταύτῃ κωλύσειν. 4. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα διαπορεύσονται. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆγον αὐτοὺς κρύφα, ἐλπίσαντες δῆμόν τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη οἰκοδομούμενα. 5. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεί, καὶ Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὡς ἕκαστοι· ξύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. 6. νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν, ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καί τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψία. 7. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οὓς μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. CVIII. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολύς. 2. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ δενδροτομήσαντες, πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Γερανείας καὶ ἰσθμοῦ· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Βοιωτούς, Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες, 3. τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος, καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον, καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον, τά τε τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἐπετέλεσαν. ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, φόρον τε

ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. 5. καὶ Πελοπόννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος· καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν εἷλον, καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.

CIX. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. 2. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς πέμπει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην χρήματα ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν πεισθέντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους. 3. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προὐχώρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, ὁ μὲν Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσην μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς· 4. ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τούς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέκλεισε, καὶ ἐπολιόρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἓξ μέχρι οὗ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατρέψας ἄλλῃ τὸ ὕδωρ τάς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἤπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἷλε τὴν νῆσον πεζῇ. CX. οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη, ἓξ ἔτη πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλοντο. 2. Αἴγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλέα ἐγένετο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθός τε τοῦ ἕλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν, καὶ ἅμα μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἕλειοι. 3. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ τῶν Λιβύων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. 4. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα τριήρεις διάδοχοι πλέουσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγενημένων οὐδέν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε γῆς ἐπιπεσόντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους διέφυγον πάλιν. 5 τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

CXI. Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἐγκρατίδου υἱὸς τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύγων, ἔπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἑαυτὸν καταγαγεῖν· καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας, ὄντας ξυμμάχους,

Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων, οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἶργον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον, οὐδ' ἄλλο προϊχώρει αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστράτευσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν Ὀρέστην ἔχοντες ἄπρακτοι. 2. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον χίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες, εἶχον δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγάς, παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων τοὺς προσμίξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. 3. καὶ εὐθὺς παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ διαπλεύσαντες πέραν, τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐ μέντοι εἶλόν γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. CXII. Ὕστερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπονδαὶ γίγνονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πενταετεῖς. 2. καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς δὲ Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο ταυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος. 3. καὶ ἑξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔπλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιόρκουν. 4. Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου· καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ, Φοίνιξι καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἅμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφότερα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν αἱ ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν. 5. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς· καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν, στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδοσαν Φωκεῦσι. CXIII. καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἐχόντων Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα χωρία τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν μὲν χιλίοις ὁπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὡς ἑκάστοις, ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμια ὄντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἑλόντες [καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες] ἀπεχώρουν φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες. 2. πορευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν, καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν· καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. 3. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦν-

ται. 4. καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

CXIV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὔβοια ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων, ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε, καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον. ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρῆς. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. 2. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε ἐσβαλόντες, ἐδῄωσαν Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. 3. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς Εὔβοιαν διαβάντες, Περικλέους στρατηγοῦντος, κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιαιᾶς δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. CXV. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τριακοντούτεις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων. 2. ἕκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Σαμίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο περὶ Πριήνης· καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων. ξυνεπελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν. 3. πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα, δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν παῖδας, ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λῆμνον, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν. 4. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων, ἦσαν γάρ τινες οἳ οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἐφυγον ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ Πισσούθνῃ τῷ Ὑστάσπου ξυμμαχίαν, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες ἐς ἑπτακοσίους διέβησαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον. 5. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὁμήρους ἐκκλέψαντες ἐκ Λήμνου τοὺς αὑτῶν, ἀπέστησαν καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἳ ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐξέδοσαν Πισσούθνῃ, ἔπί τε Μίλητον εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι.

CXVI. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἤσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμον, ταῖς μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο· ἔτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν· τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρσι, Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς Τραγίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες· ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι. καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. 2. ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἀποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα. 3. Περικλῆς δέ, λαβὼν ἑξήκοντα ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπορμουσῶν, ᾤχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν· ᾤχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στησαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας. CXVII. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἐξαπιναίως ἔκπλουν ποιησάμενοι, ἀφράκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες τάς τε προφυλακίδας ταῖς διέφθειρον, καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταγομένας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν ἡμέρας περὶ τεσσαρασκαίδεκα, καὶ ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο ἃ ἐβούλοντο. 2. ἐλθόντος δὲ Περικλέους πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ἄγνωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος νῆες, εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπολέμου καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ δὲ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου τριάκοντα. 3. καὶ ναυμαχίαν μέν τινα βραχεῖαν ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι, ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν, ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐνάτῳ μηνί, καὶ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ, τείχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες, καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι. ξυνέβησαν δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

CXVIII. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ προειρημένα, τά τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτιδαιατικά, καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. 2. ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον, ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς Ἀθηναῖοι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἰέναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοιντο, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἤρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο. τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ καθαιρετέα ἡ ἰσχύς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. 3. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λελύσθαι τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν· πέμψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται. ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἕφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος. CXIX. αὖθις δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐβούλοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας, καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης, οἵ τε ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο, κατηγοροῦντες οἱ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἑκάστων ἰδίᾳ ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφθαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

CXX. Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα, ὡς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. 2. ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν, οὐχὶ διαιχῆς δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι τοῖς κάτω ἢν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἕξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὡραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἠπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω πρόοιντο, κἂν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἧσσον νῦν βουλεύεσθαι. 3. διόπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μέν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ δὲ παρασχὸν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι, μήτε τῷ ἡσυχίῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡδόμενον ἀδικεῖ

σθαι. 4. ὅ τε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὀκνῶν τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφαιρεθείη τῆς ῥᾳστώνης τὸ τερπνόν, δι' ὅπερ ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι. ὅ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος. 5. πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντα κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλέω ἃ καλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς τοὐναντίον αἰσχρῶς περιέστη. ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν. CXXI. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν καὶ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα Ἀθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ. 2. κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν πλήθει προὔχοντας καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως πάντας ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἰόντας. 3. ναυτικόν τε, ᾧ ἰσχύουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἑκάστοις οὐσίας ἐξαρτυσόμεθα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων. δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἷοί τ' ἐσμὲν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας· ὠνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἡ δύναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία· ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἧσσον ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλέον ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασι. 4. μιᾷ τε νίκῃ ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἁλίσκονται· εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά. καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐψυχίᾳ δήπου περιεσόμεθα. ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδαχῇ· ὃ δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιστήμῃ προὔχουσι, κατ' αἰρετέον ἡμῖν ἐστι μελέτῃ. 5. χρήματα δ' ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐς αὐτά, οἴσομεν· ἢ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπερροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅμα σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἂμα δαπανήσομεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς πάσχειν. CXXII. ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὁδοὶ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ξυμμάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὖσα τῶν προσόδων αἷς ἰσχύουσι, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα τε ὅσα οὐκ ἄν τις νῦν προΐδοι. ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον. ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει. 2. ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἡμῶν ἑκάστοις πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαφοραί, οἰστὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι

ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνατώτεροι· ὥστε, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστυ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμυνούμεθα αὐτούς, δίκα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρώσονται. καὶ τὴν ἧσσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινόν τῳ ἀκοῦσαι, ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσαν ἢ ἀντικρυς δουλείαν. 3. ὃ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχρὸν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. ἐν ᾧ ἢ δικαίως δοκοῖμεν ἂν πιάσχειν, ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι οἳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτό, τύραννον δὲ ἐῶμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ' ἐν μιᾷ μοναρχοῦντας ἀξιοῦμεν καταλύειν. 4. καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασιν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται. CXXIII. τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τι δεῖ μακρότερον, ἢ ἐς ὅσον τοῖς νῦν ξυμφέρει αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιτωρεῖν· πάτριον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι· καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἃ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτήθη τῇ περιουσίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι· ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντας ἰέναι κατὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου ξυλλήψεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος πάσης ξυναγωνιουμένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὠφελείᾳ. 2. σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι, ἠδικημέναις δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύουσι γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες. CXXIV. ὥστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ ἡμῶν τάδε κοινῇ πιραινόντων, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον τὸ ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτιδαιάταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν, οὐσι Δωριεῦσι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ πρότερον ἦν τοὐναντίον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. 2. ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δ', εἰ γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μέν, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν· ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐπ' ἀνάγκην ἀφῖχθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἅμα τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέ-

μου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιοῦται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον. 3. καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλιν τύραννον ἡγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθεστάναι, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διατοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερώσωμεν. τοιαῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

CXXV. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἁπάντων ἤκουσαν γνώμην, ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἐξῆς καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν. 2. δεδογμένον δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπαρασκεύοις οὖσιν, ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει ἑκάστοις ἃ πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν. ὅμως δὲ καθισταμένοις ὧν ἔδει ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερῶς. CXXVI. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἢν μή τι ἐσακούωσι. 2. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄγος ἦν τοιόνδε. 3. Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι εὐγενής τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. 4. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Θεός, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. 5. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτήν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. 6. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἢ ἄλλοθί που, ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι κατενόησε, τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ παντδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια· δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. 7. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι, ἐβοήθησάν τε παντδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. 8. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακήν, καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι, ᾗ ἂν

ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσι· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον. 9. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ. 10. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καί τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. 11. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν, ὡς ἐῶρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. 12. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει. CXXVII. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευον δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥᾷον σφίσι προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 2. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἤλπιζον παθεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν τοῦτο, ὅσον διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέρος ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος. 3. ὢν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν ἠναντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἴα ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

CXXVIII. Ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τῶν Εἱλώτων ἱκέτας, ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν· δι' ὃν δὴ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ. 2. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε. 3. ἐπειδὴ Παυσανίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον μετεπέμφθη ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξεπέμφθη, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον· τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησ-

κὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐφιέμενος Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. 4. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο· 5. Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἑλὼν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν, εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι αὐτὸ καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, οἳ ἐάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ, τότε τούτους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. 6. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ᾧπερ ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς ὕστερον ἀνευρέθη. 7. Παυσανίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἑλών, καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι καί σοι Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πρᾶξαι μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα. CXXIX. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Ξέρξης δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τήν τε Δασκυλίτιν σατραπείαν παραλαβεῖν Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε, καὶ παρὰ Παυσανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντιπεπέσθαι αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι, καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἤν τι αὐτῷ Παυσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. 2. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ εἴρητο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν· ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε. 3. Ὧδε λέγει βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης Παυσανίᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας, κεῖταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἐσαεὶ ἀνεξάλειπτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. καί σε μήτε νὺξ μήθ' ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνεῖναι πράσσειν τι ὧν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχῇ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου διπάνη κεκωλύσθω, μηδὲ στρατιᾶς πλήθει, εἴ ποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοι ἔπεμψα, πρᾶσσε θαρσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ ὅπῃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἕξει ἀμφοτέροις. CXXX. ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Παυσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον

ἦρτο καὶ οὐκέτι ἠδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδυόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξήει, καὶ διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν. 2. τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προϊδήλου ἃ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐσέπειτα ἐμελλε πραξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρεῖχε, καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρῆτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως, ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι· διόπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη. CXXXI. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι, τό τε πρῶτον δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι νηὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίᾳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς δὲ Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρῳάδας ἱδρυθεὶς, πράσσων τε ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν ποιούμενος, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ σκυτάλην εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν. 2. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ὕποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολήν, ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων· ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο· ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε, καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχειν. CXXXII. καὶ φανερὸν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως, ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα· Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωτίδου ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὢν ἐπετρόπευεν· 2. ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρεῖχε, τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων, μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν εἴτι που ἐξεδιδήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε,

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

3. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι

ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα· τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. 4. ἐπυνθάνοντο δέ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἵλωτας πράσσειν τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσίν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἢν ξυνεπαναστῶσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργάσωνται. 5. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες ἠξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλεῦσαί τι ἀνήκεστον, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά ποτε ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτὴς γίγνεται, δείσας κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα ὅτι οὐδείς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγῖδα, ἵνα ἦν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης ἥ καὶ ἐκεῖνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῷ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑπονοήσας τι τοιοῦτο προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν εὗρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. CXXXIII. τότε δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἱκέτου οἰχομένου, καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν τε ἐφόρων ἐντός τινας ἔκρυψε, καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας ἤσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τἄλλ' ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβιάλοιτο, προτιμηθείη δ' ἂν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, κἀκείνου αὐτὰ ταῦτα ξυνομολογοῦντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παόντος οὐκ ἐῶντος ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύειν. CXXXIV. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἔφοροι, βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο. λέγεται δ' αὐτόν, μέλλοντα ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ὡς εἶδε, γνῶναι ἐφ' οἷ ἐχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρησαμένου καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Χαλκιοίκου χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν· ἦν δὲ

ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος. καὶ ἐς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθών, ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίη, ἡσύχαζεν. 2. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφεῖλον, καὶ τὰς θύρας, ἐΐδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω, ἀπφκοδόμησαν, προσκαθεζόμενοί τε ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ. 3. καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι, αἰσθόμενοί τε ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα, καὶ ἐξαχθεὶς ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. 4. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους ἐμβάλλειν· ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τόν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὗπερ ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὴν κεῖται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι, καὶ ὡς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὂν τὸ πεπραγμένον δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ποιησάμενοι χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας δύο ὡς ἀντὶ Παυσανίου ἀνέθεσαν. CXXXV. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντος, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό. 2. τοῦ δὲ Μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὑρίσκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἠξίουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. 3. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες, ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαιταν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἑτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν, ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν. CXXXVI. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. δεδιέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέχθεσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν καταντικρύ. 2. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ᾗ χωροίη, ἀναγκάζεται κατά τι ἄπορον παρὰ Ἄδμητον τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα οὗτα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον καταλῦσαι. 3. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν. καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ

ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκεῖνον δ' ἂν εἰ ἐκδοίη αὐτόν, εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται, σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερῆσαι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο. CXXXVII. καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν πεζῇ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου. 2. ἐν ᾗ ὁλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγομένης ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ ἐπιβὰς καταφέρεται χειμῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ὃ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον. καί, ἦν γὰρ ἀγνὼς τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηί, δείσας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει, καὶ εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει· τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὼς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα, καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἔφεσον. 3. καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει, ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ των φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἄργους ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινος πορευθεὶς ἄνω, ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ὡς βασιλέα Ἀρτοξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. 4. ἐδήλου δ' ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων εἰργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἠμυνόμην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθά, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. καί μοι εὐεργεσια ὀφείλεται, γράψας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν, καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρειμι διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχὼν αὐτός σοι περὶ ὧν ἥκω δηλῶσαι.' CXXXVIII. βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτως. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε, τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας· 2. ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας, καὶ ὅσος οὐδείς πω Ἑλλήνων, διά τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑπετίθει

αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πεῖραν διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι. 3. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας, καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι. οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει, καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθών, τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής, καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε· ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο. τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι, κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο. 4. νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἑκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο. 5. μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον· ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυοινότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι· Μυοῦντα δὲ ὄψον. 6. τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ φασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. 7. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

CXXXIX. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως· ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ποτιδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευον καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι, καὶ μάλιστά γε πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προὔλεγον, τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελοῦσι μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ. 2. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τἆλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθῄρουν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου, καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων. 3. τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, Ῥαμφίου τε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ Ἀγησάνδρου, καὶ λεγόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη δ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους

ἀφεῖτε, ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προὐτίθεσαν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἅπαξ περὶ ἁπάντων βουλευσαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι. 4. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρῄνει τοιάδε.

CXL. Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, μὴ εἴκειν Πελοποννησίοις, καίπερ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια ξυμβουλευτέα μοι ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν δικαιῶ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἢν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ κατορθοῦντας τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἧσσον ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· διόπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῇ εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι. 2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἧκιστα. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἑκατέρους ἃ ἔχομεν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες ἤδη, καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι, πάρεισι. 3. Ποτιδαίας τε γὰρ ἀπαναστῆναι κελεύουσι, καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἵδε ἥκοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας προαγορεύουσιν αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι. 4. ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προὔχονται, εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· μηδ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ὡς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. 5. τὸ γὰρ βραχύ τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν καὶ πεῖραν τῆς γνώμης, οἷς εἰ ξυγχωρήσετε, καὶ ἄλλο τι μεῖζον εὐθὺς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε, ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι. CXLI. αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρίν τι βλαβῆναι, ἢ εἰ πολεμήσομεν, ὡς ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως προφάσει μὴ εἴξοντες μηδὲ ξὺν πόβῳ ἕξοντες ἃ κεκτήμεθα. τὴν γὰρ

αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν ἥ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη. 2. τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξεμεν, γνῶτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες. 3. αὐτουργοί τε γάρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα, χρονίων πολέμων καὶ διαποντίων ἄπειροι, διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ πενίας ἐπιφέρειν. 4. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες οὔτε πεζὰς στρατιὰς πολλάκις ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε ἅμα ἀπόντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι· 5. αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσι. σώμασί τε ἑτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κἂν περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν, ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. 6. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἑνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι, πάντες τε ἰσόψηφοι ὄντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ· ἐξ ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελὲς γίγνεσθαι. 7. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαί τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα τὰ οἰκεῖα φθεῖραι. χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέονι τὰ οἰκεῖα πράσσουσι. καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἴεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι προϊδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἁπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματι λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον. CXLII. μέγιστον δὲ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχολῇ αὐτὰ ποριζόμενοι διαμέλλωσι· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. 2. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι. 3. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, ἦπου δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων. 4. φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἄν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, καί, ᾗπερ ἰσχύομεν, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι. 5. πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐμπειρίας, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἤπειρον ἐς τὰ ναυτικά. 6. τὸ δὲ

τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι οὐ ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται. 7. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἀεὶ ἐφορμεῖσθαι, ἄξιον ἄν τι δρῷεν; 8. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμούσας κἂν διακινδυνεύσειαν, πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες, πολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάσουσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὀκνηρότεροι. 9. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τύχῃ, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι. CXLIII. εἴ τε καί, κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων, μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῷντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων δεινὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρχει, καὶ ὅπερ κράτιστον κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. 2. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν ξένων τήν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἥσσονος, ἅμα ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἕνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως, ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι. 3. καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε ὧνπερ ἐκείνοις ἐμεμψάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μεγάλα ἔχειν. 4. ἢν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν πεζῇ ἴωσιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται Πελοποννήσου μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἕξουσιν ἄλλην ἀντιλαβεῖν ἀμαχί, ἡμῖν δέ ἐστι γῆ πολλὴ καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἤπειρον. μέγα γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. 5. σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἦμεν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὀργισθέντας πολλῷ πλείοσι μὴ διαμάχεσθαι· κρατήσαντές τε γὰρ αὖθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχούμεθα καὶ ἢν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν, προσαπόλλυται· οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν· τήν τε ὀλόφυρσιν μὴ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οἱ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ᾤμην πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι

καὶ δεῖξαι Πελοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἕνεκα οὐχ ὑπακούσεσθε.

CXLIV. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, ἢν ἐθέλητε ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες, καὶ κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι. μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας. 2. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκριτάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι, ἢν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε· τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα, καὶ ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδῶσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς ἑκάστοις ὡς βούλονται· δίκας δὲ ὅτι ἐθέλομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα. ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἅμα τῇδε τῇ πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. 3. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν· ἢν δὲ ἑκούσιοι μᾶλλον δεχώμεθα, ἧσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἕξομεν· ἔκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ μέγιστα τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται. 4. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μῆδους καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὁρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες, γνώμῃ τε πλείονι ἢ τύχῃ, καὶ τόλμῃ μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει, τόν τε βάρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο καὶ ἐς τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά. 5. ὧν οὐ χρὴ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι.

CXLV. Ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίσαντες ἄριστα σφίσι παραινεῖν αὐτόν, ἐψηφίσαντο ἃ ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ, καθ' ἕκαστά τε ὡς ἔφρασε καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν, οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσειν, δίκῃ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο.

CXLVI. Αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμεναι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ· ἐπεμίγνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐγίγνοντο, ἀκη-

ρύκτως μέν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὔ. σποδῶν γὰρ ξέγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

Β.

I. *Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ξυμμάχων, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν· γέγραπται δὲ ἑξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγίγνετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα.*

II. *Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούτεις σποδιαὶ αἳ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης, καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων, ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν βοιωταρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου, ἐσῆλθον πρὶ πρώτου ὕπνου ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας οὔσαν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα. 2. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέῳξαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι ἰδίας ἕνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι. 3. ἔπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου. προϊδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος, ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν, ἀεὶ σφίσι διάφορον οὖσαν, ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μήπω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος προκαταλαβεῖν. ᾗ καὶ ῥᾷον ἔλαθον ἐπελθόντες, φυλακῆς οὐ προκαθεστηκυίας. 4. θέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γνώμην δὲ ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασί τε χρήσασθαι ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ ἐς ξύμβασιν μᾶλλον καὶ φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ κήρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα, νομίζοντες σφίσι ῥᾳδίως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ προχωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.*

III. *οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὡς ᾔσθοντο ἔνδον τε ὄντας τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ*

ἐξαπιναίως κατειλημμένην τὴν πόλιν, καταδείσαντες καὶ νομίσαντες πολλῷ πλείους ἐσεληλυθέναι, οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων ἐν τῇ νυκτί, πρὸς ξύμβασιν ἐχώρησαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον. 2. πράσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας, καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥᾳδίως κρατῆσαι· τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. 3. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι, καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινοὺς τοίχους, παρ' ἀλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν φανεροὶ ὦσιν ἰόντες, ἁμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς καθίστασαν, ἵν' ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ, καὶ τἆλλα ἐξήρτυον ᾗ ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἑτοῖμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον ἐχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὖσι προσφέρωνται, καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνωνται, ἀλλ', ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες, ἧσσους ὦσι τῆς σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. προσέβαλόν τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἦεσαν κατὰ τάχος. IV. οἱ δ' ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἠπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολάς, ᾗ προσπίπτοιεν, ἀπεωθοῦντο. 2. καὶ δὶς μὲν ἢ τρὶς ἀπεκρούσαντο, ἔπειτα, πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε προσβαλλόντων, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρωμένων, λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφυγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ τῶν διόδων ᾗ χρὴ σωθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν, ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, ὥστε διεφθείροντο πολλοί. 3. τῶν δὲ Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ᾗ ἐσῆλθον καὶ αἵπερ ἦσαν ἀνεῳγμέναι μόναι, ἔκλεισε στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν, ὥστε μηδὲ ταύτῃ ἔτι ἔξοδον εἶναι. 4. διωκόμενοί τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ μέν τινες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες ἔῤῥιψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλείους, οἱ δέ, κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους, γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν, λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλόν, ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί, αἴσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως σποράδην ἀπώλλυντο. 5. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον, ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἴκημα μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ πλησίον

νύραι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι πύλας τὰς θύρας τοῦ τείχους εἶναι, καὶ ἄντικρυς δίοδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω. 6. ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἀπειλημμένους ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἴκημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσωνται. 7. τέλος δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν, κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλανώμενοι ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα χρήσασθαι ὅ,τι ἂν βούλωνται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταίᾳ οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν.

V. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι, οὓς ἔδει ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς παραγενέσθαι πανστρατιᾷ, εἴτι ἄρα μὴ προχωροίη τοῖς ἐσεληλυθόσι, τῆς ἀγγελίας ἅμα καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ῥηθείσης περὶ τῶν γε γεγημένων ἐπεσθέουν. 2. ἀπέχει δ' ἡ Πλάταια τῶν Θηβῶν σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ γενόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἐποίησε βραδύτερον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας καὶ οὐ ῥᾳδίως διαβατὸς ἦν. 3. πορευόμενοί τε ἐν ὑετῷ, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν μόλις διαβάντες, ὕστερον παρεγένοντο, ἤδη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν διεφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἐχομένων. 4. ὡς δ' ἤσθοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ γεγενημένον, ἐπεβούλευον τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ κατασκευή, οἷα ἀπροσδοκήτου κακοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γενομένου· ἐβούλοντο γὰρ σφίσιν, εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ἢν ἄρα τύχωσί τινες ἐζωγρημένοι. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διενοοῦντο· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς, ἔτι διαβουλευομένων αὐτῶν, ὑποτοπήσαντες τοιοῦτόν τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ δείσαντες περὶ τοῖς ἔξω, κήρυκα ἐξέπεμψαν παρὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους, λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτε τὰ πεποιημένα ὁσίως δράσειαν, ἐν σπονδαῖς σφῶν πειραθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τά τε ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὓς ἔχουσι ζῶντας· ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας. 6. Θηβαῖοι μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς· Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθὺς ὑποσχέσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ λόγων πρῶτον γενομένων, ἤν τι ξυμβαίνωσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι οὕ φασιν. 7. ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος ἐσεκομίσαντο, ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς. ἦσαν δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οἱ ληφθέντες, καὶ Εὐρύμαχος εἷς αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὸς ὃν ἔπραξαν οἱ προδιδόντες. VI. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔς τε τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγε-

λον ἔπεμπον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, τά τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίσταντο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ᾗ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. 2. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἠγγέλθη εὐθὺς τὰ περὶ τῶν Πλαταιῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ Βοιωτῶν τε παραχρῆμα ξυνέλαβον ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Πλάταιαν ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, κελεύοντες εἰπεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων, πρὶν ἄν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλεύσωσι περὶ αὐτῶν· 3. οὐ γὰρ ἠγγέλθη αὐτοῖς ὅτι τεθνηκότες εἶεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνομένῃ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος ἐξῆει, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἄρτι νενικημένων τε καὶ ξυνειλημμένων· καὶ τῶν ὕστερον οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ εἰδότες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέστελλον· ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀφικόμενος εὗρε τοὺς ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους. 4. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες ἐς Πλάταιαν, σῖτόν τε ἐσήγαγον καὶ φρουροὺς ἐγκατέλιπον, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐξεκόμισαν.

VII. Γεγενημένου δὲ τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργου, καὶ λελυμένων λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, πρεσβείας τε μέλλοντες πέμπειν παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ ποθέν τινα ὠφελειαν ἤλπιζον ἑκάτεροι προσλήψεσθαι· πόλεις τε ξυμμαχίδας ποιούμενοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεως. 2. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τἀκείνων ἁλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων νεῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀργύριον ῥητὸν ἑτοιμάζειν, τά τ' ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μιᾷ νηὶ ἕως ἂν ταῦτα παρασκευασθῇ. 3. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ξυμμαχίαν ἐξήταζον, καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον χωρία ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Κέρκυραν καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Ζάκυνθον, ὁρῶντες, εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτ' εἴη βεβαίως, περιξ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταπολεμήσοντες. VIII. ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐκ ἀπεικότως· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται, τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλὴ μὲν οὖσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἥπτετο τοῦ πολέμου, ἥ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα μετέωρος ἦν ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώτων πόλεων. 2. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾖδον ἔν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολε

στῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μή τις αὐτὸς παρέστα
οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ μὲν τῆς ἀρχ
νοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀρχθῶσι φυβούμενοι. παρασκε
γνώμῃ ὥρμηντο. IX. πόλεις δ' ἑκάτεροι τ
ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. 2. Λακεδαιμο
Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς ἰσθμοῦ πάντ
Ἀχαιῶν· τούτοις δ' ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν
μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ
ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου Μεγαρῆς, Φωκῆς, Λο
κιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριοι. 3. τούτω
Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρῆς, Σικυώνιοι, Πελληνῆς,
Λευκάδιοι, ἱππέας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆς, Λοκ
πεζὸν παρεῖχον. αὕτη Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμ
δὲ Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Πλαταιῆς, Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν
νων οἱ πλείους, Κερκυραῖοι, Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ
λεῖς οὖσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θ
πρόσοικοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾳ
Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχ
Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. 5. το
χοντο Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλ
ξυμμαχία μὲν αὕτη ἑκατέρων καὶ παρασκευὴ

X. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι [illegible]

δαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῆς ἐξόδου ταύτης, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν, καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτους, παρεῖναι, τοιάδε ἔλεξεν.

XI. Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἔξω ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἄπειροι πολέμων εἰσίν· ὅμως δὲ τῇδε οὔπω μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες. 2. δίκαιον οὖν ἡμᾶς μήτε τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι μήτε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἐνδεεστέρους. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ ὁρμῇ ἐπῆρται καὶ προσέχει τὴν γνώμην, εὔνοιαν ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔχθος πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς ἃ ἐπινοοῦμεν. 3. οὔκουν χρή, εἴ τῳ καὶ δοκοῦμεν πλήθει ἐπιέναι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν πολλὴ εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμῖν διὰ μάχης, τούτου ἕνεκα ἀμελέστερόν τι παρεσκευασμένους χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἑκάστης ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατιώτην τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἀεὶ προσδέχεσθαι ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἥξειν. 4. ἄδηλα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίγνονται· πολλάκις τε τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος δεδιὸς ἄμεινον ἠμύνατο τοὺς πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκεύους γενέσθαι. 5. χρὴ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρασκευάζεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ πρός τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν, πρός τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι. 6. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄριστα παρεσκευασμένην, ὥστε χρὴ καὶ πάνυ ἐλπίζειν διὰ μάχης ἰέναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὥρμηνται ἐν ᾧ οὔπω πάρεσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς δῃοῦντάς τε καὶ τἀκείνων φθείροντας. 7. πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργὴ προσπίπτει· καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλεῖστα ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται. 8. Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, οἳ ἄρχειν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι καὶ ἐπιόντες τὴν τῶν πέλας δῃοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁρᾶν. 9. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες, καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ἕπεσθ' ὅπῃ ἄν τις ἡγῆται, κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι· κάλλιστον

γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον, πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι.

XII. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τὸν ξύλλογον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος Μελήσιππον πρῶτον ἀπουστέλλει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὸν Διακρίτου, ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοῖεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες ἤδη σφᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας. 2. οἱ δὲ οὐ προσεδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν· ἦν γὰρ Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα, κήρυκα καὶ πρεσβείαν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεστρατευμένων· ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὅρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν, τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἤν τι βούλωνται, πρεσβεύεσθαι. ξυμπέμπουσί τε τῷ Μελησίππῳ ἀγωγούς, ὅπως μηδενὶ ξυγγένηται. 3. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμελλε διαλύσεσθαι, τοσόνδε εἰπὼν ἐπορεύετο ὅτι Ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει. 4. ὡς δὲ ἐφάνη ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἰδέν πω ἐνδώσουσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἄρας τῷ στρατῷ προὐχώρει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. 5. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας παρείχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ξυστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις ἐς Πλάταιαν ἐλθόντες τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν.

XIII. Ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ξυλλεγομένων τε ἐς τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτός, ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐσομένην, ὑποτοπήσας, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ παραλίπῃ καὶ μὴ δῃώσῃ, ἢ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγη ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον ἕνεκα ἐκείνου, προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος μέν οἱ ξένος εἴη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, τοὺς δ' ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας ἦν ἄρα μὴ δῃώσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ δημόσια εἶναι, καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν κατὰ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι. 2. παρῄνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον, παρασκευάζεσθαί τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἐς τε μάχην μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντας φυλάσσειν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, ᾧπερ ἰσχύουσιν, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, τά τε τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρη-

μάτων τῆς προσόδου, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμῃ καὶ χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι. 3. θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε, προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει, ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τἆλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτίδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη· 4. χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἦν ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. 5. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρήσεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἢν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσίοις· ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίου ἀπέφθου καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστῆσαι πάλιν. 6. χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὁπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἕπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. 7. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἦσαν. τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους σταδίοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν ἥμισυ τούτου. 8. ἱππέας δ' ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἱπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλοίμους τριακοσίας. 9. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων, ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἔμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἰώθει Περικλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. XIV. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἀνεπείθοντό τε, καὶ ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἣ κατ' οἶκον ἐγώοντο, καὶ

αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν διεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας. 2. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο. XV. ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἑτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα ἀεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο, πρυτανεῖά τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὁπότε μή τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνήεσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο· καί τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. 2. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἓν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνῴκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢ ἁπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτήν, μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσι. 3. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. 4. τεκμήριον δὲ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. 5. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. 6. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν, καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις. XVI. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνῳκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἦθος, ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικησίᾳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὰς

μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειλημμένοι τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά. 2. ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλιπόντες καὶ ἱερά, ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, δίαιταν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος. XVII. ἐπειδή τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μέν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἔρημα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα, πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κλειστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς

τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,

ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκήθη. 2. καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον τοὐναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον ἐνοίκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προῄδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθησόμενον. 3. κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός που ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις. ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη ᾤκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλά. 4. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἥπτοντο, ξυμμάχους τε ἀγείροντες καὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν ἐξαρτύοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προϊὼν ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον, ἥπερ ἔμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ὡς ἐκαθέζοντο, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· 2. ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὖσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὁπότε πόλεμος κατάλαβοι. τάς τε οὖν προσβολὰς ἠὐτρεπίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν χρόνον περὶ αὐτήν. 3. αἰτίαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίστην Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν· ἐπειδή τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός, ἥ τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Οἰνόῃ

ἐπίσχεσις. 4. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπελθόντες, ἂν διὰ τάχους πάντα ἔτι ἔξω καταλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μέλλησιν. 5. ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ προσδεχόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἔτι ἀκεραίου οὔσης, ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν περιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνεῖχεν. XIX. ἐπειδὴ μέντοι προσβαλόντες τῇ Οἰνόῃ καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πειράσαντες, οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν, οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, οὕτω δὴ ὁρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταιᾷ τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων γενόμενα ἡμέρᾳ ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα, τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. 2. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἔτεμνον πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον, καὶ τροπήν τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥείτους καλουμένους ἐποιήσαντο. ἔπειτα προυχώρουν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγάλεων ὄρος διὰ Κρωπειᾶς, ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρνάς, χωρίον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο χρόνον τε πολὺν ἐμμείναντες ἔτεμον. XX. γνώμῃ δὲ τοιᾷδε λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον περί τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ὡς ἐς μάχην τεταγμένον μεῖναι, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ καταβῆναι. 2. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἤλπιζεν ἀκμάζοντάς τε νεότητι πολλῇ, καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἐς πόλεμον ὡς οὔπω πρότερον, ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν, καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. 3. ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, πεῖραν ἐποιεῖτο, περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς καθήμενος, εἰ ἐπεξίασιν· 4. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως, τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὁπλῖται ἐγένοντο, οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὁρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. εἴ τε καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθοιεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδεέστερον ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστερον τὸ πεδίον τεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν χωρήσεσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν, στάσιν δὲ ἐνέσεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. 5. τοιαύτῃ μὲν διανοίᾳ ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ἦν.

XXI. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μέχρι μὲν οὗ περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω

αὐτοὺς μὴ προϊέναι, μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θρίωζε στρατῷ Πελοποννησίων, πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν, ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν, ἐς τὸ πλεῖον οὐκέτι προελθών· διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης, δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν· 2. ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Ἀχαρνὰς εἶδον τὸν στρατὸν ἑξήκοντα σταδίους τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχοντα, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἰκός, γῆς τεμνομένης ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, ὃ οὔπω ἐωράκεσαν οἵ γε νεώτεροι, οὐδ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πλὴν τὰ Μηδικά, δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῇ νεότητι ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν. κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν κελεύοντες ἐξιέναι, οἱ δέ τινες οὐκ ἐῶντες. 3. χρησμολόγοι τε ἦδον χρησμοὺς παντοίους, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὤργητο. οἵ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἰόμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμνετο, ἐνῆγον τὴν ἔξοδον μάλιστα. παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον, καὶ ὧν παρήνεσε πρότερον ἐμέμνηντο οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι, αἴτιόν τε σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντων ὧν ἔπασχον. XXII. Περικλῆς δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρονοῦντας, πιστεύων δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον οἱδένα, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ ξυνελθόντας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τήν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο εἶχεν. 2. ἱππέας μέντοι ἐξέπεμπεν ἀεί, τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν· καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐνεγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυγίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἑνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεσσαλοί, μέχρι οὗ, προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοί· ἀνείλοντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀσπόνδους. καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔστησαν. 3. ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, Παράσιοι, Κραννώνιοι, Πειράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ

Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες.

XXIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξήεσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐδήουν τῶν δήμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλήσσου ὄρους. 2. ὧν τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἅσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Καρκῖνός τε ὁ Ξενοτίμου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀντιγένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄραντες τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ περιέπλεον, 3. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι χρόνον ἐμμείναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσον εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ ἥπερ ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραϊκὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδῄωσαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι.

XXIV. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἔμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν· καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει χρημάτων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ἐξαίρετα ποιησαμένοις, χωρὶς θέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμεῖν· ἢν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, ἢν μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι νηίτῃ στρατῷ ἐπιπλέωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ δέῃ ἀμύνασθαι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο. 2. τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξαιρέτους ἐποιήσαντο κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τὰς βελτίστας, καὶ τριηράρχους αὐταῖς, ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ ἐς ἄλλο τι ἢ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου, ἢν δέῃ.

XXV. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν, πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ προσβεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοι τινες τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων, ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάντες, τῷ τείχει προσέβαλον ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων. 2. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης φρουρὰν ἔχων· καὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μετὰ ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. διαδραμὼν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ἐσκεδασμένον κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον, ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην, καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐσδρομῇ ἀπολέσας τῶν μεθ'

ἑαυτοῦ, νήν τε πόλιν περιεποίησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος πρῶτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηνέθη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. 3. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅραντες παρέπλεον, καὶ σχόντες τῆς Ἠλείας ἐς Φειάν, ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἤλιδος τριακοσίους λογάδας, καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἠλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. 4. ἀνέμου δὲ κατιόντος μεγάλου, χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ περιέπλεον τὸν Ἰχθὺν καλούμενον τὴν ἄκρην ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα· οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι ἐν τούτῳ, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπιβῆναι κατὰ γῆν χωρήσαντες τὴν Φειὰν αἱροῦσι. 5. καὶ ὕστερον αἵ τε νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξανάγονται ἐκλιπόντες Φειάν, καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδῄουν.

XXVI. Τὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλακήν· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου. 2. καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος τῆς τε παραθαλασσίου ἔστιν ἃ ἐδῄωσε καὶ Θρόνιον εἷλεν, ὁμήρους τε ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν Ἀλόπῃ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχῃ ἐκράτησεν.

XXVII. Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο, τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην, αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκήτορας. 2. ἐκπεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι, κατά τε τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον καὶ ὅτι σφῶν εὐεργέται ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἡ δὲ Θυρεᾶτις γῆ μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἐστιν, ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθήκουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπάρησαν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.

XXVIII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην, ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε μετὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη, γενόμενος μηνοειδὴς καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων.

XXIX. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πύθεω, ἄνδρα Ἀβδηρίτην, οὗ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σιτάλκης, δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, πρότερον πολέμιον νομίζοντες, πρόξενον ἐποιήσαντο καὶ μετεπέμψαντο, βουλόμενοι Σιτάλκην σφίσι τὸν Τήρεω, Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέα, ξύμμαχον γενέσθαι. 2. ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος, ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ, πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης ἐποίησε· πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρᾳκῶν. 3. Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίονος ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν σχόντι γυναῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θρᾴκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾤκει τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκιομένης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἔπραξαν· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνος μνήμῃ Δαυλιὰς ἡ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίονα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ. Τήρης δὲ οὔτε τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων, βασιλεύς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο. 4. οὗ δὴ ὄντα τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποιήσαντο, βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία καὶ Περδίκκαν ξυνελεῖν αὐτόν. 5. ἐλθών τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος, τήν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε, καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον, τόν τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο καταλύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν στρατιὰν Θρᾳκίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πελτιστῶν. 6. ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Θέρμην αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι· ξυνεστράτευσέ τ' εὐθὺς Περδίκκας ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος. 7. οὕτω μὲν Σιτάλκης τε ὁ Τήρεω Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ξύμμαχος ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς.

XXX. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον, Σόλιόν τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἱροῦσι, καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι· καὶ Ἄστακον, ἧς Εὔαρχος ἐτυράννει, λαβόντες κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἐξελάσαντες αὐτὸν τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεποιήσαντο. 2. ἐπί τε Κεφαλληνίαν τὴν νῆσον πλεύσαντες προσηγάγοντο ἄνευ μάχης. κεῖται δὲ ἡ Κεφαλληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα

τετράπολις οὖσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προναῖοι. 3. ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῷ ἀνεχώρησαν αἱ νῆες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

XXXI. Περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεί, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ οἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν, ἔτυχον γὰρ ἤδη ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνακομιζόμενοι, ὡς ἤσθοντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως παντστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας, ἔπλευσαν παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυνεμίχθησαν. 2. στρατόπεδόν τε μεγιστον δὴ τοῦτο ἀθρόον Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὔπω νενοσηκυίας. μυρίων γὰρ ὁπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν Ποτιδαιᾷ τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν, μέτοικοι δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος. δηώσαντες δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν. 3. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ ἱππέων καὶ παντστρατιᾷ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἑάλω ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.

XXXII. Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων φρούριον τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευτῶντος ἡ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσος ἐρήμη πρότερον οὖσα, τοῦ μὴ λῃστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ Ὀποῦντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὔβοιαν. 2. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀναχώρησιν ἐγένετο.

XXXIII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Εὔαρχος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἄστακον κατελθεῖν, πείθει Κορινθίους τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὁπλίταις ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν πλεύσαντας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικούρους τινὰς προσεμισθώσατο· ἦρχον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Εὐφαμίδας τε ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου καὶ Τιμόξενος ὁ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Εὔμαχος ὁ Χρύσιδος. 2. καὶ πλεύσαντες κατήγαγον· καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀκαρνανίας τῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἔστιν ἃ χωρία βουλόμενοι προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ πειραθέντες, ὡς οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἀπέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκου. 3. σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν Κρανίων γῆν, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινὸς ἄνδρας τε ἐπιβάλλουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθεμένων ἀπροσδοκήτοις τῶν Κρανίων, καὶ βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

XXXIV. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. 2. τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ προτίθενται τῶν ἀπογενομένων, πρότριτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἤν τι βούληται. 3. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ᾖ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνας ἄγουσιν ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς ἑκάστης μίαν· ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ ἧς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν μὴ εὑρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. 4. ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεισιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι. 5. τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. 6. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ, ἀνὴρ ᾑρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃς ἂν γνώμῃ τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀξύνετος εἶναι καὶ ἀξιώματι προήκῃ, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν πρέποντα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. 7. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσι· καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁπότε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ νόμῳ. 8. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου ᾑρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ ὁμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

XXXV. Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε εἰρηκότων ἤδη ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν· ἐμοὶ δ' ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι. 2. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. ὅ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὔνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄν τι ἐνδεεστέρως, πρὸς ἃ βούλεταί τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὅ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσε· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἐδοκιμάσθη ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ καὶ ἐμέ,

ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ, πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἑκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. XXXVI. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι. τὴν γὰρ χώραν ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες, διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. 2. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν· κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. 3. τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἵδε, οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπηυξήσαμεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. 4. ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτήθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἕλληνα πόλεμον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἠμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος, ἐάσω· ἀπὸ δὲ οἵας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἵας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἵων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπί τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῆ λεχθῆναι αὐτά, καὶ τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι. XXXVII. χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶ μιμουμένοις ἑτέροις. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται. 2. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τά τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονήν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. 3. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται, καὶ ὅσοι, ἄγραφοι ὄντες, αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσι. XXXVIII. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρε-

πέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. 2. ἐπειδ ἔρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρᾳ τῇ ἀπολαίσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι, ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. XXXIX. διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ὠφεληθείη, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλέον καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει, εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. 2. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑκάστους, μετὰ πάντων δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τήν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν. 3. ἀθρόᾳ τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πω πολέμιος ἐτέτυχε, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν· ἢν δέ που μορίῳ τινὶ προσμίξωσι, κρατήσαντές τέ τινας ἡμῶν πάντας αὐχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι, καὶ νικηθέντες ὑφ' ἁπάντων ἠσσῆσθαι. 4. καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ, καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων, τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν ἀεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι. XL. καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις. φιλοκαλοῦμέν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον. 2. ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς γνῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. 3. διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος,

λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθείεν, οἱ τά τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γιγνώσκοντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. 4. καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἡγαντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν, ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σώζειν· ὁ δ' ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. 5. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινα ὠφελοῦμεν. XLI. ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἂν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν εἶδη, καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως, τὸ σῶμα αὔταρκες παρέχεσθαι. 2. καὶ ὡς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα, σημαίνει. 3. μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσων ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχεται, καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἵων κακοπαθεῖ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν ὡς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων ἄρχεται. 4. μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων, καὶ οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι, τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου, οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀΐδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες. 5. περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἵδε τε γενναίως δικαιοῦντες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν λειπομένων πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν. XLII. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω φανερὰν σημείοις καθιστάς. 2. καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. 3. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τἆλλα χείροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῷ γὰρ

κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν. 4. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις, τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας, ἐμαλακίσθη οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὡς καὶ ἔτι διαφυγὼν αὐτὴν πλουτήσειεν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες, ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὁρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν. XLIII. καὶ οἵδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοίδε ἐγένοντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὔχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν, ἣν ἄν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνοι, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξῃ εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες, καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείρᾳ του σφαλείησαν, οὔκουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προϊέμενοι. 2. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυγόντι ἀεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. 3. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἑκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαιτᾶται. 4. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. 5. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύσεται, καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγαλα τὰ διαφέροντα, ἤν τι πταίσωσιν. 6. ἀλγεινοτέρα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἡ ἐν τῳ μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις,

ἦν ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος. XLIV. διόπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον, ἢ παραμυθήσομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται τραφέντες· τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἷ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἵδε μὲν νῦν τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη. 2. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὅν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις ἕξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη οὐχ ὧν ἄν τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν ἐθὰς γενόμενος ἀφαιρεθῇ. 3. καρτερεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ, ξυνοίσει· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλεύεσθαι, οἷ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. 4. ὅσοι δ' αὖ παρηβήκατε, τόν τε πλείονα κέρδος ὃν εὐτυχεῖτε βίον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίτειν, ὥσπερ τινές φασι, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι. XLV. παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα· τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἰώθεν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ μόλις ἂν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὁμοῖοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χείρους κριθείητε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται. 2. εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται μνησθῆναι, βραχείᾳ παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον, ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ. XLVI. εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηνται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρι ἥβης θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα· ἆθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι. 2. νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἕκαστος ἄπιτε.

XLVII. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ· καὶ διελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα. 2. τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου, Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι

τὰ δύο μέρη, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἦγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. 3. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ πολλάς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκῆψαι καὶ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι. 4. οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἔθνησκον ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσήεσαν, οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεία τέχνη οὐδεμία· ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν, τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἰκνούμενοι. XLVIII. ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. 2. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐνέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἥψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὔπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἤδη. 3. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος γιγνώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀφ' ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἅστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας. XLIX. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκεῖνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. 2. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ὑγιεῖς ὄντας πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραὶ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθήματα καὶ φλόγωσις ἐλάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἐντός, ἥ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθὺς αἱματώδη ἦν καὶ πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἠφίει· 3. ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατέβαινεν ἐς τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσὶν ἐπῆσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ ταλαιπωρί-

ως μεγάλης. 4. λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενή, σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον. 5. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἁπτομένῳ σῶμα οὐκ ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε χλωρόν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, πελιδνόν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἕλκεσιν ἐξηνθηκός· τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκάετο, ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μηδ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι, ἥδιστά τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν. καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἠμελημένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα, τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχόμενοι. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τό τε πλέον καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν. 6. καὶ ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο διὰ παντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσονπερ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ, ὥστε ἢ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἑβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως, ἢ εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ ἕλκώσεώς τε αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης, καὶ διαῤῥοίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης, οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεφθείροντο. 7. διεξῄει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἱδρυθὲν κακόν, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινε· 8. κατέσκηπτε γὰρ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως, καὶ ἠγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους. L. γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου, τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὂν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἅπτεται, πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων, ἢ οὐ προσῄει, ἢ γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο. 2. τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἴσθησιν παρεῖχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.

LI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τέσημα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον γιγνόμενον, τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν. καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύ-

τα. 2. ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμελείᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι ἔν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη ἴαμα ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅ,τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γὰρ τῳ ξυνενεγκόν, ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε. 3. σῶμά τε αὖταρκες ὂν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτό, ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνῄρει καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα. 4. δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἥ τε ἀθυμία ὁπότε τις αἴσθοιτο κάμνων, πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον, καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον. καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. 5. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν διδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἔρημοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ᾐφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιόντες παρὰ φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. 6. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὅμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες τόν τε θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν πονούμενον ᾠκτίζοντο διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· δὶς γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν οὐκ ἐπελάμβανε. καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.

LII. Ἐπέπεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ, καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. 2. οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἁπάσας ἡμιθνῆτες, τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. 3. τά τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνητο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ,τι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. 4. νόμοι τε πάντες συνεταράχθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς, ἔθαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο. καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας, φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας, οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν

ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ καιομένου ἄλλου ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες ὃν φέροιεν ἀπῆγεσαν. LIII. πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τἆλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθὺς δὲ τἀκείνων ἐχόντων. 2. ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἠξίουν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. 3. καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται· ὅ,τι δὲ ἥδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. 4. θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾶν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιοὺς ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἢν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

LIV. Τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τε ἔνδον θνησκόντων καὶ γῆς ἔξω δηουμένης. 2. ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ, οἷα εἰκός, ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ᾄδεσθαι,

ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.

3. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν, ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς, τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμόν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ᾄσονται. 4. μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἀνεῖλε κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἕσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. 5. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γιγνόμενα ἤκαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι· ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς. καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅ,τι ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. 6. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον

LV. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἕτεμον τὸ πεδίον, παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρίου, οὗ τὰ ἀργύρεια μέταλλά ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἕτεμον ταύτην ἣ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὁρᾷ, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὔβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην. 2. Περικλῆς δέ, στρατηγὸς ὢν καὶ τότε, περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐσβολῇ· LVI. ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν γῆν ἐλθεῖν, ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἑτοῖμα ἦν, ἀνήγετο. 2. ἦγε δ' ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ὁπλίτας Ἀθηναίων τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις· ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Χῖοι καὶ Λέσβιοι πεντήκοντα ναυσίν. 3. ὅτε δὲ ἀνήγετο ἡ στρατιὰ αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, Πελοποννησίους κατέλιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ. 4. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς ἐλπίδα μὲν ἦλθον τοῦ ἑλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι προεχώρησέ γε. 5. ἀναγαγόμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου ἔτεμον τήν τε Τροιζηνίδα γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἁλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ἑρμιονίδα· ἔστι δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Πελοποννήσου. 6. ἅραντες δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιὰς τῆς Λακωνικῆς, πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἷλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν. 7. τοὺς δὲ Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνακεχωρηκότας.

LVII. Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον οἵ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, ἡ τόσος ἦν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφθειρε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους δείσαντας τὸ τόσημα, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι ἐν τῇ πόλει εἴη καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἠσθάνοντο, θᾶσσον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθεῖν. 2. τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ πλεῖστόν τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον· ἡμέρας γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.

LVIII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἄγνων ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου, ξυστράτηγοι ὄντες Περικλέους, λαβόντες τὴν στρατιὰν ἣπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο, ἐστράτευσαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ μηχαναῖς τε τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ προσέφερον καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπειρῶντο

ιλεῖν. 2. προὐχώρει δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τἆλλα τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀξίως· ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθείρουσα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς ξὺν Ἄγνωνι στρατιᾶς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας. Φορμίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι οὐκέτι ἦσαν περὶ Χαλκιδέας. 3. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄγνων ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπὸ τετρακισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν χιλίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ νόσῳ ἀπολέσας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἡμέραις· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν Ποτίδαιαν.

LIX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἥ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἐτέτμητο τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο ἅμα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἠλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας, 2. καὶ τὸν μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον, ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμητο ξυγχωρεῖν· καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες ὡς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο. πανταχόθεν τε τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες ἐνέκειντο τῷ Περικλεῖ. 3. ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἤλπιζε, ξύλλογον ποιήσας, ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει, ἐβούλετο θαρσῦναί τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὸ ἠπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστῆσαι. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

LX. Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἐς ἐμὲ γεγένηται, αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τούτου ἕνεκα ξυνήγαγον, ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψομαι, εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε. 2. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. 3. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἧσσον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον διασώζεται. 4. ὁπότε οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφορὰς οἵα τε φέρειν, εἷς δὲ ἕκαστος τὰς ἐκείνης ἀδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρὴ πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ, καὶ μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε, ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆγ σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε, καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα πολεμεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, οἳ ξυνέγνωτε, δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε. 5. καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε, ὃς οὐδενὸς οἶομαι

ὅσων εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων. 6. ὅ τε γὰρ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὅ τ' ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ δὲ πόλει δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ τικωμένου, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἐνὸς ἂν πωλοῖτο. 7. ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην. LXI. καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται τἆλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλὴ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἴξαντας εὐθὺς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος. 2. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι μὲν ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἑκάστῳ, τῆς δὲ ὠφελείας ἄπεστιν ἔτι ἡ δήλωσις ἅπασι, καὶ μεταβολῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ταύτης ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐμπεσούσης ταπεινὴ ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἃ ἔγνωτε. 3. δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον· ὃ ὑμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γεγένηται. 4. ὅμως δὲ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας, καὶ ἐν ἤθεσιν ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους, χρεὼν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν· ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δικαιοῦσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι ὅστις μαλακίᾳ ἐλλείπει καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον· ἀπαλγήσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. LXII. τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηταί τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκείτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον, δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅ μοι δοκεῖτε οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν, μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις· οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομψοδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ καταπεπληγμένους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἑώρων. 2. οἴεσθε μὲν γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων μόνον ἄρχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερῶν, γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἑτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτάτους ὄντας, ἐφ' ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πλέον βουληθῆτε· καὶ οὐκ

ἔστιν ὅστις τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλέοντας ὑμᾶς οὔτε βασιλεὺς κωλύσει, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. 3. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρείαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐστερῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κήπιον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντες ὀλιγωρῆσαι, καὶ γνῶναι ἐλευθερίαν μέν, ἣν ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν, ῥαδίως ταῦτα ἀναληψομένην, ἄλλων δ' ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προσεκτημένα φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τῶν τε πατέρων μὴ χείρους κατ' ἀμφότερα φανῆναι, οἳ μετὰ πόνων καὶ οὐ παρ' ἄλλων δεξάμενοι κατέσχον τε καὶ προσέτι διασώσαντες παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν αὐτά, αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι, εἶναι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμόσε μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. 4. αὔχημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ ὃς ἂν καὶ γνώμῃ πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. 5. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἡ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἧσσον πιστεύει, ἧς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχύς, γνώμῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἧς βεβαιοτέρα ἡ πρόνοια. LXIII. τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ᾧπερ ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν· μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἑνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε. 2. ἧς οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον. 3. τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἑτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν, καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἄπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. LXIV. ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἄτερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγένηταί τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἡ νόσος ἥδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγενημένον. καὶ δι' αὐτὴν οἶδ' ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι οὐ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ λόγον τι εὖ πράξητε ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε. 2. φέρειν τε χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια

ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν τὸν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. 3. γνῶτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἴκειν, πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόνους ἀναλωκέναι πολέμῳ, καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἧς ἐς ἀίδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἢν καὶ νῦν ὑπερδῶμέν ποτε, πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, μνήμη καταλελείψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ ἦρξαμεν, καὶ πολέμους μεγίστους ἀντέσχομεν πρός τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους, πόλιν τε τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ᾠκήσαμεν. 4. καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμψαιτ' ἄν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται, φθονήσει. 5. τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἑτέρων ἠξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλεύεται. μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. 6. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγόντες, ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφότερα κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε, μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἦτε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὡς οἵτινες πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμῃ μὲν ἥκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοι εἰσιν.

LXV. Τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἴς τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώμην. 2. οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο, καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἔπεμπον, ἔς τε τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον ὥρμηντο, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυποῦντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων ὁρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν οἰκοδομίας τε καὶ πολυτελεῖ κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἔχοντες. 3. οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασιν. 4. ὕστερον δ' αὖθις οὐ πολλῷ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὅμιλος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν, ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος ἤλγει, ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες, ὧν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδεῖτο, πλείστου ἄξιον νομίζοντες εἶναι. 5. ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προῦστη τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ

ἤρξαντο ἐπ' ἐκείνου μεγίστη· ἐπεί τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγονὸς τὴν δύναμιν. 6. ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἕξ· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. 7. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐς τοὐναντίον ἔπραξαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι, κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη, κακῶς ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφέλεια μᾶλλον ἦν, σφαλέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθίστατο. 8. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὢν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος, κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. 9. ὁπότε γοῦν αἴσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας, λέγων κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὖ ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. 10. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἴσοι αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες, καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι, ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι. 11. ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλά, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἁμάρτημα ἢν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆεσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας, τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. 12. σφαλέντες δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλῃ τε παρασκευῇ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλείονι μορίῳ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες, ὅμως τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀφεστηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρεῖχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ

ἐπερίσσευσε τότε, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥᾳδίως περιγενέσθαι τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.

LXVI. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐς Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται ἀντιπέρας Ἦλιδος· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄποικοι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. 2. ἐπέπλεον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ Κνῆμος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐδῄωσαν τὰ πολλά. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ ξυνεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ οἴκου.

LXVII. Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Στρατόδημος καὶ Τεγεάτης Τιμαγόρας καὶ Ἀργεῖος ἰδίᾳ Πόλλις, πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλέα, εἴ πως πείσειαν αὐτὸν χρηματά τε παρέχειν καὶ ξυμπολεμεῖν, ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην πρῶτον τὸν Τήρεω ἐς Θρᾴκην, βουλόμενοι πεῖσαί τε αὐτόν, εἰ δύναιντο, μεταστάντα τῆς Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίας στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, οὖ ἦν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιορκοῦν, καὶ ἧπερ ὥρμηντο, δι' ἐκείνου πορευθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάκην τὸν Φαρναβάζου, ὃς αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὡς βασιλέα ἀναπέμψειν 2. παραντυχόντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις Λέαρχος Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδης Φιλήμονος παρὰ τῷ Σιτάλκῃ πείθουσι τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον, Σιτάλκου υἱόν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρίσαι σφίσιν, ὅπως μὴ διαβάντες ὡς βασιλέα τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάψωσιν. 3. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς πορευομένους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιώσειν, πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν, ξυλλαμβάνει, ἄλλους ξυμπέμψας μετὰ τοῦ Λεάρχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδου, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἐκόμισαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. 4. ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, δείσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἀριστέα, μὴ αὖθις σφᾶς ἔτι πλείω κακουργῇ διαφυγών, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς Ποτιδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης πάντ' ἐφαίνετο πράξας, ἀκρίτους καὶ βουλομένους ἔστιν ἃ εἰπεῖν, αὐθημερὸν ἀπέκτειναν πάντας, καὶ ἐς φάραγγας ἐσέβαλον, δικαιοῦντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι οἵσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπῆρξαν, τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν ὁλκάσι περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας ἀποκτείναντες, καὶ ἐς φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες. πάντας γὰρ δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

ὅσους λίβοιεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὡς πολεμίους διέφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ξυμπολεμοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων.

LXVIII. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος, καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται, αὐτοί τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἀναστήσαντες, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀμφιλοχίαν. 2. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῖς ἤρξατο πρῶτον γενέσθαι. 3. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε, μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἰκιστὴς ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἄργει καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας. 4. καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας, καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας. 5. ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον πιεζόμενοι, Ἀμπρακιώτας ὁμόρους ὄντας τῇ Ἀμφιλοχικῇ ξυνοίκους ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ ἑλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν. 6. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν τοὺς Ἀργείους οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴσχουσι τὴν πόλιν. 7. οἱ δ' Ἀμφίλοχοι, γενομένου τούτου, διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι, καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμφότεροι Ἀθηναίους, οἳ αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τε στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν καὶ ναῦς τριάκοντα. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Φορμίωνος αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος Ἄργος καὶ τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἠνδραπόδισαν, κοινῇ τε ᴥκησαν αὐτὸ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες. 8. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. 9. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε τὴν στρατείαν ποιοῦνται αὐτῶν τε καὶ Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων· ἐλθόντες τε πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτουν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὡς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν προσβαλόντες, ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκου καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ ἔθνη. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐγένετο.

LXIX. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἔστειλαν εἴκοσι μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Φορμίωνα στρατηγόν, ὃς ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Ναυπάκτου φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, ἑτέρας δ' ἓξ ἐπὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Μελήσιππον στρατηγόν, ὅπως ταῦτά τε ἀργυρολογῶσι, καὶ τὸ λῃστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μὴ ἐῶσιν αὐτο-

θεν ὁρμώμενον βλάπτειν τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὁλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἠπείρου. 2. ἀναβὰς δὲ στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τι διέφθειρε νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.

LXX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Ποτιδαιᾶται ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο πολιορκούμενοι ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' αἵ τε ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολαὶ Πελοποννησίων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστασαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὅ τε σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπεγεγένητο αὐτόθι ἤδη βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας καί τινες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγέγευντο, οὕτω δὴ λόγους προσφέρουσι περὶ ξυμβάσεως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσι τεταγμένοις, Ξενοφῶντί τε τῷ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Εστιοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκλείδου καὶ Φανομάχῳ τῷ Καλλιμάχου. 2. οἱ δὲ προσεδέξαντο, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ, ἀναλωκυίας τε ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν. 3. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριόν τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἑκάστους. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ ἕκαστος ᾗ ἐδύνατο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούς τε στρατηγοὺς ἐπητιάσαντο ὅτι ἄπρατον αὐτῶν ξυνέβησαν, ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἂν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως ᾗ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἑαυτῶν ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καὶ κατῴκισαν. 5. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο· καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε.

LXXI. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐκ ἐσέβαλον, ἐστράτευσαν δ' ἐπὶ Πλάταιαν· ἦγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔμελλε δῃώσειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς εὐθὺς πρέσβεις πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοιάδε. 2. Ἀρχίδαμε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ἄξια οὔτε ὑμῶν οὔτε πατέρων ὧν ἐστέ, ἐς γῆν τὴν Πλαταιῶν στρατεύοντες. Παυσανίας γὰρ ὁ Κλεομβρότου, Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐλευθερώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐθελησάντων ξυναράμασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς μάχης ἣ περ ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, θύσας ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἀγορᾷ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἱερά, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ἀπέδιδου Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχον-

τας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῖσαί τε μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμύνειν τοὺς παρόντας ξυμμάχους κατὰ δύναμιν. 3. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις γενομένης, ὑμεῖς δὲ τἀναντία δρᾶτε· μετὰ γὰρ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἥκετε. 4. μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τούς τε ὁρκίους τότε γενομένους ποιούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρῴους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους, λέγομεν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐᾶν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτοτόμους καθάπερ Παυσανίας ἐδικαίωσεν. LXXII. τοσαῦτα εἰπόντων Πλαταιῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· Δίκαια λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἢν ποιῆτε ὁμοῖα τοῖς λόγοις. καθάπερ γὰρ Παυσανίας ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν, αὐτοί τε αὐτονομεῖσθε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνελευθεροῦτε ὅσοι, μετασχόντες τῶν τότε κινδύνων, ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν καὶ εἰσὶ νῦν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις, παρασκευή τε τοσήδε καὶ πόλεμος γεγένηται αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερώσεως. ἧς μάλιστα μὲν μετασχόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμμείνατε τοῖς ὅρκοις· εἰ δὲ μή, ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἤδη προὐκαλεσάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστε μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων, δέχεσθε δὲ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ μηδ' ἑτέρους. 2. καὶ τάδε ἡμῖν ἀρκέσει. ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοσαῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῶν πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ ῥηθέντα κοινώσαντες, ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσιν εἴη ποιεῖν ἃ προκαλεῖται ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων· παῖδες γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶησαν· δεδιέναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῇ πάσῃ πόλει, μὴ ἐκείνων ἀποχωρησάντων Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες σφίσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν, ἢ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς ἔγγιστοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι, αὖθις σφῶν τὴν πόλιν πειράσωσι καταλαβεῖν. 3. ὁ δὲ θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφη, Ὑμεῖς δὲ πόλιν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἡμῖν παράδοτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ γῆς ὅρους ἀποδείξατε, καὶ δένδρα ἀριθμῷ τὰ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατὸν ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἃ ἂν παραλάβωμεν. μέχρι δὲ τοῦδε ἕξομεν παρακαταθήκην, ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ φορὰν φέροντες ἣ ἂν ὑμῖν μέλλῃ ἱκανὴ ἔσεσθαι. LXXIII. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐσῆλθον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεξαν ὅτι βούλονται ἃ προκαλεῖται

σιν δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν. ἐπιμέλεσθαι δ' ἐφη, ὅπως
οἷς οἱ πατέρες ὥμωσαν, μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν πε
LXXIV. τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπαγγειλάν
ἐβουλεύσαντο Ἀθηναίους μὴ προδιδόναι, ἀλλ'
τεμνομένην, εἰ δεῖ, ὁρῶντας καὶ ἄλλο πάσχοντας
ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους
ἀδύνατα σφίσι ποιεῖν ἐστιν ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προ
δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμε
καὶ ἡρώων τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺ
ὧδε. 3. Θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιΐδα ἔχετε καὶ
ἔστε ὅτι οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως, ἐκλιπόντων τὸ
ξυνώμοτον, ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἤλθομεν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πατέρε
ὑμῖν Μήδων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ παρέσχετε αὐτὴν εὐμει
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε νῦν, ἤν τι ποιῶμεν, ἀδικήσομεν·
γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν. ξυγγνώμονε
ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις,
τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως. LXXV. τοσ
καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
αὐτοὺς τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἃ ἔκοψαν, τοῦ μηδένα ἔτ
χωμα ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην
ἐντῶν στρατεύματος τοσούτου ἐργαζομένου. 2. ξ
οντες ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος

ἰρῶντες τὸ χῶμα αἰρόμενον, ξύλινον τεῖχος ξυνθέντες καὶ ἐπιστήσαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν τείχει ᾗ προσεχοῦτο, ἐσῳκοδόμουν ἐς αὐτὸ πλίνθους ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες. 5. ξύνδεσμος δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα, τοῦ μὴ ὑψηλὸν γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶναι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα· καὶ προκαλίμματα εἶχε δρῦς καὶ διφθέρας, ὥστε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους καὶ τὰ ξύλα μήτε πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς βάλλεσθαι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε εἶναι. 6. ἔρρετο δὲ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τείχους μέγα, καὶ τὸ χῶμα οὐ σχολαίτερον ἀνταγήει αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιόνδε τι ἐπινοοῦσι· διελόντες τοῦ τείχους ᾗ προσέπιπτε τὸ χῶμα ἐσεφόρουν τὴν γῆν. LXXVI. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνειλλοντες ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ διῃρημένον, ὅπως μὴ διαχέόμενον ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ φοροῖτο. 2. οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποκληόμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέσχον, ὑπόνομον δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὀρύξαντες καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα ὑφεῖλκον αὖθις παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν χοῦν· καὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἔξω, ὥσθ' ἐπιβάλλοντας ἧσσον ἀνύτειν ὑπαγομένου αὐτοῖς κάτωθεν τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἰζάνοντος ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κενούμενον. 3. δεδιότες δὲ μὴ οὐδ' οὕτω δύνωνται ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀντέχειν, προσεπεξεῦρον τόδε· τὸ μὲν μέγα οἰκοδόμημα ἐπαύσαντο ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος τείχους ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς μηνοειδὲς ἐς τὴν πόλιν προσῳκοδόμουν, ὅπως εἰ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἁλίσκοιτο, τοῦτ' ἀντέχοι, καὶ δέοι τοὺς ἐναντίους αὖθις πρὸς αὐτὸ χοῦν, καὶ προχωροῦντας εἴσω διπλάσιόν τε πόνον ἔχειν καὶ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι. 4. ἅμα δὲ τῇ χώσει καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῇ πόλει οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, μίαν μέν, ἣ τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος κατὰ τὸ χῶμα προσαχθεῖσα, ἐπὶ μέγα τε κατέσεισε καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας ἐφόβησεν, ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους, ἃς βρόχους τε περιβάλλοντες ἀνέκλων οἱ Πλαταιῆς, καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἀρτήσαντες ἀλύσεσι μακραῖς σιδηραῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἑκατέρωθεν, ἀπὸ κεραιῶν δύο ἐπικεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπερτεινουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, ἀνελκύσαντες ἐγκαρσίας, ὁπότε προσπεσεῖσθαί πῃ μέλλοι ἡ μηχανή, ἀφίεσαν τὴν δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἁλύσεσι καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες· ἡ δὲ ῥύμῃ ἐμπίπτουσα ἀπεκαύλιζε τὸ προέχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς.

LXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὡς αἵ τε μηχαναὶ οὐδὲν ὠφέλουν καὶ τῷ χώματι τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἐγίγνετο, νομίσαντες ἄπορον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, πρὸς τὴν

... πλίνθων ἀπ... 4. ἐμβαλόντε
καὶ πάσῃ ἅμα τὴν ὕλην· καὶ ἐγένετο φλὸξ τ
πω ἐς γε ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον χειροποίητον εἶδεν·
ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τα
φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκε. 5. τοῦτο δὲ μέγα τε ἦ
ἑας τἆλλα διαφυγόντας ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφ
πολλοῦ χωρίου τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν πελάσαι, πνεῦμ
αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον, ὅπερ καὶ ἤλπιζον οἱ ἐναντίοι,
6. νῦν δὲ καὶ τόδε λέγεται ξυμβῆναι, ὕδωρ ἐξ
βροντὰς γενομένας σβέσαι τὴν φλόγα καὶ οὕτω π
δυνον.

LXXVIII. *Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ καὶ τ*
μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου, [τὸ δὲ
περιετείχιζον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ, διελόμενοι κατὰ π
τάφρος δὲ ἐντός τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντ
πᾶν ἐξείργαστο, περὶ ἀρχτούρου ἐπιτολάς, καταλι
τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασ
τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. 3. Πλε
ἐν καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ π
ῶν ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ἐ
ὑτοὶ δ' ἐπολιορκοῦντο ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι τετρακό
ἐ ὀγδοήκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σιτοπο
τας οἱ ξύ...

τρίτος αὐτός. ἐλθόντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σπάρτωλον τὴν Βοττικὴν τὸν σῖτον διέφθειραν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ προσχωρήσειν ἡ πόλις ὑπό τινων ἔνδοθεν πρασσόντων. 2. προσπεμψάντων δὲ ἐς Ὄλυνθον τῶν οὐ ταῦτα βουλομένων ὁπλῖταί τε ἦλθον καὶ στρατιὰ ἐς φυλακήν· ἧς ἐπεξελθούσης ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου ἐς μάχην καθίστανται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. 3. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὁπλῖται τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ἐπίκουροί τινες μετ' αὐτῶν νικῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σπάρτωλον· οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ψιλοὶ νικῶσι τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ ψιλούς. 4. εἶχον δέ τινας οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης ἄρτι δὲ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύνθου. 5. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου ψιλοὶ ὡς εἶδον, θαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προσγιγνομένοις καὶ ὅτι πρότερον οὐχ ἡσσῶντο, ἐπιτίθενται αὖθις μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰς δύο τάξεις ἃς κατέλιπον παρὰ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. 6. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀποχωροῦσι δὲ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον. οἵ τε ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων προσιππεύοντες, ἢ δοκοῖ προσέβαλλον, καὶ οὐχ ἧκιστα φοβήσαντες, ἔτρεψαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν ἐπὶ πολύ. 7. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καταφεύγουσι, καὶ ὕστερον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους κομισάμενοι, ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀναχωροῦσι τῷ περιόντι τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες. οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ οἱ Βοττιαῖοι τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς αὑτῶν ἀνελόμενοι διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

LXXX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων, Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες, βουλόμενοι Ἀκαρνανίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀποστῆσαι, πείθουσι Λακεδαιμονίους ναυτικόν τε παρασκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος, καὶ ὁπλίτας χιλίους πέμψαι ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν, λέγοντες ὅτι, ἢν ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα μετὰ σφῶν ἔλθωσιν, ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ξυμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων, ῥᾳδίως ἂν Ἀκαρνανίαν σχόντες, καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας κρατήσουσι, καὶ ὁ περίπλους οὐκέτι ἴσοιτο Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως περὶ Πελοπόννησον· ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι καὶ Ναύπακτον λαβεῖν. 2. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες Κνῆμον μέν, ναύαρχον ἔτι ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις

εὐθὺς πέμπουσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ περιήγγειλαν παρασκευασαμένῳ ὡς τάχιστα πλεῖν ἐς Λευκάδα. 3. ἦσαν δὲ Κορίνθιοι ξυμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀποίκοις οὖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἔκ τε Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦν, τὸ δ' ἐκ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀνακτορίου καὶ Ἀμπρακίας πρότερον ἀφικόμενον ἐν Λευκάδι περιέμενε. 4. Κνῆμος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ χίλιοι ὁπλῖται ἐπειδὴ ἐπεραιώθησαν λαθόντες Φορμίωνα, ὃς ἦρχε τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν αἱ περὶ Ναύπακτον ἐφρούρουν, εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν. 5. καὶ αὐτῷ παρῆσαν Ἑλλήνων μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι, καὶ οὓς αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθε χίλιοι Πελοποννησίων, βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο ἐπ' ἐτησίᾳ προστασίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώτυος καὶ Νικάνωρ. ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ μετὰ Χάονων καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι. 6. Μολοσσοὺς δὲ ἦγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος, ἐπίτροπος ὢν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ Παραυαίους Ὀροιδος βασιλεὺς ὤν. Ὀρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ Παραυαίων ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὀροίδῳ Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτρέψαντος. 7. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων χιλίους Μακεδόνων, οἳ ὕστερον ἦλθον. 8. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπορεύετο Κνῆμος, οὐ περιμείνας τὸ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ναυτικόν· καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἰόντες Λιμναίαν κώμην ἀτείχιστον ἐπόρθησαν. ἀφικνοῦνταί τε ἐπὶ Στράτον, πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως ἂν σφίσι τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν.

LXXXI. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δέ, αἰσθόμενοι κατά τε γῆν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἐσβεβληκιῖαν, ἔκ τε θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα τοὺς πολεμίους παρεσομένους, οὔτε ξυνεβοήθουν ἐφύλασσόν τε τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι, παρά τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες ἀμύνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατος ἔφη εἶναι ναυτικοῦ ἐκ Κορίνθου μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν Ναύπακτον ἐρήμην ἀπολιπεῖν. 2. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στρατίων πόλιν, ὅπως ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ λόγῳ πείθοιεν, ἔργῳ πειρῷντο τοῦ τείχους. 3. καὶ μέσον μὲν ἔχοντες προσῄεσαν Χάονες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἐκ δεξιᾶς δ' αὐτῶν Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Κνῆμος καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται· διεῖχον δὲ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ

ἐωρῶντο. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τεταγμένοι τε προσῆεσαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες, ἕως ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ· οἱ δὲ Χάονες, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντες, καὶ ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἠπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι, οὔτ' ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν, χωρήσαντές τε ῥύμῃ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι. 5. γνόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Στράτιοι ἔτι προσιόντας καὶ ἡγησάμενοι, μεμονωμένων εἰ κρατήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι σφίσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμοίως προσελθεῖν, προλοχίζουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν προσπίπτουσι. 6. καὶ ἐς φόβον καταστάντων διαφθείρονται τε πολλοὶ τῶν Χιότων, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ὡς εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας, οὐκέτι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν. 7. τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων οὐδέτερον ἤσθετο τῆς μάχης, διὰ τὸ πολὺ προελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδον οἰηθῆναι καταληψομένους ἐπείγεσθαι. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυναγαγόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡσύχαζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐς χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἰόντων σφίσι τῶν Στρατίων διὰ τὸ μήπω τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀκαρνᾶνας ξυμβεβοηθηκέναι, ἄποθεν δὲ σφενδονώντων καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθιστάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ ὅπλων κινηθῆναι. δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. LXXXII. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νὺξ ἐγένετο, ἀναχωρήσας ὁ Κνῆμος τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμόν, ὃς ἀπέχει σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα Στράτου, τούς τε νεκροὺς κομίζεται τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ Οἰνιαδῶν ξυμπαραγενομένων κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναχωρεῖ παρ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὴν ξυμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν. κἀκεῖθεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστοι. οἱ δὲ Στράτιοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους

LXXXIII. Τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου ταυτικόν, ὃ ἔδει παραγενέσθαι τῷ Κνήμῳ, ὅπως μὴ ξυμβοηθῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες, οὐ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐν Στράτῳ μάχης ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἳ ἐφρούρουν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ. 2. ὁ γὰρ Φορμίων παραπλέοντας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου ἐτήρει, βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι. 3. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπλεον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμέ-

νοι ἐς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς τὰς σφετέρας τολμῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἴκοσι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντιπαραπλέοντάς τε ἑώρων αὐτούς, παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων, καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον διαβαλλόντων ἐπὶ Ἀκαρνανίας, κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ἐφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὴ ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν. 4. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων οἳ παρεσκευάζοντο, Κορινθίων δὲ Μαχάων καὶ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδας. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὡς μέγιστον οἷοί τ' ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πρώρας μὲν ἔξω, εἴσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας, καὶ τά τε λεπτὰ πλοῖα ἃ ξυνέπλει ἐντὸς ποιοῦνται καὶ πέντε ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως ἐκπλέοιεν διὰ βραχέος παραγιγνόμενοι, εἴ πη προσπίπτοιεν οἱ ἐναντίοι. LXXXIV. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι περιέπλεον αὐτοὺς κύκλῳ καὶ ξυνῆγον ἐς ὀλίγον, ἐν χρῷ ἀεὶ παραπλέοντες καὶ δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν· προείρητο δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Φορμίωνος μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ. 2. ἦλπιζε γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ μενεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεζήν, ἀλλὰ ξυμπεσεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ταραχὴν παρέξειν, εἴ τ' ἐκπνεύσαι ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, οὐδένα χρόνον ἡσυχάσειν αὐτούς· καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὁπόταν βούληται, τῶν νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν, καὶ τότε καλλίστην γίγνεσθαι. 3. ὡς δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα κατῄει καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἤδη οὖσαι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν τε πλοίων, ἅμα προσκειμένων ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ ναῦς τε νηὶ προσέπιπτε καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθοῦντο, βοῇ τε χρώμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφυλακῇ τε καὶ ἰοδορίᾳ, οὐδὲν κατήκουον οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων, οὔτε τῶν κελευστῶν, καὶ τὰς κώπας ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐν κλυδωνίῳ ἀναφέρειν ἄνθρωποι ἄπειροι, τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρεῖχον, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον σημαίνει, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπεσόντες πρῶτον μὲν καταδύουσι τῶν στρατηγίδων νεῶν μίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πάσας ᾗ χωρήσειαν διέφθειρον, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν μηδένα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς, φεύγειν δ' ἐς Πάτρας καὶ Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας. 4. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καταδιώξαν-

τες καὶ ναῦς δώδεκα λαβόντες τούς τε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόμενοι ἐς Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ καὶ ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύπακτον. 5. παρέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι εὐθὺς ταῖς περιλοίποις τῶν νεῶν ἐκ τῆς Δύμης καὶ Πατρῶν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον· καὶ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος Κνῆμος καὶ αἱ ἐκεῖθεν νῆες, ἃς ἔδει ταύταις ξυμμῖξαι, ἀφικνοῦνται μετὰ τὴν ἐν Στράτῳ μάχην ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην.

LXXXV. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Κνήμῳ ξυμβούλους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Τιμοκράτην καὶ Βρασίδαν καὶ Λυκόφρονα, κελεύοντες ἄλλην ναυμαχίαν βελτίω παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ὀλίγων νεῶν εἴργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης. 2. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρῶτον ναυμαχίας πειρασαμένοις πολὺς ὁ παράλογος εἶναι, καὶ οὐ τοσούτῳ ῥοντο σφῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν λείπεσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δέ τινα μαλακίαν, οὐκ ἀντιτιθέντες τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐμπειρίαν τῆς σφετέρας δι' ὀλίγου μελέτης. ὀργῇ οὖν ἀπέστελλον. 3. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ Κνήμου ναῦς τε περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας ἐξηρτύοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. 4. πέμπει δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τήν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἀγγελοῦντας, καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἣν ἐνίκησαν φράσοντας, καὶ κελεύων αὐτῷ ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας διὰ τάχους ἀποστεῖλαι, ὡς καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐλπίδος οὔσης ἀεὶ ναυμαχήσειν. 5. οἱ δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν εἴκοσι ναῦς αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ κομίζοντι αὐτὰς προσεπέστειλαν ἐς Κρήτην πρῶτον ἀφικέσθαι. Νικίας γὰρ Κρὴς Γορτύνιος, πρόξενος ὤν, πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Κυδωνίαν πλεῦσαί, φάσκων προσποιήσειν αὐτήν, οὖσαν πολεμίαν· ἐπῆγε δὲ Πολιχνίταις χαριζόμενος, ὁμόροις τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν. 6. καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς ᾤχετο ἐς Κρήτην, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Πολιχνιτῶν ἐδῄου τὴν γῆν τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας ἐνδιέτριψεν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

LXXXVI. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Κρήτην κατείχοντο, παρεσκευασμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, παρέπλευσαν ἐς Πάνορμον τὸν Ἀχαϊκόν, ὑπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσβεβοηθήκει. 2. παρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικόν, καὶ ὡρμίσατο ἔξω αὐτοῦ ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν. 3. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ῥίον φίλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ῥίον ἐστὶν

ἀντιπέρας τὸ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· διέχετον δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων στα-
δίους μάλιστα ἑπτὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, τοῦ δὲ Κρισαίου κόλπου στόμα
τυῦτό ἐστιν. 4. ἐπὶ οὖν τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι,
ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Παυόρμου, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοῖς ὁ πεζὸς ἦν, ὡρμί-
σαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ναυσὶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους εἶδον. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀνθώρμουν
ἀλλήλοις μελετῶντές τε καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὴν ναυμαχίαν, γνώ-
μην ἔχοντες οἱ μὲν μὴ ἐκπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν Ῥίων ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν,
φοβούμενοι τὸ πρότερον πάθος, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς τὰ στενά, νομί-
ζοντες πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ ναυμαχίαν. 6. ἔπειτα ὁ
Κνῆμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατη-
γοί, βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει τὴν ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι, πρίν τι καὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθῆσαι, ξυνεκάλεσαν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρῶ-
τον, καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν προτέραν ἧσσαν
φοβουμένους, καὶ οὐ προθύμους ὄντας, παρεκελεύσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν
τοιάδε.

LXXXVII. Ἡ μὲν γεγομένη ναυμαχία, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννή-
σιοι, εἴ τις ἄρα δι' αὐτὴν ὑμῶν φοβεῖται τὴν μέλλουσαν, οὐχὶ δι-
καίαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι. 2. τῇ τε γὰρ παρασκευῇ εἰδεὴς
ἐγένετο, ὥσπερ ἴστε, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν
ἐπλέομεν· ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐναντιωθῆναι.
καί πού τι καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία πρῶτον ναυμαχοῦντας ἔσφηλεν. 3. ὥστε
οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κακίαν τὸ ἡσσᾶσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ δί-
καιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὑτῷ
ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ
ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ
γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν
τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος προβαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἔν τινι κακοὺς
γενέσθαι. 4. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδ' ἡ ἀπειρία τοσοῦτον λείπεται ὅσον τόλμῃ
προέχετε· τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν
μὲν ἔχουσα καὶ μνήμην ἕξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ
δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει. φόβος γὰρ
μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. 5. πρὸς μὲν
οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ
τὸ διὰ τὴν ἧσσαν δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν. 6. περι-
γίγνεται δὲ ὑμῖν πλῆθός τε νεῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ, οἰκείᾳ οὔσῃ, ὁπλι-

τῶν παρόντων ναυμαχεῖν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένων τὸ κράτος ἐστίν. 7. ὥστε οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν εὑρίσκομεν εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς σφαλλομένους· καὶ ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν πρότερον, τὴν αὐτὰ ταῦτα προσγενόμενα διδασκαλίαν παρέξει. 8. θαρσοῦντες οὖν καὶ κυβερνῆται καὶ ναῦται τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἕπεσθε, χώραν μὴ προλείποντες ἥ ἄν τις προσταχθῇ. 9. τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἡγεμόνων οὐ χεῖρον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμεῖς παρασκευάσομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδώσομεν πρόφασιν οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι· ἢν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ βουληθῇ, κολασθήσεται τῇ πρεπούσῃ ζημίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τιμήσονται τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄθλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς.

LXXXVIII. Τοιαῦται μὲν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις οἱ ἄρχοντες παρεκελεύσαντο. ὁ δὲ Φορμίων, δεδιὼς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀρῥωδίαν, καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐβούλετο ξυγκαλέσας θαρσῦναί τε καὶ παραίνεσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσασθαι. 2. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε, καὶ προπαρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος νεῶν τοσοῦτον, ἢν ἐπιπλέῃ, ὅ,τι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον αὐτοῖς ἐστι· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν μηδένα ὄχλον, Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες, Πελοποννησίων νεῶν ὑποχωρεῖν. 3. τότε δὲ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὄψιν ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας ἐβούλετο ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

LXXXIX. Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, πεφοβημένους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνεκάλεσα, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἐν ὀρῥωδίᾳ ἔχειν. 2. οὗτοι γάρ, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ προνενικῆσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ οἴεσθαι ὁμοῖοι ἡμῖν εἶναι, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, παρεσκευάσαντο· ἔπειτα ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, καὶ οἴονται σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό. 3. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἔνι περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐψυχίᾳ γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑκάτεροί τι ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν. 4. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε, ἡγούμενοι τῶν ξυμμάχων, διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν ἄκοντας προσάγουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπεχείρησαν ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὖθις ναυμαχεῖν. 5. μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν τὴν τόλμαν δείσητε. πολὺ

δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνοις πλέω φόβον παρέχετε καὶ πιστότεροι, κατά τε τὸ προτεινικηκέναι καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦνται, μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ πράξειν, ἀνθίστασθαι ὑμῖν. 6. ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείους, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλέον πίσυνοι ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέρχονται· οἱ δ' ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες ἀντιτολμῶσιν. ἃ λογιζόμενοι οὗτοι τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλέον πεφόβηνται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ. 7. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ. ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ τῇ ἀτολμίᾳ· ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν. 8. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἑκὼν εἶναι ποιήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς πολλὰς ναῦς ἀνεπιστήμονας ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐμπείροις καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσαις ἡ στενοχωρία οὐ ξυμφέρει. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειέ τις ὡς χρὴ ἐς ἐμβολὴν μὴ ἔχων τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ πολλοῦ, οὔτε ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐν δέοντι πιεζόμενος· διέκπλοί τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ ἀναστροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἂν εἴη τὴν ναυμαχίαν πεζομαχίαν καθίστασθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αἱ πλείους νῆες κρείσσους γίγνονται. 9. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἕξω τὴν πρόνοιαν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὔτακτοι παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες τά τε παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δέχεσθε, ἄλλως τε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορμήσεως οὔσης, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστου ἡγεῖσθε, ὃ ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν ξυμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐχ ἥκιστα, ἀμύνασθε δὲ τούσδε ἀξίως τῶν προειργασμένων. 10. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν, ἢ καταλῦσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἢ ἐγγυτέρω καταστῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸν φόβον περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. 11. ἀναμιμνήσκω δ' αὖ ὑμᾶς ὅτι νενικήκατε αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς. ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν αἱ γνῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ὁμοῖαι εἶναι.

XC. Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων παρεκελεύετο. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐπέπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον καὶ τὰ στενά, βουλόμενοι ἄκοντας ἔσω προαγαγεῖν αὐτούς, ἀναγόμενοι ἅμα ἕῳ ἔπλεον, ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου, δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἡγουμένῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὥρμουν· 2. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσι ἔταξαν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως εἰ ἄρα νομίσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον αὐτοὺς πλεῖν ὁ Φορμίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβοηθῶν ταύτῃ παραπλέοι, μὴ διαφύγοιεν πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν

σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως, ἀλλ' αὗται αἱ νῆες περικλήσειαν. 3. ὁ δέ, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι προσεδέχοντο φοβηθεὶς περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ὄντι ὡς ἑώρα ἀναγομένους αὐτούς, ἅμα καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβιβάσας ἔπλει παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμα τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεβοήθει. 4. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας καὶ ἤδη ὄντας ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα, ἀπὸ σημείου ἑνὸς ἅφιω ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπιδὸν ἔπλεον ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἤλπιζον πάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀπολήψεσθαι. 5. τῶν δὲ ἔνδεκα μὲν αἵπερ ἡγοῦντο ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐπικαταλαβόντες ἐξέωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑπουργούσας καὶ διέφθειραν, ἄνδρας τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσοι μὴ ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινας ἀναδούμενοι εἷλκον κενάς, μίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλον· τὰς δέ τινας οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, παραβοηθήσαντες, καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπιβάντες, ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μαχόμενοι ἀφείλοντο ἑλκομένας ἤδη. XCI. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκράτουν τε καὶ ἔφθειραν τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς· αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι νῆες αὐτῶν αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐδίωκον τὰς ἕνδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αἵπερ ὑπεξέφυγον τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν. καὶ φθάνουσιν αὐτοὺς πλὴν μιᾶς τεὼς προκαταφυγοῦσαι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἴσχουσαι ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον παρεσκενάζοντο ἀμυνούμενοι, ἢν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλέωσιν. 2. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστερον, ἐπαιώνιζόν τε ἅμα πλέοντες, ὡς νενικηκότες, καὶ τὴν μίαν ναῦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐδίωκε Λευκαδία ναῦς μία πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. 3. ἔτυχε δὲ ὁλκὰς ὁρμοῦσα μετέωρος, περὶ ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ναῦς φθάσασα τῇ Λευκαδίᾳ διωκούσῃ ἐμβάλλει μέσῃ καὶ καταδύει. 4. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πελοποννησίοις γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκήτου τε καὶ παρὰ λόγον φόβος ἐμπίπτει· καὶ ἅμα ἀτάκτως διώκοντες διὰ τὸ κρατεῖν, αἱ μέν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ, ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν, βουλόμενοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς βραχέα ἀπειρίᾳ χωρίων ὤκειλαν. XCII. τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάρσος τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥρμησαν. οἱ δέ, διὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὴν

παροῦσαν ἀταξίαν, ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμειναν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο. 2. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τάς τε ἐγγὺς οὔσας μάλιστα ναῦς ἔλαβον ἓξ, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀφείλοντο, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες τὸ πρῶτον ἀνεδήσαντο· ἄνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησαν. 3. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Λευκαδίας νεώς, ἣ περὶ τὴν ὑλκάδα κατέδυ, Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος πλέων, ὡς ἡ ναῦς διεφθείρετο, ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐξέπεσεν ἐς τὸν Ναυπακτίων λιμένα. 4. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ὅθεν ἀναγόμενοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ ναυάγια ὅσα πρὸς τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἦν ἀνείλοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπόσπονδα ἀπέδοσαν. 5. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες, τῆς τροπῆς, ἃς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ναῦς διέφθειραν· καὶ ἦνπερ ἔλαβον ναῦν, ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν παρὰ τὸ τροπαῖον. 6. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐσέπλευσαν ἐς τὸν κόλπον Κρισαῖον καὶ Κόρινθον πάντες πλὴν Λευκαδίων. 7. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσίν, αἷς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῷ Φορμίωνι παραγενέσθαι, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

XCIII. Πρὶν δὲ διαλῦσαι τὸ ἐς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον ἀναχωρῆσαν ναυτικόν, ὁ Κνῆμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἀρχομένου τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐβούλοντο διαβάντων Μεγαρέων ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ Πειραιῶς τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἦν δὲ ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἄκλητος εἰκότως, διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ ναυτικῷ. 2. ἐδόκει δὲ λαβόντα τῶν ναυτῶν ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον καὶ τὸν τροπωτῆρα πεζῇ ἰέναι ἐκ Κορίνθου ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀφικομένους κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μέγαρα, καθελκύσαντας ἐκ Νισαίας τοῦ νεωρίου αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἳ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι οὖσαι, πλεῦσαι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· 3. οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσον ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδέν, οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲ εἰ διενοοῦντο, μὴ οὐκ ἂν προισθέσθαι 4. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς· καὶ ἀφικόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ καθελκύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οὐκέτι, ὥσπερ διενοοῦντο, καταδείσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον, καί

τις καὶ ἄνεμος λέγεται αὐτοὺς κωλῦσαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ πρὸς Μέγαρα ὁρῶν· καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν. τῷ τε φρουρίῳ προσέβαλον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφείλκυσαν κεναί, τήν τε ἄλλην Σαλαμῖνα ἀπροσδοκήτοις ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπόρθουν. XCIV. ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας φρυκτοί τε ἤροντο πολέμιοι, καὶ ἔκπληξις ἐγένετο οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὤοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τήν τε Σαλαμῖνα ἡρῆσθαι ἐτόμιζον καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς· ὅπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν μὴ κατοκνῆσαι, ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσε. 2. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πανδημεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον καὶ ἐσβάντες κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ πολλῷ θορύβῳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἔπλεον, τῷ πεζῷ δὲ φυλακὰς τοῦ Πειραιῶς καθίσταντο. 3. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς ἤσθοντο τὴν βοήθειαν, καταδραμόντες τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκ τοῦ Βουδόρου τοῦ φρουρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τῆς Νισαίας ἔπλεον· ἔστι γὰρ ὅ,τι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοὺς διὰ χρόνου καθελκυσθεῖσαι καὶ οὐδὲν στέγουσαι ἐφόβουν. ἀγικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπεχώρησαν πεζοί· 4. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι καταλαβόντες πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἀπέπλευσαν καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυλακὴν ἅμα τοῦ Πειραιῶς μᾶλλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποιοῦντο λιμένων τε κλῄσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ.

XCV. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, τοῦ χειμῶνος τούτου ἄρχομένου, Σιτάλκης ὁ Τήρεω, Ὀδρύσης, Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεύς, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Περδίκκαν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μακεδονίας βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, δύο ὑποσχέσεις, τὴν μὲν βουλόμενος ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι. 2. ὅ τε γὰρ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενος, εἰ Ἀθηναίοις τε διαλλάξειεν ἑαυτόν, κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ πολέμῳ πιεζόμενον, καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, πολέμιον ὄντα, μὴ καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἃ ὑπεδέξατο οὐκ ἐπετέλει· τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αὐτὸς ὡμολογήκει, ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσειν. 3. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν ἕνεκα τὴν ἔφοδον ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τόν τε Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦγε, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, οἳ

ἔτυχον παρόντες τούτων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ἄγωνα· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ναυσί τε καὶ στρατιᾷ ὡς πλείστῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παριγενέσθαι. XCVI. ἀνίσησιν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ὁρμώμενος, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἵμου τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς Ῥοδόπης Θρᾴκας, ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης, ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινόν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἵμον Γέτας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου κατῴκητο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ, ὅμοροί τε τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκευοι, πάντες ἱπποτοξόται. 2. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρᾳκῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιροφόρων, οἳ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλεῖστοι οἰκοῦντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ ἔπειθεν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ ξυνηκολούθουν. 3. ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὧν ἦρχε· καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν μέχρι Γραικῶν Παιόνων καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκομίου ὄρους διὰ Γραικῶν καὶ Λαιαίων ῥεῖ, οὗ ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη. 4. τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλούς, καὶ τούτους αὐτονόμους, Τρῆρες ὥριζον καὶ Τιλαταῖοι· οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ Σκομίου ὄρους καὶ παρήκουσι πρὸς ἥλιον δύσιν μέχρι τοῦ Ὀσκίου ποταμοῦ. ῥεῖ δ' οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ ὁ Ἕβρος· ἔστι δὲ ἔρημον τὸ ὄρος καὶ μέγα, ἐχόμενον τῆς Ῥοδόπης. XCVII. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος, ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα, ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον τὸν μέχρι Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ· αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα, ἢν ἀεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἱστῆται τὸ πνεῦμα, νηὶ στρογγύλῃ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν· ὁδῷ δὲ τὰ ξυντομώτατα ἐξ Ἀβδήρων ἐς Ἴστρον ἀνὴρ εὐζώνως ἐνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ. 2. τὰ μὲν πρὸς θάλασσαν τοσαύτη ἦν· ἐς ἤπειρον δὲ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐς Λαιαίους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα, ταύτῃ γὰρ διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἐγίγνετο, ἡμερῶν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἀνύσαι. 3. φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ὅσον προσῆξαν ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας πλεῖστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος εἴη· καὶ δῶρα οὐκ ἐλάσσω τούτων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου προσεφέρετο, χωρὶς δὲ ὅσα ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή, καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ,

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσί τε καὶ γενναίοις Ὀδρυσῶν. 4. κατεστήσαντο γὰρ τοὐναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τὸν νόμον, ὄντα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θρᾳξί, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ διδόναι, καὶ αἴσχιον ἦν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ τυχεῖν· ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξαι οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. 5. ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ βασιλεία ἰσχύος· τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ, ἰσχύι δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν. 6. ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνος ἓν πρὸς ἓν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ,τι δυνατὸν Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται. XCVIII. Σιτάλκης μὲν οὖν βασιλεύων χώρας τοσαύτης παρεσκευάζετο τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἑτοῖμα ἦν, ἆρας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς, ἔπειτα διὰ Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὄρους, ὃ ἔστι μεθόριον Σίντων καὶ Παιόνων· ἐπορεύετο δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο τεμὼν τὴν ὕλην, ὅτε ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐστράτευσε. 2. τὸ δὲ ὄρος ἐξ Ὀδρυσῶν διιόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἶχον Παίονας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σίντους καὶ Μαίδους. διελθόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δόβηρον τὴν Παιονικήν. 3. πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰ μή τι νόσῳ, προσεγίγνετο δέ· πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν αὐτονόμων Θρᾳκῶν ἀπαράκλητοι ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν ἠκολούθουν, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος λέγεται οὐκ ἔλασσον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων γενέσθαι· 4. καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλέον πεζὸν ἦν, τριτημόριον δὲ μάλιστα ἱππικόν. τοῦ δ' ἱππικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ Ὀδρύσαι παρείχοντο καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Γέται. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ οἱ μαχαιροφόροι μαχιμώτατοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ῥοδόπης αὐτόνομοι καταβάντες, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ξύμμικτος πλήθει φοβερώτατος ἠκολούθει. XCIX. ξυνηθροίζοντο οὖν ἐν τῇ Δοβήρῳ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ὅπως κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐσβαλοῖσιν ἐς τὴν κάτω Μακεδονίαν, ἧς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦρχε. 2. τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Ἀνγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλειμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχα μέν ἐστι τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα, βασιλείας δ' ἔχει καθ' αὑτά. 3. τὴν δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατήρ, καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ

Τημενίδαι, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους, πρῶτον ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν, ἀναστήσαντες μάχῃ ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας, οἳ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ᾤκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἳ νῦν ὅμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσι· 4. τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενήν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἠδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται. 5. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἐορδίας καλουμένης Ἐόρδους, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατῴκηται, καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας Ἄλμωπας. 6. ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τόν τε Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται καὶ Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπῆει.

C. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι ἐπιόντος πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐς τε τὰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσεκομίσθησαν. 2. ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλά, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ᾠκοδόμησε, καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τἆλλα διεκόσμησε, τά τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσονι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτὼ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι. 3. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἐκ τῆς Δοβήρου ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὖσαν ἀρχήν, καὶ εἶλεν Εἰδομένην μὲν κατὰ κράτος, Γορτυνίαν δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία ὁμολογίᾳ, διὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα τοῦ Φιλίππου υἱέος παρόντος· Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μέν, ἑλεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο. 4. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προὐχώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου. ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Βοττιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλὰ τήν τε Μυγδονίαν καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Ἀνθεμοῦντα ἐδῄουν. 5. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεζῷ μὲν οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπεμψάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων, ὅπη δοκοῖ, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Θρᾳκῶν. 6. καὶ ἢ μὲν προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ

τεθωρακισμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους περικλῃόμενοι αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν· ὥστε τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, οὐ νομίζοντες ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πλέον κινδυνεύειν. CI. ὁ δὲ Σιτάλκης πρός τε τὸν Περδίκκαν λόγους ἐποιεῖτο ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστράτευσε καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρῆσαν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἥξειν, δῶρά τε καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ, ἔς τε τοὺς Χαλκιδέας καὶ Βοττιαίους μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμπει, καὶ τειχήρεις ποιήσας ἐδῄου τὴν γῆν. 2. καθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους, οἱ πρὸς νότου οἰκοῦντες Θεσσαλοί, καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπήκοοι Θεσσαλῶν, καὶ οἱ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁ στρατὸς χωρήσῃ, καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν. 3. ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πέραν Στρυμόνος πρὸς βορέαν Θρᾷκες, ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον, Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ Δρῶοι καὶ Δερσαῖοι· αὐτόνομοι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες. 4. παρέσχε δὲ λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμίους Ἕλληνας, μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρήσωσιν. 5. ὁ δὲ τήν τε Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἅμα ἐπέχων ἔφθειρε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο ὧν ἕνεκα ἐσέβαλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σῖτόν τε οὐκ εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει, ἀναπείθεται ὑπὸ Σεύθου τοῦ Σπαρδάκου, ἀδελφιδοῦ ὄντος καὶ μέγιστον μεθ' αὑτὸν δυναμένου, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ἀπελθεῖν. τὸν δὲ Σεύθην κρύφα Περδίκκας ὑποσχόμενος ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσποιεῖται. 6. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς καὶ μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας, τούτων δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἴκου· Περδίκκας δὲ ὕστερον Στρατονίκην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν δίδωσι Σεύθῃ, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σιτάλκου στρατείαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

CII. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦδε τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικὸν διελύθη, Φορμίωνος ἡγουμένου ἐστράτευσαν, παραπλεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ καὶ ἀποβάντες, ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τετρακοσίοις μὲν ὁπλίταις Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τετρακοσίοις δὲ Μεσσηνίων, ἔκ τε Στράτου καὶ Κορόντων καὶ ἄλλων χωρίων ἄνδρας οὐ δοκοῦντας βεβαίους εἶναι, ἐξήλασαν, καὶ Κύνητα τὸν Θεολύτου ἐς Κόροντα καταγαγόντες, ἀνεχώρησαν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. 2. ἐς

γὰρ Οἰνιάδας, ἀεί ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκα
οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατὸν εἶναι χειμῶνος ὄντος στρατεύειν· 3
Ἀχελῴου ποταμοῦ ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπί
Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ
ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξιε
Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον π
τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νή
Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν, τοῦ Ἀχελῴ
ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι, ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἳ ἠπείρωνται, ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ πάσα
πολλῷ τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν. 4. τό τε γὰρ ῥεῖ
μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερόν, αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναί, καὶ ἀλλήλ
προσχώσεως τῷ μὴ σκεδάντυσθαι σύνδεσμοι γίγνονται, π
καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κεῖνται, οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδ
ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ἔρημοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι. 5. λέγεται
δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ
τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν,
ὑπεισπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δεινῶν, πρὶν ἂν εὑρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ
τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικίσηται, ἥτις, ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα, μήπω ὑπὸ
ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο, μηδὲ γῇ ἦν, ὡς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης.
6. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὡς φασι, μόλις κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην
τοῦ Ἀχελῴου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαιτα τῷ
σώματι ἀφ' οὗπερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο.
καὶ κατοικισθεὶς ἐς τοὺς περὶ Οἰνιάδας τόπους, ἐδυνάστευσέ τε,
καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀκαρνᾶνος παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
ἐγκατέλιπε. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνα τοιαῦτα λεγόμενα παρελά-
βομεν.

CIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἅραντες ἐκ τῆς
Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἅμα ἦρι κατέπλευ-
σαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούς τε ἐλευθέρους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκ
τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἄγοντες, οἳ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν, καὶ τὰς
ναῦς ἃς εἷλον. 2. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος καὶ τρίτον ἔτος τῷ
πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

Γ.

I. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσβολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων ὅπη παρείκοι, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν. 2. ἐμμείναντες δὲ χρόνον οὗ εἶχον τὰ σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

II. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουληθέντες μὲν καὶ πρὶν τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἢ διενοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι. 2. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν, καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν, καὶ νεῶν ποίησιν ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. 3. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐτοῖς διάφοροι, καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι, καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ, καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, ξυγγενῶν ὄντων, ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται· καὶ εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη, στερήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς Λέσβου. III. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦσαν γὰρ τετειχισμένοι ὑπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος, μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβον προσπολεμώσασθαι ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας, μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις οὐκ ἔπειθον τοὺς Μυτιληναίους τήν τε ξυνοίκησιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δείσαντες προκαταλαβεῖν ἐβούλοντο. 2. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἑξαπναίως τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἳ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι πλεῖν· Κλεϊππίδης δὲ ὁ Δεινίου τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατήγει. 3. ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν

γὰρ Οἰνιάδας, ἀεί ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνάνων οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατὸν εἶναι χειμῶνος ὄντος στρατεύειν· 3. ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξιεὶς παρ' Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν, τοῦ Ἀχελῴου τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι, ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς προσχοῖ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἳ ἠπείρωνται, ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν. 4. τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερόν, αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναί, καὶ ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως τῷ μὴ σκεδάντυσθαι σύνδεσμοι γίγνονται, παραλλὰξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι, οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ἔρημοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι. 5. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν, ὑπεισπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δεινάτων, πρὶν ἂν εὑρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικίσηται, ἥτις, ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα, μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο, μηδὲ γῇ ἦν, ὡς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης. 6. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὥς φασι, μόλις κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ Ἀχελῴου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαιτα τῷ σώματι ἀφ' οὗπερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο. καὶ κατοικισθεὶς ἐς τοὺς περὶ Οἰνιάδας τόπους, ἐδυνάστευσέ τε, καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀκαρνᾶνος παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκατέλιπε. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνα τοιαῦτα λεγόμενα παρελάβομεν.

CIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἅμα ἦρι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούς τε ἐλευθέρους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἄγοντες, οὓς ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἃς εἷλον. 2. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος καὶ τρίτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

Γ.

I. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσβολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων ὅπη παρείκοι, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν. 2. ἐμμείναντες δὲ χρόνον οὗ εἶχον τὰ σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

II. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουληθέντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἢ διενοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι. 2. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν, καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν, καὶ νεῶν ποίησιν ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι, καὶ ὅσ.. ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. 3. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐτοῖς διάγοροι, καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι, καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ, καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, ξυγγενῶν ὄντων, ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται· καὶ εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη, στερήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς Λέσβου. III. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦσαν γὰρ τετιλαιπωρημένοι ὑπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος, μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβον προσπολεμώσασθαι ταυτικὸν ἔχουσαν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας, μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις οὐκ ἔπειθον τοὺς Μυτιληναίους τήν τε ξυνοίκησιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δείσαντες προκαταλαβεῖν ἐβούλοντο. 2. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίαις τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ, αἷς ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι πλεῖν· Κλεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Δεινίου τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατήγει. 3. ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπιχθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν

ἄφνω, καὶ ἦν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα, εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν ναῦς τε παραδοῦναι καὶ τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ πειθομένων δὲ πολεμεῖν 4. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες ᾤχοντο· τὰς δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα τριήρεις, αἳ ἔτυχον βοηθοὶ παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παροῦσαι, κατέσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο. 5. τοῖς δὲ Μυτιληναίοις ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐς Κῦμοιαν, καὶ πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθών, ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχών, πλῷ χρησάμενος, καὶ τριταῖος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἀφικόμενος, ἀγγέλλει τὸν ἐπίπλουν. 6. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐς τὸν Μαλοέντα ἐξῆλθον, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα φραξάμενοι ἐφύλασσον. IV. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον κατεπλεύσαντες ὡς ἑώρων, ἀπήγγειλαν μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, οὐκ ἐσακουόντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. 2. ἀπαράσκευοι δὲ οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν, ἔκπλουν μέν τινα ἐποιήσαντο τῶν νεῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος, ἔπειτα καταδιωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν λόγους ἤδη προσέφερον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, βουλόμενοι τὰς ναῦς τὸ παραυτίκα, εἰ δύναιντο, ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψασθαι. 3. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὦσι Λέσβῳ πάσῃ πολεμεῖν. 4. καὶ ἀνακωχὴν ποιησάμενοι, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι τῶν τε διαβαλλόντων ἕνα, ᾧ μετέμελεν ἤδη, καὶ ἄλλους, εἴ πως πείσειαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπελθεῖν, ὡς σφῶν οὐδὲν νεωτεριούντων. 5. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν, οἳ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προχωρήσειν. 6. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ταλαιπώρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομισθέντες αὐτοῖς ἔπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἥξει. V. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πρέσβεις ὡς οὐδὲν ἦλθον πράξαντες, ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαι καὶ Ἴμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγοι τινὲς ξυμμάχων. 2. καὶ ἔξοδον μέν τινα πανδημεὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε ἐπηυλίσαντο οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν· 3. ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον, ἐκ Πελο-

ποστήσου καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς βουλόμενοι, εἰ προσγένοιτό τι, κινδυνεύειν. 4. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ Ἑρμαιώνδας Θηβαῖος, οἳ προαπεστάλησαν μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως φθάσαι δὲ οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπίπλουν κρύφα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὕστερον ἐσπλέουσι τριήρει, καὶ παρήνουν πέμπειν τριήρη ἄλλην καὶ πρέσβεις μεθ' ἑαυτῶν· καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν. VI. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολὺ ἐπιῤῥωσθέντες διὰ τὴν τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἰσχύαν ξυμμάχους τε προσεκάλουν, οἳ πολὺ θᾶσσον παρῆσαν ὁρῶντες οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων, καὶ περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐποιοῦντο. 2. καὶ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λέσβιοι προσβεβοηθηκότες ἤδη, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἡ Μαλέα. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο.

VII. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν τριάκοντα καὶ Ἀσώπιον τὸν Φορμίωνος στρατηγόν, κελευσάντων Ἀκαρνάνων τῶν Φορμίωνός τινα σφίσι πέμψαι ἢ υἱὸν ἢ ξυγγενῆ ἄρχοντα. 2. καὶ παραπλέουσαι αἱ νῆες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. 3. ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀποπέμπει τῶν νεῶν πάλιν ἐπ' οἶκον ὁ Ἀσώπιος, αὐτὸς δ' ἔχων δώδεκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ναύπακτον, 4. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἀναστήσας παντδημεί, στρατεύει ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας, καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἔπλευσε καὶ ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς ἐβόησε τὴν χώραν. 5. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεχώρουν, τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀφίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα, καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήριχον ποιησάμενος, ἀναχωρῶν διαφθείρεται αὐτός τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τι μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτόθεν τε ξυμβοηθησάντων καὶ φρουρῶν τινων ὀλίγων. 6. καὶ ὕστερον ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀποπλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λευκαδίων ἐκομίσαντο.

VIII. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεὼς ἐκπεμφθέντες Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεις, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶπον Ὀλυμπίαζε παρεῖναι, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀκούσαντες βουλεύσωνται, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν· ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύ-

τερον ἐνίκα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους, εἶπον τοιάδε.

IX. Τὸ μὲν καθεστὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησι νόμιμον, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἴσμεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφισταμένους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὶν ἀπολείποντας οἱ δεξάμενοι καθ' ὅσον μὲν ὠφελοῦνται, ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ εἶναι προδότας τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων χείρους ἡγοῦνται. 2. καὶ οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσίς ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἵ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνοιντο ἴσοι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ, ἀντίπαλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει, πρόφασίς τε ἐπιεικὴς μηδεμία ὑπάρχοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ὃ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἦν. μηδὲ τῷ χείρους δόξωμεν εἶναι εἰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τιμώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀφιστάμεθα. X. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι, τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιντο καὶ τἆλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται. 2. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκείνων πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. 3. ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἕλλησι. 4. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως εἱπόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν. 5. ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνασθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδουλώθησαν πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων· 6. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύσαμεν. καὶ πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἴχομεν ἡγεμόνας Ἀθηναίους, παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χρώμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτούς, οὓς μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο, κατεστρέψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν, μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο. XI. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἅπαντες, βεβαιότεροι ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλοῦντες, χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἴσειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶχον τοῦ ἡμετέρου

ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὑτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν· ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνειν τι βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προέχων ἂν ἐπελθεῖν ἀποτρέπεται. 2. αὐτόνομοί τε ἐλείφθημεν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἢ ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπείᾳ τε λόγου, καὶ γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτά. 3. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τούς γε ἰσοψήφους ἄκοντας, εἰ μή τι ἠδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆεσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπί τε τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρώτους ξυνεπῆγον, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες, τοῦ ἄλλου περιῃρημένου, ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον ἕξειν. εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἦρξαντο, ἐχόντων ἔτι τῶν πάντων αὐτῶν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς ὅ,τι χρὴ στῆναι, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐχειρώσαντο. 4. τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν παρεῖχέ τινα φόβον, μή ποτε καθ' ἓν γενόμενον, ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ προσθέμενον, κίνδυνον σφίσι παράσχῃ· 5. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ τε κοινοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ προεστώτων περιεγιγνόμεθα. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολύ γ' ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. XII. τίς οὖν αὕτη ἡ φιλία ἐγίγνετο ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστή, ἐν ᾗ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιοῦμεν· ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὔνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε· δέει τε τὸ πλέον ἢ φιλίᾳ κατεχόμενοι ξύμμαχοι ἦμεν· καὶ ὁποτέροις θᾶσσον παράσχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος, οὗτοι πρότεροί τι καὶ παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. 2. ὥστε εἴ τῳ δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες σαφῶς εἰδέναι εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖ. 3. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ ὄντος ἀεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύνασθαι.

XIII. Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσι γνῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν, ἱκανὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ πάλαι, ὅτε ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὡς ὑμᾶς περὶ ἀποστάσεως, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐ προσ-

δεξαμένων κωλυθέντας· νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προϊκαλέσαντο, οὓς ὑπηκούσαμεν, καὶ ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλῆν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπό τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς μετ' Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπό τε Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρῳ, ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι. 2. ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις ἡμῶν θᾶσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκευος· ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον χρὴ ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές τε οἷς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοντες. 3. καιρὸς δὲ ὡς οὔπω πρότερον. νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐφθάραται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνῃ, νῆές τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσίν, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετάχαται, 4. ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν νεῶν ἔχειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ θέρει τῷδε ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλ' ἢ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀμυνοῦνται ἐπιπλέοντας ἢ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται. 5. νομίσῃ τε μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς πέρι οἰκεῖον κίνδυνον ἕξειν. ᾧ γὰρ δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι ἡ Λέσβος, τὴν ὠφέλειαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν παρέξει. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος ὥς τις οἴεται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ὠφελεῖται. 6. ἔστι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡ πρόσοδος, καὶ ἔτι μείζων ἔσται, εἰ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψονται· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποστήσεται ἄλλος τά τε ἡμέτερα προσγενήσεται, πάθοιμέν τ' ἂν δεινότερα ἢ οἱ πρὶν δουλεύοντες. 7. βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν τε προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν μέγα, οὗπερ ὑμῖν μάλιστα προσδεῖ, καὶ Ἀθηναίους ῥᾷον καθαιρήσετε ὑφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ξυμμάχους· θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις προσχωρήσεται· τήν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε ἣν εἴχετε μὴ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. ἢν δ' ἐλευθεροῦντες φαίνησθε, τὸ κράτος τοῦ πολέμου βεβαιότερον ἕξετε. XIV. αἰσχυνθέντες οὖν τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας καὶ Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, ἐν οὗ τῷ ἱερῷ ἴσα καὶ ἑκέται ἐσμέν, ἐπαμύνατε Μυτιληναίοις ξύμμαχοι γενόμενοι, καὶ μὴ πρόησθε ἡμᾶς, ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους, κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθῶσαι ὠφέλειαν ἅπασι δώσοντας, ἔτι δὲ κοινοτέραν τὴν βλάβην, εἰ μὴ πεισθέντων ὑμῶν σφαλησόμεθα. 2. γίγνεσθε δὲ ἄνδρες οἵουσπερ ὑμᾶς οἵ τε Ἕλληνες ἀξιοῦσι, καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος βούλεται.

XV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν, προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, ξυμ-

μάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῖς τε ξυμμάχοις παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος ἔφραζον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν ἰσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν ὡς ποιησόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὁλκοὺς παρεσκεύαζον τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ὡς ὑπεροίσοντες ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπιόντες. 2. καὶ οἱ μὲν προθύμως ταῦτα ἔπρασσον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι βραδέως τε ξυνελέγοντο, καὶ ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομιδῇ ἦσαν καὶ ἀῤῥωστίᾳ τοῦ στρατεύειν.

XVI. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν παρασκευαζομένους, δηλῶσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκασιν, ἀλλ' οἷοί τέ εἰσι μὴ κινοῦντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπιὸν ῥᾳδίως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς ἑκατόν, ἐσβάντες αὐτοί τε πλὴν ἱππέων καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀναγαγόντες ἐπίδειξίν τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς Πελοποννήσου ᾗ δοκοῖ αὐτοῖς. 2. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὁρῶντες πολὺν τὸν παράλογον, τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων ῥηθέντα ἡγοῦντο οὐκ ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἄπορα νομίζοντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα οὐ παρῆσαν, καὶ ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα αὐτῶν πορθοῦσαι, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. 3. ὕστερον δὲ ναυτικὸν παρεσκεύαζον ὅ,τι πέμψουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλῆθος, καὶ ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι. 4. ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνους εἶδον. XVII. καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν αἱ νῆες ἔπλεον ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται δὴ νῆες ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει ἐγένοντο, παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου. 2. τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὔβοιαν καὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσον καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἕτεραι ἑκατὸν ἦσαν, χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐγίγνοντο ἐν ἐνὶ θέρει διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα. 3. καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανάλωσε μετὰ Ποτιδαίας. τήν τε γὰρ Ποτίδαιαν δίδραχμοι ὁπλῖται ἐφρούρουν, αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἡμέρας, τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπολιόρκησαν, ἑξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος, οἳ προαπῆλθον· νῆές τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον. 4. τα μεν

οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπαναλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλεῖσται ἐπληρώθησαν.

XVIII. Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἦσαν, ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν, ὡς προδιδομένην, ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ γῆν, αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροι· καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προὐχώρει ἣ προσεδέχοντο, ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' Ἀντίσσης καὶ Πύῤῥας καὶ Ἐρέσσου, καὶ καταστησάμενοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις βεβαιότερα, καὶ τείχη κρατύναντες διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου. 2. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀντισσαν· καὶ ἐκβοηθείας τινὸς γενομένης πληγέντες ὑπό τε τῶν Ἀντισσαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπέθανόν τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος. 3. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, τούς τε Μυτιληναίους τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ὄντας εἴργειν, πέμπουσι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἤδη ἀρχόμενον Πάχητα τὸν Ἐπικούρου στρατηγόν, καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἑαυτῶν. 4. οἱ δὲ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περιτειχίζουσι Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἁπλῷ τείχει· φρούρια δὲ ἔστιν οἷ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται. 5. καὶ ἡ μὲν Μυτιλήνη κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἀμφοτέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἴργετο, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι.

XIX. Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους τιᾶς δώδεκα, καὶ Λυσικλέα, πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν. 2. ὁ δὲ ἄλλα τε ἠργυρολόγει καὶ περιέπλει, καὶ τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος ἀναβὰς διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον μέχρι τοῦ Σαραδίου λόφου, ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Καρῶν καὶ Ἀναιτῶν, αὐτός τε διαφθείρεται, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς πολλοί.

XX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Πλαταιῆς, ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπιέζοντο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας, οὐδὲ ἄλλη σωτηρία ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκούμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ἢν δύνωνται βιάσασθαι, ἐσηγησαμένου τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς Θεαινέτου τε τοῦ Τολμίδου ἀνδρὸς μάντεως καὶ Εὐτομπίδου τοῦ Δαΐμάχου, ὃς καὶ ἐστρατήγει· 2. ἔπειτα

οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπώκνησάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον, μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐθελονταὶ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. 3. κλίμακας ἐποιήσαντο ἴσας τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ξυνεμετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων, ᾗ ἔτυχε πρὸς σφᾶς οὐκ ἐξαληλιμμένον τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν. ἠριθμοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ ἅμα τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ μέν τινες ἁμαρτήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισμοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες, καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως καθορωμένου ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρησιν τῶν κλιμάκων οὕτως ἔλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλίνθου εἰκάσαντες τὸ μέτρον. XXI. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν τῶν Πελοποννησίων τοιόνδε τῇ οἰκοδομήσει. εἶχε μὲν δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρός τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι, διεῖχον δὲ οἱ περίβολοι ἑκκαίδεκα πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. 2. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες, τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκήματα διανενεμημένα ᾠκοδόμητο, καὶ ἦν ξυνεχῆ ὥστε ἓν φαίνεσθαι τεῖχος παχὺ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον ἀμφοτέρωθεν. 3. διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν μεγάλοι καὶ ἰσοπλατεῖς τῷ τείχει, διήκοντες ἐς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔξω, ὥστε πάροδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν μέσων διήεσαν. 4. τὰς οὖν νύκτας, ὁπότε χειμὼν εἴη νοτερός, τὰς μὲν ἐπάλξεις ἀπέλειπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πύργων ὄντων δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἄνωθεν στεγανῶν, τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος ᾧ περιεφρουροῦντο οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιοῦτον ἦν. XXII. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἅμα ἀσέληνον ἐξῆεσαν· ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἵπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας αἴτιοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τάφρον διέβησαν ἣ περιεῖχεν αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προσέμιξαν τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, ἀπὸ τὸ σκοτεινὸν μὲν οὐ προϊδόντων αὐτῶν, ψόφῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος τοῦ ἀνέμου οὐ κατακουσάντων· 2. ἅμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολὺ ἦεσαν, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα αἴσθησιν παρέχοι. ἦσαν δὲ εὐσταλεῖς τε τῇ ὁπλίσει, καὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν πόδα μόνον ὑποδεδεμένοι, ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. 3. κατὰ οὖν μεταπύργιον προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐρημοί εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες καὶ προσέθεσαν· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροίβου καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη.

μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἑπόμενοι ἐξ ἑφ' ἑκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις ἐχώρουν, οἷς ἕτεροι κατόπιν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ῥᾷον προσβαίνοιεν, καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειν ὁπότε πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶησαν. 4. ὡς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἤσθοντο οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἢ πεσοῦσα δοῦπον ἐποίησε. 5. καὶ αὐτίκα βοὴ ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἤδει ὅ, τι ἦν τὸ δεινὸν σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐξελθόντες προσέβαλον τῷ τείχει τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τοὔμπαλιν ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως ἥκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν. 6. ἐθορυβοῦντο μὲν οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν εἰκάσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον. 7. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοηθεῖν εἴ τι δέοι, ἐχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν. φρυκτοί τε ἤροντο ἐς τὰς Θήβας πολέμιοι· παρατῖσχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους φρυκτοὺς πολλούς, πρότερον παρεσκευασμένους ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμίοις ᾖ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν, ἄλλο τι νομίσαντες τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι ἢ τὸ ὄν, πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐξιόντες διαφύγοιεν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλάβοιντο

XXIII. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀναβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, τάς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων ἑστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν εἶργον βάλλοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ, οἱ πλείους, πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας ἅμα, καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες, διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου ὑπερέβαινον. 2. ὁ δὲ διακομιζόμενος ἀεὶ ἵστατο ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, εἴ τις παραβοηθῶν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος κωλυτὴς γίγνοιτο τῆς διαβάσεως. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες διεπεπεραίωντο, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι, καταβαίνοντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέροντο λαμπάδας ἔχοντες. 4. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πλαταιῆς ἐκείνοις ἐώρων μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους, ἑστῶτες ἐπὶ τοῦ

χείλους τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄντες ἧσσον διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας καθεωρῶντο, 5. ὥστε φθάνουσι τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ οἱ ὕστατοι διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως· κρύσταλλός τε γὰρ ἐπεπήγει οὐ βέβαιος ἐν αὐτῇ ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷος ἀπηλιώτου ἢ βορέου ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον, καὶ ἡ νὺξ τοιούτῳ ἀνέμῳ ὑπονειφομένη πολὺ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐποιήκει, ὧν μόλις ὑπερέχοντες ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ διαφευξις αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος. XXIV. ὁρμήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταιῆς, ἐχώρουν ἀθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θίβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀτδροκράτους ἱρῷον, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἅμα ἑώρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς, τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν φέρουσαν, μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας. 2. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ σταδίους οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐχώρησαν, ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἦεσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὁδόν, ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ Τσιάς, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν ὀρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄνδρες δώδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ πλειόνων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες αὐτῶν οἳ ἀπετρέποντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν, εἷς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξω τάφρῳ τοξότης ἐλήφθη. 3. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο τῆς βοηθείας παυσάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς τῶν μὲν γεγενημένων εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ ἀποτραπομένων σφίσιν ἀπαγγειλάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς περίεστι, κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐσπέδοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, μαθόντες δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐπαύσαντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες οὕτως ὑπερβάντες ἐσώθησαν.

XXV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος, ἐκπέμπεται Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐς Μυτιλήνην τριήρει. καὶ πλεύσας ἐς Πύρραν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πεζῇ κατὰ χαράδραν τινά, ἣ ὑπερβατὸν ἦν τὸ περιτείχισμα, διαλαθὼν ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, καὶ ἔλεγε τοῖς προέδροις ὅτι ἐσβολή τε ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔσται, καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες παρέσονται ἃς ἔδει βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς, προαποπεμφθῆναί τε αὐτὸς τούτων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελησόμενος. 2. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐθάρσουν τε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἧσσον εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὥστε ξυμβαίνειν. ὃ

τε χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκιδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

XXVI. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἔχοντα Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος, προστάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφοτέρωθεν θορυβούμενοι, ἧσσον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεούσαις ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν. 2. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος υἱέος, βασιλέως ὄντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἔτι, πατρὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὤν. 3. ἐδήωσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τά τε πρότερον τετμημένα [καὶ] εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο· καὶ ἡ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη χαλεπωτάτη ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν. 4. ἐπιμένοντες γὰρ ἀεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσβου τι πεύσεσθαι τῶν νεῶν ἔργον, ὡς ἤδη πεπεραιωμένων, ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς ὧν προσεδέχοντο, καὶ ἐπελελοίπει ὁ σῖτος, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

XXVII. Οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς αἵ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἧκον ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀλλὰ ἐνεχρόνιζον, καὶ ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἀναγκάζονται ξυμβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τάδε. 2. ὁ Σάλαιθος καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ προσδεχόμενος ἔτι τὰς ναῦς ὁπλίζει τὸν δῆμον, πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα, ὡς ἐπεξιὼν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· 3. οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἔλαβον ὅπλα, οὔτε ἠκροῶντο ἔτι τῶν ἀρχόντων, κατὰ ξυλλόγους τε γιγνόμενοι, ἢ τὸν σῖτον ἐκέλευον τοὺς δυνατοὺς φέρειν ἐς τὸ φανερόν, καὶ διανέμειν ἅπασιν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ξυγχωρήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. XXVIII. γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν οὔτ' ἀποκωλύσειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, εἴ τ' ἀπομοσωθήσονται τῆς ξυμβάσεως, κινδυνεύσοντες, ποιοῦνται κοινῇ ὁμολογίαν πρός τε Πάχητα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ἐξεῖναι βουλεῦσαι περὶ Μυτιληναίων ὁποῖον ἄν τι βούλωνται καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, πρεσβείαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας Μυτιληναίους περὶ ἑαυτῶν· ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πάλιν ἔλθωσι, Πάχητα μήτε δῆσαι Μυτιληναίων μηδένα, μήτε ἀνδραποδίσαι, μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡ μὲν ξύμβασις αὕτη ἐγένετο. Οἱ δὲ πραξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων παρισεῖς ὄντες, ὡς ἡ στρατιὰ ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς

βωμὸς οὓς ὅμως καθίζουσι· Πάχης δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, κατατίθεται ἐς Τένεδον μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξῃ. 3. πέμψας δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἄντισσαν τριήρεις προσεκτήσατο καὶ τἆλλα τὰ περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο ᾗ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

XXIX. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, οὓς ἔδει ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι, πλέοντες περί τε αὐτὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐνδιέτριψαν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦν σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίους λανθάνουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον, προσμίξαντες δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ πυνθάνονται πρῶτον ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἐάλωκε. 2. βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι κατέπλευσαν ἐς Ἔμβατον τῆς Ἐρυθραίας· ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἁλωκυίᾳ ἑπτὰ ὅτ' ἐς τὸ Ἔμβατον κατέπλευσαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκ τῶν παρόντων· καὶ ἔλεξεν αὐτοῖς Τευτίαπλος ἀνὴρ Ἠλεῖος τάδε. XXX. Ἀλκίδα καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι πάρεσμεν ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Μυτιλήνην πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι ὥσπερ ἔχομεν. 2. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀνδρῶν νεωστὶ πόλιν ἐχόντων πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον εὑρήσομεν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνυ, ᾗ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἄν τινα σφίσι πολέμιον, καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τυγχάνει μάλιστα οὖσα· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατ' οἰκίας ἀμελέστερον ὡς κεκρατηκότων διεσπάρθαι. 3. εἰ οὖν προσπέσοιμεν ἅφνω τε καὶ νυκτός, ἐλπίζω μετὰ τῶν ἔνδον, εἴ τις ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὑπόλοιπος εὔνους, καταληφθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα. καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον, νομισαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ εἴ τις στρατηγὸς ἔν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν ἐπιχειροίη, πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο. XXXI. ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀλκίδαν. ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας φυγάδων καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι ξυμπλέοντες παρῆνουν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον φοβεῖται, τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινα ἢ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν. ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀκουσίως ἀφέξεσθαι· καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ταύτην μεγίστην οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἣν ὑφέλωσι καὶ ἅμα ἣν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς, δαπάνῃ σφίσι γίγνηται, πείσειν τε οἴεσθαι καὶ Πισσούθνην ὥστε ξυμπολεμεῖν. 2. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐνεδέχετο, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον

τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὑστερήκει, ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πάλιν προσμῖξαι. XXXII. ἅρας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρέπλει· καὶ προσχὼν Μυοννήσῳ τῇ Τηίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὓς κατὰ πλοῦν εἱλήφει ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς πολλούς. 2. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον καθορμισαμένου αὐτοῦ, Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίου ἀφικόμενοι πρέσβεις ἔλεγον οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτόν, εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν οὔτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους οὔτε πολεμίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ξυμμάχους· εἴ τε μὴ παύσεται, ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς φιλίαν προσάξεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων πολεμίους ἕξειν. 3. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπείσθη τε καὶ Χίων ἄνδρας ὅσους εἶχεν ἔτι ἀφῆκε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινάς· ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὰς ναῦς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔφευγον, ἀλλὰ προσεχώρουν μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον, μή ποτε, Ἀθηναίων τῆς θαλάσσης κρατούντων, ναῦς Πελοποννησίων εἰς Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν. XXXIII. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου ὁ Ἀλκίδας ἔπλει κατὰ τάχος καὶ φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο· ὥφθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου ἔτι περὶ Ἴκαρον ὁρμῶν, αἱ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔτυχον πλέουσαι, καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν δίωξιν ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ὡς γῇ ἑκούσιος οὐ σχήσων ἄλλῃ ἢ Πελοποννήσῳ. 2. τῷ δὲ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἀγγελία, ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν· ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας, μέγα τὸ δέος ἐγένετο, μὴ παραπλέοντες οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, εἰ καὶ ὡς μὴ διενοοῦντο μένειν, πορθῶσιν ἅμα προσπέπτοντες τὰς πόλεις. αὐτάγγελοι δ' αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσαι ἐν τῇ Ἰκάρῳ ἥ τε Πάραλος καὶ ἡ Σαλαμινία ἔφρασαν. 3. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Πάτμου τῆς νήσου ἐπεδίωξεν, ὡς δ' οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο, ἐπανεχώρει. κέρδος δὲ ἐνόμισεν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ μετεώροις περιέτυχεν, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι ἠναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ φυλακὴν σφίσι καὶ ἐφόρμησιν παρασχεῖν. XXXIV. παραπλέων δὲ πάλιν ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, οὗ κατῴκηντο Κολοφώνιοι, τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἐαλωκυίας ὑπὸ Ἰταμάνους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίαν ἐπαχθέντων· ἑάλω δὲ μάλιστα αὕτη ὅτε ἡ δευτέρα Πελοποννησίων ἐσβολὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐγίγνετο. 2. ἐν οὖν τῷ Νοτίῳ οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες αὐτόθι, αὖθις στασιάσαντες, οἱ μέν, παρὰ Πισσούθνου ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων τε

καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπαγόμενοι, ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Κολοφωνίων οἱ μηδίσαντες ξυνεσελθοντες ἐπολίτευον, οἱ δὲ ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους καὶ ὄντες φυγάδες τὸν Πάχητα ἐπάγονται. 3. ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἱππίαν τὸν ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων ἄρχοντα, ὥστε, ἢν μηδὲν ἀρέσκον λέγῃ, πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος σῶν καὶ ὑγιᾶ, ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε παρ' αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσβιαλὼν τῷ τειχίσματι ἐξαπιναίως καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων αἱρεῖ, τούς τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐνῆσαν διαφθείρει· καὶ τὸν Ἱππίαν ὕστερον ἐσαγαγὼν ὥσπερ ἐσπείσατο, ἐπειδὴ ἔνδον ἦν, ξυλλαμβάνει καὶ κατατοξεύει. 4. Κολοφωνίοις δὲ Νότιον παραδίδωσι, πλὴν τῶν μηδισάντων. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκιστὰς πέμψαντες κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους κατῴκισαν τὸ Νότιον, ξυναγαγόντες πάντας ἐκ τῶν πόλεων εἴ πού τις ἦν Κολοφωνίων.

XXXV. Ὁ δὲ Πάχης ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην τήν τε Πύῤῥαν καὶ Ἔρεσσον παρεστήσατο, καὶ Σάλαιθον λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον κεκρυμμένον, ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Τενέδου Μυτιληναίων ἄνδρας ἅμα οὓς κατέθετο, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλέον. 2. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπομένων καθίστατο τὰ περὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Λέσβον ᾗ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει. XXXVI. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ Σαλαίθου, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μὲν Σάλαιθον εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἔστιν ἃ παρεχόμενον, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν, ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ἀπάξειν Πελοποννησίους· 2. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἅπαντας Μυτιληναίους ὅσοι ἡβῶσι, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσαι, ἐπικαλοῦντες τήν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ προσξυνεβάλετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὁρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ βραχείας διανοίας ἐδύκουν τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιήσασθαι. 3. πέμπουσιν οὖν τριήρη ὡς Πάχητα ἄγγελον τῶν δεδογμένων, κατὰ τάχος κελεύοντες διαχρήσασθαι Μυτιληναίους. 4. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά τις εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς ὡμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνῶσθαι

πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. 5. ὡς δ' ἤσθον τοῦτο τῶν Μυτιληναίων οἱ παρόντες πρέσβεις, καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμπράσσοντες, παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὥστε αὖθις γνώμας προθεῖναι· καὶ ἔπεισαν ῥᾷον, διότι καὶ ἐκείνοις ἔνδηλον ἦν βουλόμενον τὸ πλέον τῶν πολιτῶν αὖθίς τινας σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι βουλεύσασθαι. 6. κατασταθείσης δ' εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλαι τε γνῶμαι ἀφ' ἑκάστων ἐλέγοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐτεκμήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν, τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πι ανώτατος, παρελθὼν αὖθις ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

XXXVII. Πολλάκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑμετέρᾳ περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελείᾳ. 2. διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους τὸ αὐτὸ ἔχετε, καὶ ὅ,τι ἂν ἢ λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἁμάρτητε ἢ οἴκτῳ ἐνδῶτε, οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως ἡγεῖσθε ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν τῶν ξυμμάχων χάριν μαλακίζεσθαι, οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους, οἳ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἰσχύι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ περιγένησθε. 3. πάντων δὲ δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξῃ πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις, ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, οἵ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις. 4. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε νόμων σοφώτεροι βούλονται φαίνεσθαι τῶν τε ἀεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν περιγίγνεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσιν οὐκ ἂν δηλώσαντες τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τὰ πολλὰ σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις· οἱ δ' ἀπιστοῦντες τῇ ἑαυτῶν ξυνέσει ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγοι, κριταὶ δὲ ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγωνισταὶ ὀρθοῦνται τὰ πλείω. 5. ὡς οὖν χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντας μή, δεινότητι καὶ ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι ἐπαιρομένους, παρὰ δόξαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει παραινεῖν.

XXXVIII. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ θαυμάζω μὲν τῶν προθέντων αὖθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων λέγειν, καὶ χρόνου διατρ-

βὴν ἐμποιησάντων, ὅ ἐστι πρὸς τῶν ἠδικηκότων μᾶλλον· ὁ γὰρ παθων τῷ δράσαντι ἀμβλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὀργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀμύνασθαι δὲ τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, ἀντίπαλον ὄν, μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει· θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται ὁ ἀντερῶν, καὶ ἀξιώσων ἀποφαίνειν, τὰς μὲν Μυτιληναίων ἀδικίας ἡμῖν ὠφελίμους οὔσας, τὰς δ' ἡμετέρας ξυμφορὰς τοῖς ξυμμάχοις βλαβερὰς καθισταμένας. 2. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἢ τῷ λέγειν πιστεύσας τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν ἀνταποφῆναι ὡς οὐκ ἔγνωσται ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν, ἢ κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου ἐκπονήσας παράγειν πειράσεται. 3. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐκ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων τὰ μὲν ἆθλα ἑτέροις δίδωσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει. 4. αἴτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη, οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ ἀκουσθέν, ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων· 5. καὶ μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι, μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ μὴ ξυνέπεσθαι ἐθέλειν· δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν ἀεὶ ἀτόπων, ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθότων· 6. καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος δύνασθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι μὴ ὕστεροι ἀκολουθῆσαι δοκεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ, ὀξέως δέ τι λέγοντος προεπαινέσαι, καὶ προαισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα· 7. ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν, φρονοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἱκανῶς· ἁπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις.

XXXIX. ὧν ἐγὼ πειρώμενος ἀποτρέπειν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνω Μυτιληναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν ἠδικηκότας ὑμᾶς. 2. ἐγὼ γάρ, οἵτινες μὲν μὴ δυνατοὶ φέρειν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχὴν ἢ οἵτινες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀπέστησαν, ξυγγνώμην ἔχω· νῆσον δὲ οἵτινες ἔχοντες μετὰ τειχῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μόνον φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριήρων παρασκευῇ οὐκ ἄφρακτοι ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτούς, αὐτόνομοί τε οἰκοῦντες καὶ τιμώμενοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑφ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο, τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν, ἀπόστασις μέν γε τῶν βιαιόν τι πασχόντων ἐστίν, ἐζήτησάν τε μετὰ

τῶν πολεμιωτάτων ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθεῖραι; καίτοι δεινότερόν ἐστιν ἢ εἰ καθ' αὑτοὺς δύναμιν κτώμενοι ἀντεπολέμησαν. 3. παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε αἱ τῶν πέλας ξυμφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ὅσοι ἀποστάντες ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐχειρώθησαν, οὔτε ἡ παροῦσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά· γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως, πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἰσχὺν ἀξιώσαντες τοῦ δικαίου προθεῖναι· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ᾠήθησαν περιέσεσθαι, ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀδικούμενοι. 4. εἴωθε δὲ τῶν πόλεων αἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ, ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχοῦντα ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαν· καὶ κακοπραγίαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ῥᾷον ἀπωθοῦνται ἢ εὐδαιμονίαν διασώζονται. 5. χρῆν δὲ Μυτιληναίους καὶ πάλαι μηδὲν διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τετιμῆσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τόδε ἐξύβρισαν· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπεῖκον θαυμάζειν. κολασθήτωσαν δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀξίως τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μὲν ὀλίγοις ἡ αἰτία προστεθῇ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπολύσητε. 6. πάντες γὰρ ἡμῖν γε ὁμοίως ἐπέθεντο, οἷς γ' ἐξῆν ὡς ἡμᾶς τρεπομένους νῦν πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι. ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιότερον ξυναπέστησαν. 7. τῶν τε ξυμμάχων, σκέψασθε, εἰ τοῖς τε ἀναγκασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἑκοῦσιν ἀποστᾶσι τὰς αὐτὰς ζημίας προσθήσετε, τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ βραχείᾳ προφάσει ἀποστήσεσθαι, ὅταν ἢ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσις ἢ ἢ σφαλέντι μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον; 8. ἡμῖν δὲ πρὸς ἑκάστην πόλιν ἀποκινδυνεύσεται τά τε χρήματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαί. καὶ τυχόντες μὲν πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβόντες τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου, δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν, τὸ λοιπὸν στερήσεσθε, σφαλέντες δὲ πολεμίους πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἕξομεν· καὶ ὃν χρόνον τοῖς νῦν καθεστηκόσι δεῖ ἐχθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι, τοῖς οἰκείοις ξυμμάχοις πολεμήσομεν. XL. οὔκουν δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὔτε χρήμασιν ὠνητήν, ὡς ξυγγνώμην ἁμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται. ἄκοντες μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔβλαψαν, εἰδότες δὲ ἐπεβούλευσαν· ξύγγνωμον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον. 2. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πρῶτον καὶ νῦν διαμάχομαι μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα, μηδὲ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ. οἴκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, ἁμαρτάνειν. 3. ἔλεός τε γὰρ

πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους δίκαιος ἀντιδίδοσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὔτ' ἀντοικτιοῦντας ἐξ ἀνάγκης τε καθεστῶτας ἀεὶ πολεμίους· οἵ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες ἔξουσι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡ μὲν πόλις βραχέα ἡσθεῖσα μεγάλα ζημιώσεται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὖ εἰπεῖν τὸ παθεῖν εὖ ἀντιλήψονται· καὶ ἡ ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιτηδείους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον δίδοται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους τε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧσσον πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους. 4. ἓν δὲ ξυνελὼν λέγω, πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τά τε δίκαια ἐς Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δὲ γνόντες τοῖς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαιώσεσθε. εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσῆκον ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε τοῦτο δρᾶν, παρὰ τὸ εἰκός τι καὶ τούσδε ξυμφόρως δεῖ κολάζεσθαι, ἢ παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. 5. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ ἀξιώσατε ἀμύνασθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀναλγητότεροι οἱ διαφεύγοντες τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων φανῆναι, ἐνθυμηθέντες, ἃ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι κρατήσαντας ἡμῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προϋπάρξαντας ἀδικίας. 6. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ μὴ ξὺν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται καὶ διόλλυνται, τὸν κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου ἐχθροῦ. ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθὼν χαλεπώτερος διαφυγὼν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ. 7. μὴ οὖν προδόται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, γενόμενοι δ' ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ὡς πρὸ παντὸς ἂν ἐτιμήσασθε αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι, νῦν ἀνταπόδοτε μὴ μαλακισθέντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα μηδὲ τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτὲ δεινοῦ ἀμνημονοῦντες. 8. κολάσατε δὲ ἀξίως τούτους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε, ὃς ἂν ἀφιστῆται, θανάτῳ ζημιωσόμενον. τόδε γὰρ ἢν γνῶσιν, ἧσσον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντες τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθε ξυμμάχοις.

XLI. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων εἶπε. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν Διόδοτος ὁ Εὐκράτους, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέλεγε μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους, παρελθὼν καὶ τότε ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

XLII. Οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὖθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων αἰτιῶμαι, οὔτε τοὺς μεμφομένους μὴ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι ἐπαινῶ, νομίζω δὲ δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα εὐβουλίᾳ εἶναι, τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν, ὧν τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνε-

σθαι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ βραχύτητος γνώμης. 2. τούς τε λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἢ ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει ἀξύνετος μέν, εἰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἡγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ βουλόμενός τι αἰσχρὸν πεῖσαι εὖ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλῆξαι ἂν τούς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους. 3. χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προσκατηγοροῦντες ἐπίδειξίν τινα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κατηγιῶντο, ὁ μὴ πείσας ἀξυνετώτερος ἂν δόξας εἶναι ἢ ἀδικώτερος ἀπεχώρει. ἀδικίας δ' ἐπιφερομένης πείσας τε ὕποπτος γίγνεται, καὶ μὴ τυχὼν μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας καὶ ἄδικος. 4. ἥ τε πόλις οὐκ ὠφελεῖται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· φόβῳ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν ξυμβούλων. καὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἂν πεισθείησαν ἁμαρτάνειν. 5. χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου φαίνεσθαι ἄμεινον λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ σώφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλεῖστα εὖ βουλεύοντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα, γνώμης οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀτιμάζειν. 6. οὕτω γὰρ ὅ τε κατορθῶν ἥκιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι, ὅ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχὼν ὀρέγοιτο τῷ αὐτῷ χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτὸς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. XLIII. ὧν ἡμεῖς τἀναντία δρῶμεν, καὶ προσέτι, ἤν τις καὶ ὑποπτεύηται κέρδους μὲν ἕνεκα, τὰ βέλτιστα δ' ὅμως λέγειν, φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκήσεως τῶν κερδῶν, τὴν φανερὰν ὠφέλειαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα. 2. καθέστηκε δὲ τἀγαθά, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα, μηδὲν ἀνυποπτότερα εἶναι τῶν κακῶν, ὥστε δεῖν ὁμοίως τόν τε τὰ δεινότατα βουλόμενον πεῖσαι, ἀπάτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὸν τὰ ἀμείνω λέγοντα, ψευσάμενον, πιστὸν γενέσθαι. 3. μόνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὰς περιστάσεις εὖ ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον· ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς φανερῶς τι ἀγαθὸν ἀνυποπτεύεται ἀφανῶς πη πλέον ἕξειν. 4. χρὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦντι, ἡμᾶς περαιτέρω προνοοῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν δι' ὀλίγου σκοπούντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπεύθυνον τὴν παραίνεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν. 5. εἰ γὰρ ὅ τε πείσας καὶ ὁ ἐπισπόμενος ὁμοίως ἐβλάπτοντο, σωφρονέστερον ἂν ἐκρίνετε. νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἤρτηνα

τύχητε ἔστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ πείσαντος μίαν γνώμην ζημιοῦτε, καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν, εἰ πολλαὶ οὖσαι ξυνεξήμαρτον. XLIV. ἐγὼ δὲ παρῆλθον οὔτε ἀντερῶν περὶ Μυτιληναίων οὔτε κατηγορήσων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδικίας ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐβουλίας. 2. ἦν τε γὰρ ἀποφήνω πάνυ ἀδικοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ξυμφέρον· ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντές τι ξυγγνώμης εἶεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιτο. 3. νομίζω δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον βουλεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ παρόντος. καὶ τοῦτο ὃ μάλιστα Κλέων ἰσχυρίζεται, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμφέρον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἧσσον ἀφίστασθαι θάνατον ξημίαν προθεῖσι, καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλον καλῶς ἔχοντος ἀντισχυριζόμενος τἀναντία γιγνώσκω. 4. καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀπώσασθαι. δικαιότερος γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐς Μυτιληναίους τάχα ἂν ἐπισπάσαιτο· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῶν δικαίων δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως ἕξουσιν. XLV. ἐν οὖν ταῖς πόλεσι πολλῶν θανάτου ζημία πρόκειται καὶ οὐκ ἴσων τῷδε ἀλλ' ἐλασσόνων ἁμαρτημάτων· ὅμως δέ, τῇ ἐλπίδι ἀπαιρόμενοι, κινδυνεύουσι καὶ οὐδείῳ πω, καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ περιέσεσθαι τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι, ἦλθεν ἐς τὸ δεινόν. 2. πόλις τε ἀφισταμένη τίς πω ἧσσω τῇ δοκήσει ἔχουσα τὴν παρασκευὴν ἢ οἰκείαν ἢ ἄλλων ξυμμαχίᾳ τούτῳ ἐπεχείρησε; 3. πεφύκασί τε ἅπαντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὅστις ἀπείρξει τούτου, ἐπεὶ διεξεληλύθασί γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι προστιθέντες, εἴπως ἧσσον ἀδικοῖντο ὑπὸ τῶν κακούργων. καὶ εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων μαλακωτέρας κεῖσθαι αὐτάς, παραβαινομένων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αἱ πολλαὶ ἀνήκουσι· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβαίνεται. 4. ἢ τοίνυν δεινότερόν τι τούτου δέος εὑρετέον ἐστὶν ἢ τόδε γε οὐδὲν ἐπίσχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πενία ἀνάγκῃ τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ δ' ἐξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἑκάστη τις κατέχεται ὑπ' ἀηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος, ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους. 5. ἥ τε ἐλπὶς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος, ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐκφροντίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα πλεῖστα βλάπτουσι, καὶ ὄντα ἀφανῆ κρείσσω ἐστὶ τῶν

ὁρωμένων δεινῶν. 6. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ξυμβάλλεται ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν· ἀδοκήτως γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε παρισταμένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κινδυνεύειν τινὰ προάγει, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τὰς πόλεις, ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἕκαστος ἀλογίστως ἐπὶ πλέον τι αὐτὸν ἐδόξασεν. 7. ἁπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εἰηθείας, ὅστις οἴεται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὁρμωμένης προθύμως τι πρᾶξαι ἀποτροπήν τινα ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἰσχύι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ δεινῷ. XLVI. οὔκουν χρὴ οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ ὡς ἐχεγγύῳ πιστεύσαντας, χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι, οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον καταστῆσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγνῶναι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καταλῦσαι. 2. σκέψασθε γὰρ ὅτι νῦν μέν, ἤν τις καὶ ἀποστᾶσα πόλις γνῷ μὴ περιεσομένη, ἦλθοι ἂν ἐς ξύμβασιν δυνατὴ οὖσα ἔτι τὴν δαπάνην ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖν· ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα οἴεσθε ἥντινα οὐκ ἄμεινον μὲν ἢ νῦν παρασκευάσασθαι, πολιορκίᾳ τε παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τοὔσχατον, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ ταχὺ ξυμβῆναι; 3. ἡμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη δαπανᾶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον, καὶ ἣν ἕλωμεν πόλιν, ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; ἰσχύομεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷδε. 4. ὥστε οὐ δικαστὰς ὄντας δεῖ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἀκριβεῖς βλάπτεσθαι, ἢ ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον μετρίως κολάζοντες, ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεινότητος ἀξιοῦν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας. 5. οὗ νῦν τἀναντία δρῶντες, ἤν τινα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον, εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα, χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖσθαι. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐχ, ἀφισταμένους, σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι σφόδρα φυλάσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως μηδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιαν τούτου ἴωσι, κρατήσαντάς τε ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν. XLVII. ὑμεῖς δὲ σκέψασθε ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἁμαρτάνοιτε Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι. 2. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν εὔνους ἐστί, καὶ ἢ οὐ ξυναφίσταται τοῖς ὀλίγοις, ἢ ἐὰν βιασθῇ ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀποστήσασι πολέμιος εὐθύς, καὶ τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος ξύμμαχον ἔχοντες ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε. 3. εἰ δὲ διαφθερεῖτε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μυτιληναίων, ὃς οὔτε μετέσχε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐπειδή τε ὅπλων ἐκρά-

σησεν, ἐκὼν παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀδικήσετε τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτείνοντες, ἔπειτα καταστήσετε τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὃ βούλονται μάλιστα· ἀφιστάντες γὰρ τὰς πόλεις, τὸν δῆμον εὐθὺς ξύμμαχον ἕξουσι, προδεξάντων ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ζημίαν τοῖς τε ἀδικοῦσιν ὁμοίως κεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς μή. 4. δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰ ἠδίκησαν μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ὃ μόνον ἡμῖν ἔτι ξύμμαχόν ἐστι μὴ πολέμιον γένηται. 5. καὶ τοῦτο πολλῷ ξυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι ἐς τὴν κάθεξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἑκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι ἢ δικαίως οὓς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ὂν ἅμα γίγνεσθαι.

XLVIII. ὑμεῖς δὲ γνόντες ἀμείνω τάδε εἶναι καὶ μήτε οἵκτῳ πλέον νείμαντες μήτ' ἐπιεικείᾳ, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐῶ προσάγεσθαι, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων, πείθεσθέ μοι Μυτιληναίων οὓς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς ἀδικοῦντας κρῖναι καθ' ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐᾶν οἰκεῖν. 2. τάδε γὰρ ἕς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη φοβερά· ὅστις γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ μετ' ἔργων ἰσχύος ἀνοίᾳ ἐπιών.

XLIX. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Διόδοτος εἶπε. ῥηθεισῶν δὲ τῶν γνωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου. 2. καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς δευτέρας εὕρωσι διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν· προεῖχε δὲ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα. 3. παρασκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεων τῇ νηῒ οἶνον καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποσχομένων, εἰ φθάσαιεν, ἐγένετο σπουδὴ τοῦ πλοῦ τοιαύτη, ὥστε ἤσθιόν τε, ἅμα ἐλαύνοντες, οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα πεφυραμένα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπνον ἠροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἤλαυνον. 4. κατὰ τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὐδενὸς ἐναντιωθέντος, καὶ τῆς μὲν προτέρας νεὼς οὐ σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον, ταύτης δὲ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης, ἡ μὲν ἔφθασε τοσοῦτον ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ μέλλειν δράσειν τὰ δεδογμένα, ἡ δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται καὶ διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἦλθε κινδύνου. L. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄνδρας οὓς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλέωνος γνώμῃ διέφθειραν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους χιλίων. καὶ Μυτιληναίων τείχη

καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλαβον. 2. ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς, πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων, τρισχιλίους τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξεῖλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν· οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἑκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν, αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. 3. παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λέσβον οὕτως ἐγένετο.

LI. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβου ἅλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μιτώαν τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων· ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ πύργον ἐνοικοδομήσαντες οἱ Μεγαρῆς φρουρίῳ. 2. ἐβούλετο δὲ Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθεν δι' ἐλάσσονος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος εἶναι, τούς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθεν λανθάνοντες τριήρων τε, οἷον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γεγόμενον, καὶ λῃστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν ἅμα μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν. 3. ἑλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργω προέχοντε μιχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης, καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας, ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ᾗ κατὰ γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ, οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ τῆς ἠπείρου. 4. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐξειργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

LII. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς, οὐκέτι ἔχοντες σῖτον, οὐδὲ δυνάμενοι πολιορκεῖσθαι, ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. 2. προσέβαλον αὐτῶν τῷ τείχει, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀμύνεσθαι. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν βίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἑλεῖν· εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὅπως, εἰ σποιδαὶ γίγνοιντό ποτε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ξυγχωροῖεν ὅσα πολέμῳ χωρία ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι ἀποδίδοσθαι, μὴ ἀνάδοτος εἴη ἡ Πλάταια ὡς αὐτῶν ἑκόντων προσχωρησάντων· προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς κήρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἑκόντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ δικασταῖς ἐκείνοις χρήσασθαι, τούς τε ἀδίκους κολάζειν, παρὰ δίκην δὲ οὐδένα. 3. τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ εἶπεν· οἱ δέ, ἦσαν γὰρ ἤδη ἐν

τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ, παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας ἔτρεφον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐν ὅσῳ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος δικασταί, πέντε ἄνδρες, ἀφίκοντο. 4. ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατηγορία μὲν οὐδεμία προετέθη, ἠρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ καθεστῶτι ἀγαθόν τι εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. 5. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, αἰτησάμενοι μακρότερα εἰπεῖν, καὶ προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν Ἀστύμαχόν τε τὸν Ἀσωπολάου καὶ Λάκωνα τὸν Ἀειμνήστου, πρόξενον ὄντα Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

LIII. Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμεθα, οὐ τοιάνδε δίκην οἰόμενοι ὑφέξειν, νομιμωτέραν δέ τινα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γενέσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ' ἂν φέρεσθαι. 2. νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν· τόν τε γὰρ ἀγῶνα περὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων εἶναι εἰκότως ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε, τεκμαιρόμενοι προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης ἣ χρὴ ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λόγον ἠτησάμεθα, τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν, ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐναντία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχει. 3. πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ εἶναι εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος τοῖς ὧδ' ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν ἂν παράσχοι ὡς εἰ ἐλέχθη, σωτήριος ἂν ἦν. 4. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχει ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ πειθώ. ἀγνῶτες μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἀλλήλων ἐπεισενεγκάμενοι μαρτύρια ὧν ἄπειροι ἦτε ὠφελούμεθ' ἄν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέξεται, καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκαταγνόντες ἡμῶν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἧσσους εἶναι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔγκλημα αὐτὸ ποιῆτε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν καθιστώμεθα. LIV. παρεχόμενοι δὲ ὅμως ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια πρός τε τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τῶν εὖ δεδρασμένων ὑπόμνησιν ποιησόμεθα καὶ πείθειν πειρασόμεθα. 2. φαμὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχύ, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἀγαθὸν πεποιήκαμεν, εἰ μὲν ὡς πολεμίους ἐρωτᾶτε, οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ εὖ παθόντας, φίλους δὲ νομίζοντας αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. 3. τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ἀγαθοὶ γεγενήμεθα, τὴν μὲν οὐ λύσαντες νῦν

πρότεροι, τῷ δὲ ξυνεπιθέμενοι τότε ἐς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόνοι Βοιωτῶν. 4. καὶ γὰρ ἠπειρῶταί τε ὄντες ἐναυμαχήσαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, μάχῃ τε τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ γενομένῃ παρεγενόμεθα ὑμῖν τε καὶ Παυσανίᾳ· εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπικίνδυνον τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων παρὰ δύναμιν μετέσχομεν 5. καὶ ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰδίᾳ, ὅτε περ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἱλώτων ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξεπέμψαμεν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· οἷν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῖν. LV. καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα τοιοῦτοι ἠξιώσαμεν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ ἐγεγόμεθα ὕστερον. ὑμεῖς δὲ αἴτιοι· δεομένων γὰρ ξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας, ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. 2. ἐν μέντοι τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε. 3. εἰ δ' ἀποστῆναι Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῶν κελευσάντων, οὐκ ἠδικοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐβοήθουν ἡμῖν ἐναντία Θηβαίοις ὅτε ὑμεῖς ἀπωκτείτε, καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἦν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὓς εὖ παθών τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν, ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς ἦν προθύμως. ἃ δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οὐχ οἱ ἑπόμενοι αἴτιοι εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἑδράτε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα. LVI. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἠδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, δι' ἅπερ καὶ τάδε πάσχομεν. 2. πόλιν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλαμβάνοντας ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ προσέτι ἱερομηνίᾳ, ὀρθῶς ἐτιμωρησάμεθα, κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπιόντα πολέμιον ὅσιον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δι' αὐτοὺς βλαπτοίμεθα. 3. εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν ὀρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ ὄντες, τὸ δὲ ξυμφέρον μᾶλλον θεραπεύοντες. 4. καίτοι εἰ νῦν ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πολὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον τότε ὅτε ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἦτε. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἑτέροις ὑμεῖς ἐπέρχεσθε δεινοί· ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ, ὅτε πᾶσι δουλείαν ἐπέφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος, οἵδε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν. 5. καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν ἁμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν, καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς ἐλάσσω εὑρήσετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλή-

ὧν τισὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐπηνοῦντό τε μᾶλλον οἱ μὴ τὰ ξύμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσσοντες, ἐθέλοντες δὲ τολμᾶν μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ βέλτιστα. 6. ὧν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι, καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδιμεν μὴ διαφθαρῶμεν, Ἀθηναίους ἑλόμενοι δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς κερδαλέως. 7. καίτοι χρὴ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοίως φαίνεσθαι γιγνώσκοντας, καὶ τὸ ξυμφέρον μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίσαι, ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὅταν ἀεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχωσι καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα που ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμον καθιστῆται. LVII. προσκέψασθέ τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραγαθίας νομίζεσθε· εἰ δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα, οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρῇ κρινεῖτε τὴν δίκην τήνδε, ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ περὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν μεμπτῶν, ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρι αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ὄντας ἀπρεπές τι ἐπιγνῶναι, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς σκῦλα ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τῶν εὐεργετῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνατεθῆναι. 2. δεινὸν δὲ δόξει εἶναι Πλάταιαν Λακεδαιμονίους πορθῆσαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πανοικησίᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους ἐξαλεῖψαι. 3. ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς προκεχωρήκαμεν, οἵτινες Μήδων τε κρατησάντων ἀπολλύμεθα, καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πρὶν φιλτάτοις Θηβαίων ἠσσώμεθα, καὶ δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέστημεν, τότε μέν, τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν, λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι, νῦν δὲ θανάτου κρίνεσθαι. 4. καὶ περιεώσμεθα ἐκ πάντων Πλαταιῆς οἱ παρὰ δύναμιν πρόθυμοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔρημοι καὶ ἀτιμώρητοι· καὶ οὔτε τῶν τότε ξυμμάχων ὠφελεῖ οὐδείς, ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε. LVIII. καίτοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε, καὶ Θεῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν ποτε γενομένων, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καμφθῆναι ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνῶναι εἴ τι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπείσθητε, τήν τε δωρεὰν ἀνταπαιτῆσαι αὐτοὺς μὴ κτείνειν οὓς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει, σώφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μὴ ἡδονὴν δόντας ἄλλοις κακίων αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν· 2. βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα διαφθεῖραι, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὴν δύσκλειαν αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι. οὐκ ἐχθροὺς γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως τιμωρήσεσθε, ἀλλ' εὔνους, κατ' ἀνάγκην πολεμήσαντας. 3. ὥστε καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσια ἂν δικάζοιτε καὶ προσοοῦντες, ὅτι εἰκότας

ὁμοίους. ὧν ἡμεῖς τοὐναντίον ἂν δράσαιτε, μὴ
σκέψασθε δέ· Παυσανίας μὲν γὰρ ἔθαπτεν αὐτ
τε φιλίᾳ τιθέναι καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσι τοιούτοις· ὑ
τε ἡμᾶς καὶ χώραν τὴν Πλαταιίδα Θηβαΐδα πο
ν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις πατέρι
ς καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, ἀτίμους γερῶν ὧν νῦν ἴσχουσι,
ς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἐν ᾗ ἠλευθερώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες δι
θεῶν οἷς εὐξάμενοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν ἐρημοῦτι
πατρίους τῶν ἐσσαμένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρή
πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τάδ
ὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα καὶ ἐς τοὺς προγόνους
ς ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἀλλοτρίας ἕνεκα ἔχθρα
ηθέντας, διαφθεῖραι, φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπικλασθ
οἴκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας, μὴ ὧν πεισόμεθα μό
νοοῦντας, ἀλλ' οἷοί τε ἄν ὄντες πάθοιμεν καὶ
τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ᾧτινί ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξ
τε, ὡς πρέπον ἡμῖν καὶ ὡς ἡ χρεία προάγει
, θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλ
οι, πεῖσαι τάδε, προφερόμενοι ὅρκους οὓς οἱ π
αν, μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν
καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκμηῶτας

στήσαντας τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον ἐᾶσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑλέσθαι. 4. ἐπισκήπτομέν τε ἅμα μή, Πλαταιῆς ὄντες, οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενόμενοι, Θηβαίοις, τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις, ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως, ἱκέται ὄντες, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδοθῆναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτῆρας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι.

LX. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Πλαταιῆς εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δείσαντες πρὸς τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τι ἐνδῶσι, παρελθόντες ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλεσθαι εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν μακρότερος λόγος ἐδόθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα ἀποκρίσεως. ὡς δ' ἐκέλευσαν, ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

LXI. Τοὺς μὲν λόγους οὐκ ἂν ἠτησάμεθα εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ βραχέως τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς τραπόμενοι κατηγορίαν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν προκειμένων, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ἠτιαμένων, πολλὴν τὴν ἀπολογίαν, καὶ ἔπαινον ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο. νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀντειπεῖν δεῖ, τῶν δὲ ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτοὺς κακία ὠφελῇ μήτε ἡ τούτων δόξα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες κρίνητε. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον, ὅτι, ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας, καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτῆς, ἃ ξυμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες ἔσχομεν, οὐκ ἠξίουν οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἀντέπασχον. LXII. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φασὶ μόνοι Βοιωτῶν οὐ μηδίσαι, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐτοί τε ἀγάλλονται καὶ ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦσιν. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδίσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐ φαμὲν διότι οὐδ' Ἀθηναίους, τῇ μέντοι αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ὕστερον ἰόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μόνους αὖ Βοιωτῶν ἀττικίσαι. καίτοι σκέψασθε ἐν οἵῳ εἶδει ἑκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἔπραξαν. 3. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. 4. καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν, εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσειε, κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγον-

ους τὴν προθυμίαν ξυλλεληφόμεθα, ἵππους τε
παρεσκευήμεθα οὐκ ἄλλοι τῶν ξυμμάχων. 6. καὶ
ισμὸν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογούμεθα. LXIII. ὡς δ
ἠδικήκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε
ρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνειν. 2. ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμε
φατέ, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται. οὐκοῦν
ς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ μὴ ξυνεπιέν
οις, ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ἄκοντες πρ
ηναίων, τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶιδε ἤδη ἐπὶ τ
ίας γεγενημένης, ἣν αὐτοὶ μάλιστα προβάλλεσθε
ς τε ὑμῶν ἀποτρέπειν καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀδεῶς παρ
κι. ἀλλ' ἐκόντες καὶ οὐ βιαζόμενοι ἔτι εἵλεσθε
ηναίων. 3. καὶ λέγετε ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὶ
δέ γε αἴσχιον καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς πάντας Ἕλ
οῦναι, οἷς ξυνωμόσατε, ἢ Ἀθηναίους μόνους, τοὺ
νυμένους τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντας. 4.
ς τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνης ἀπηλλαγμ
ὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὡς φατέ, ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς
ς ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε. καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας χάρι
ι αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὁ
ικίαν δὲ ἀποδιδομένας. LXIV. δῆλόν τε ἐπο
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμ-

καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε ἄκοντες ἔχοντές τε τοὺς νόμους οὕσπερ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑμᾶς βιασαμένου ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς. τὴν τελευταίαν τε πρὶν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλησιν ἐς ἡσυχίαν ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδετέροις ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε. 4. τίνες ἂν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι μισοῖντο, οἵτινες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίαν προὔθεσθε; καὶ ἃ μέν ποτε χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε, ὡς φατέ, οὐ προσήκοντα νῦν ἐπεδείξατε, ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐξηλέγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθές. μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἄδικον ὀδὸν ἰόντων ἐχωρήσατε. 5. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἑκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνομεν. LXV. ἃ δὲ τελευταῖά φατε ἀδικηθῆναι, παρανόμως γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνίαις ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, οὐ νομίζομεν οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἁμαρτεῖν. 2. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρός τε τὴν πόλιν ἐλθόντες ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδῃοῦμεν ὡς πολέμιοι, ἀδικοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ἄνδρες ὑμῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει, βουλόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἔξω ξυμμαχίας ὑμᾶς παῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια καταστῆσαι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο ἑκόντες, τί ἀδικοῦμεν; οἱ γὰρ ἄγοντες παρανομοῦσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑπομένων. 3. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν, οὔθ' ἡμεῖς· πολῖται δὲ ὄντες, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, καὶ πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν τεῖχος ἀνοίξαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως, κομίσαντες, ἐβούλοντο τούς τε ὑμῶν χείρους μηκέτι μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, τούς τε ἀμείνους τὰ ἄξια ἔχειν, σωφρονισταὶ ὄντες τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες, ἐχθροὺς οὐδενὶ καθιστάντες, ἅπασι δ' ὁμοίως ἐνσπόνδους. LXVI. τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς οὐ πολεμίως ἐπράσσομεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἠδικήσαμεν οὐδένα, προείπομέν τε τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια πολιτεύειν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. 2. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄσμενοι χωρήσαντες καὶ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχάζετε, ὕστερον δὲ κατανοήσαντες ἡμᾶς ὀλίγους ὄντας, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμέν τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πρᾶξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑμῶν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ μὲν ὁμοῖα οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν, μήτε νεωτερίσαι ἔργῳ, λόγοις τε πείσειν ὥστε ἐξελθεῖν, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν, οὓς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀλγοῦμεν· κατὰ νόμον γὰρ δή τινα ἔπασχον· οὓς δὲ χεῖρας προϊσχομένους καὶ ζωγρήσαντες ὑποσχόμε-

νοί τε ἡμῖν ὕστερον μὴ κτενεῖν παρανόμως διεφθείρατε, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ εἴργασθε; 3. καὶ ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πράξαντες, τήν τε λυθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ὕστερον θάνατον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μὴ κτείνειν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἣν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑμῖν μὴ ἀδικῶμεν, ὅμως φατὲ ἡμᾶς παρανομῆσαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀντιδοῦναι δίκην. 4. οὐκ, ἤν γε οὗτοι τὰ ὁρκιὰ γιγνώσκωσι· πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα κολασθήσεσθε. LXVII. καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτου ἕνεκα ἐπεξήλθομεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε δικαίως αὐτῶν κατηγορησόμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὁσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι, 2. καὶ μὴ παλαιᾶς ἀρετάς, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο, ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθῆτε, ἃς χρὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις ἐπικούρους εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρόν τι δρῶσι διπλασίας ζημίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων ἁμαρτάνουσι. μηδὲ ὁλοφυρμῷ καὶ οἴκτῳ ὠφελείσθωσαν, πατέρων τε τάφους τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἐρημίαν. 3. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνταποφαίνομεν πολλῷ δεινότερα παθοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρμένην, ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄγοντες ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται λελειμμένοι καὶ οἰκίαι ἔρημοι πολλῷ δικαιοτέραν ὑμῶν ἱκετείαν ποιοῦνται τούσδε τιμωρήσασθαι. 4. οἴκτου τε ἀξιώτεροι τυγχάνειν οἱ ἀπρεπές τι πάσχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οἱ δὲ δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἵδε, τὰ ἐναντία ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι. 5. καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχουσι· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμείνους ξυμμάχους ἑκόντες ἀπεώσαντο. παρηνόμησάν τε οὐ προπαθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μίσει δὲ πλέον ἢ δίκῃ κρίναντες καὶ οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες νῦν τὴν ἴσην τιμωρίαν, ἐνομα γὰρ πείσονται, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ μάχης χεῖρας προϊσχόμενοι, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ἐς δίκην σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδόντες. 6. ἀμύνατε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι, καὶ ἡμῖν ἅνομα παθοῦσιν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶνδε λόγοις περιωσθῶμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχεῖα ἡ ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἁμαρτανομένων δὲ λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίγνονται. 7. ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς, κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας διαγνώμας ποιήσησθε, ἧσσόν τις ἐπ' ἀδίκοις ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς ζητήσει.

LXVIII. Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δικασταὶ νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθασι, διότι τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἠξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον, ἃ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἐκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδρακότες εἰσίν, ὁπότε μὴ φαῖεν, ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἐποιήσαντο οὐδένα. 2. διέφθειραν δὲ Πλαταιῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οἳ ξυνεπολιορκοῦντο· γυναῖκας δὲ ἠνδραπόδισαν. 3. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνιαυτὸν μέν τινα Θηβαῖοι Μεγαρέων ἀνδράσι κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεπτωκόσι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες Πλαταιῶν περιῆσαν, ἔδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν· ὕστερον δέ, καθελόντες αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων, ᾠκοδόμησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγώγιον διακοσίων ποδῶν, πανταχῇ κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ὀροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, κλίνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἥρᾳ, καὶ νεὼν ἑκατόμποδον λίθινον ᾠκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσαντες ἀπεμίσθωσαν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη, καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι. 4. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἕνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενον ὠφελίμους εἶναι. 5. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

LXIX. Αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι, ὡς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους, ἔκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ χειμασθεῖσαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες, πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρισκαίδεκα τριήρεις Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Βρασίδαν τὸν Τέλλιδος ξύμβουλον Ἀλκίδᾳ ἐπεληλυθότα. 2. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς τῆς Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες ἐς

τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάζουσαν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ μόνας παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, πρὶν δὲ πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν, ὅπως προφθάσωσι· καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὅ τε Βρασίδας καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίδας πρὸς ταῦτα.

LXX. Οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι ἐστασίαζον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦλθον αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ναυμαχιῶν, ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀφεθέντες, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πεπεισμένοι Κορινθίοις Κέρκυραν προσποιῆσαι. καὶ ἔπρασσον οὗτοι, ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες, ὅπως ἀποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. 2. καὶ ἀφικομένης Ἀττικῆς τε νεὼς καὶ Κορινθίας πρέσβεις ἀγουσῶν καὶ ἐς λόγους καταστάντων, ἐψηφίσαντο Κερκυραῖοι Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ξύμμαχοι εἶναι τὰ ξυγκείμενα, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ φίλοι, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. 3. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πειθίας ἐθελοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην, λέγοντες Ἀθηναίοις τὴν Κέρκυραν καταδουλοῦν. 4. ὁ δὲ ἀποφυγὼν ἀνθυπάγει αὐτῶν τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους πέντε ἄνδρας, φάσκων τέμνειν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου· ζημία δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ. 5. ὀφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἱκετῶν καθεζομένων διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, ὁ Πειθίας, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ βουλῆς ὤν, πείθει ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρήσασθαι. 6. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο καὶ ἅμα ἐπνθάνοντο τὸν Πειθίαν, ἕως ἔτι βουλῆς ἐστι, μέλλειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀναπείσειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις φίλους τε καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομίζειν, ξυνίσταντό τε, καὶ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ἐξαπιναίως ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσελθόντες, τόν τε Πειθίαν κτείνουσι, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐς ἑξήκοντα. οἱ δέ τινες τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης τῷ Πειθίᾳ ὀλίγοι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τριήρη κατέφυγον ἔτι παροῦσαν. LXXI. δράσαντες δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσαντες Κερκυραίους εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ βέλτιστα εἴη καὶ ἥκιστ' ἂν δουλωθεῖεν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τό τε λοιπὸν μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μιᾷ νηὶ ἡσυχάζοντας, τὸ δὲ πλέον πολέμιον ἡγεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ εἶπον, καὶ ἐπικυρῶσαι ἠνάγκασαν τὴν γνώμην. 2. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας εὐθὺς πρέσβεις περί τε τῶν πεπραγμένων διδάξοντας, ὡς ξυνέφερε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας πείσοντας μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν,

ὅπως μή τις ἐπιστροφὴ γένηται. LXXII. ἐλθόντων δέ, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τούς τε πρέσβεις ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ξυλλαβόντες, καὶ ὅσους ἔπεισαν, κατέθεντο ἐς Αἴγιναν. 2. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα ἐλθούσης τριήρους Κορινθίας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεων ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐνίκησαν. 3. ἀφικομένης δὲ νυκτός, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως καταφεύγει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ξυλλεγεὶς ἱδρύθη, καὶ τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα εἶχον· οἱ δὲ τήν τε ἀγορὰν κατέλαβον, ὑπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤκουν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον. LXXIII. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἠκροβολίσαντό τε ὀλίγα, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς περιέπεμπον ἀμφότεροι, τούς δούλους παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι· καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πλῆθος παρεγένετο ξύμμαχον, τοῖς δ' ἑτέροις ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐπίκουροι ὀκτακόσιοι. LXXIV. διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας μάχη αὖθις γίγνεται, καὶ νικᾷ ὁ δῆμος, χωρίων τε ἰσχύι καὶ πλήθει προέχων· αἵ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον. 2. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν, δείσαντες οἱ ὀλίγοι μὴ αὐτοβοεὶ ὁ δῆμος τοῦ τε νεωρίου κρατήσειεν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ σφᾶς διαφθείρειεν, ἐμπιπρᾶσι τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ξυνοικίας, ὅπως μὴ ᾖ ἔφοδος, φειδόμενοι οὔτε οἰκείας οὔτε ἀλλοτρίας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι, εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ φλογὶ ἐπίφορος ἐς αὐτήν. 3. καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὡς ἑκάτεροι ἡσυχάσαντες τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν· καὶ ἡ Κορινθία ναῦς τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος, ὑπεξανήγετο, καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον λαθόντες διεκομίσθησαν. LXXV. τῇ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Νικόστρατος ὁ Διτρέφους, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δώδεκα ναυσὶ καὶ Μεσσηνίων πεντακοσίοις ὁπλίταις· ξύμβασίν τε ἔπρασσε, καὶ πείθει ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις, δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους κρῖναι, οἳ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οἰκεῖν, σπονδὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησαμένους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν. 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἔμελλεν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου προστάται πείθουσιν αὐτὸν πέντε μὲν ναῦς τῶν

αὐτοῦ σφίσι καταλιπεῖν, ὅπως ἧσσόν τι ἐν κινήσει ὦσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἴσας δὲ αὐτοὶ πληρώσαντες ἐκ σφῶν αὐτῶν ξυμπέμψειν. 3. καὶ ὁ μὲν ξυνεχώρησεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατέλεγον ἐς τὰς ναῦς. δείσαντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθῶσι καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερόν. 4. Νικόστρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δῆμος ὁπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑγιὲς διανοουμένων τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ, τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν τινας οἷς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος ἐκώλυσε, διέφθειραν ἄν. ὁρῶντες δ' οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γιγνόμενα καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἱκέται καὶ γίγνονται οὐκ ἐλάσσους τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος, δείσας μή τι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἀνίστησί τε αὐτούς, πείσας, καὶ διακομίζει ἐς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου νῆσον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκεῖσε αὐτοῖς διεπέμπετο.

LXXVI. Τῆς δὲ στάσεως ἐν τούτῳ οὔσης, τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διακομιδήν, αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κυλλήνης Πελοποννησίων νῆες, μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας πλοῦν ἔφορμοι οὖσαι, παραγίγνονται τριῆς καὶ πεντήκοντα· ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκίδας, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ Βρασίδας αὐτῷ ξύμβουλος ἐπέπλει. ὁρμισάμενοι δὲ ἐς Σύβοτα λιμένα τῆς ἠπείρου ἅμα ἕῳ ἐπέπλεον τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. LXXVII. οἱ δὲ πολλῷ θορύβῳ, καὶ πεφοβημένοι τά τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν, παρεσκευάζοντό τε ἅμα ἑξήκοντα ναῦς, καὶ τὰς ἀεὶ πληρουμένας ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, παραινούντων Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς τε ἔᾶσαι πρῶτον ἐκπλεῦσαι, καὶ ὕστερον πάσαις ἅμα ἐκείνους ἐπιγενέσθαι. 2. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦσαν σποράδες αἱ νῆες, δύο μὲν εὐθὺς ἠντομόλησαν, ἐν ἑτέραις δὲ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἐμάχοντο· ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς κόσμος τῶν ποιουμένων. 3. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ταραχὴν εἴκοσι μὲν ναυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους ἐτάξαντο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πρὸς τὰς δώδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δύο Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος. LXXVIII. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι κακῶς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγας προσπίπτοντες ἐταλαιπωροῦντο καθ' αὑτούς· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν περικύκλωσιν, ἀθρόαις μὲν οὐ προσέπιπτον, οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον ταῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τεταγμέναις, προσβαλόντες δὲ κατὰ κέρας, καταδύουσι μίαν ναῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύκλον ταξαμένων αὐτῶν περιέπλεον

καὶ ἐπειρῶντο θοριβεῖν. 2. γόντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις καὶ δεισαντες μὴ ὅπερ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ γένοιτο ἐπιβοηθοῦσι· καὶ γενόμεναι ἀθρόαι αἱ νῆες ἅμα τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποιοῦντο. 3. οἱ δ' ὑπεχώρουν ἤδη πρύμναν κρουόμενοι· καὶ ἅμα τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐρούλοντο προκαταφυγεῖν, ὅτι μάλιστα ἑαυτῶν σχολῇ τε ὑποχωρούντων, καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς τεταγμένων τῶν ἐναντίων 4. ἡ μὲν οὖν ναυμαχία, τοιαύτη γενομένη, ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν

LXXIX. Καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, δείσαντες μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς κρατοῦντες, οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀναλάβωσιν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι, τούς τε ἐκ τῆς νήσου πάλιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον διεκόμισαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον. 2. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν πλεῦσαι κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα ναῦς ἔχοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο. 3. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας καὶ Βρασίδου παραινοῦντος, ὡς λέγεται, Ἀλκίδᾳ, ἰσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Λευκίμνην τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἀποβάντες ἐπόρθουν τοὺς ἀγρούς. LXXX. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐν τούτῳ, περιδεὴς γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆες, τοῖς τε ἱκέταις ἦεσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ πόλις. καί τινας αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι· ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ ὅμως τριάκοντα [προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν]. 2. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας δηώσαντες τὴν γῆν, ἀπέπλευσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα αὐτοῖς ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν ἑξήκοντα νῆες Ἀθηναίων προσπλέουσαι ἀπὸ Λευκάδος· ἃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ' Ἀλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν μελλούσας πλεῖν, ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους στρατηγόν. LXXXI. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς νυκτὸς εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομίζοντο ἐπ' οἶκον παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς, ὅπως μὴ περιπλέοντες ὀφθῶσιν, ἀποκομίζονται. 2. Κερκυραῖοι δέ, αἰσθόμενοι τάς τε Ἀττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεούσας, τάς τε τῶν πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τούς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὄντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλεῦσαι κελεύσαντες ἃς ἐπλήρωσαν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα, ἐν ὅσῳ περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους ἔπεισαν ἐσβῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχώρησαν,

ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖόν τε ἐλθόντες τῶν ἱκετῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν πάντων θάνατον. 3. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειραν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους κύκλῳ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο, οἱ δ' ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο ἀνηλοῦντο. 4. ἡμέρας τε ἑπτά, ἃς ἀφικόμενος ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφάνευον τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δέ τινες καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἕνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων· 5. πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὅ,τι οὐ ξυνέβη καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον. 6. οὕτως ὠμὴ στάσις προὐχώρησε· καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο, LXXXII. ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἑκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν, οὐδ' ἑτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς· πολεμουμένων δέ, καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἑκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει, καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει, ῥᾳδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο. 2. καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν αἵ τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος, ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν, βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ. 3. ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντα που, πύστει τῶν προγενομένων, πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπίᾳ. 4. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς δειλία εὐπρεπής,

τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν· τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοίρᾳ προσετέθη, ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὔλογος. 5. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς ἀεί, ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὕποπτος. ἐπιβουλεύσας δέ τις τυχὼν ξυνετὸς καὶ ὑποροίσας ἔτι δεινότερος· προβουλεύσας δέ, ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτῶν δεήσει, τῆς τε ἑταιρίας διαλυτὴς καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένος. ἁπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακόν τι δρᾶν ἐπηνεῖτο, καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον. 6. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελείας αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ. καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι. 7. τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῇ, εἰ προὔχοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναιότητι. ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαί τέ τινα περὶ πλείονος ἦν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ ὅρκοι εἴ που ἄρα γένοιντο ξυναλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἑκατέρῳ διδόμενοι ἴσχυον οὐκ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν δίναμιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, εἰ ἴδοι ἄφρακτον, ἥδιον διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, καὶ τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι ἀπάτῃ περιγενόμενος ξυνέσεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανε. ῥᾷον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται. 8. πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες μετ' ὀνόματος ἑκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἆθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα ἐπεξήεσάν τε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει ξυμφόρου προτιθέντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἑκατέροις που ἀεὶ ἰδονὴν ἔχον ὁρίζοντες, καὶ ἢ μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως, ἢ χειρί, κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν, ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονεικίαν ἐκπιμπλάναι. ὥστε εὐσεβίᾳ μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου οἷς ξυμβαίη ἐπιφθόνως τι διαπράξασθαι, ἄμεινον ἦκουον. τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἢ ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο ἢ

φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι διεφθείροντο. LXXXIII. οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, καὶ τὸ εὐήθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις τῇ γνώμῃ ἀπίστως ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν· 2. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὅρκος φοβερός, κρείσσονς δὲ ὄντες ἅπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου, μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προεσκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι ἐδύναντο. 3. καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὡς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεὲς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετόν, μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσσους ὦσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν. 4. οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προαισθέσθαι καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἃ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν ἄφρακτοι μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο.

LXXXIV. Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προετολμήθη, καὶ ὁπόσα ὕβρει μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλέον ἢ σωφροσύνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀνταμυνόμενοι δράσειαν, πενίας δὲ τῆς εἰωθυίας ἀπαλλαξείοντές τινες, μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν, οἵ τε μὴ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιόντες, ἀπαιδευσίᾳ ὀργῆς πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενοι ὠμῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπέλθοιεν. 2. ξυνταραχθέντος τε τοῦ βίου ἐς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τῇ πόλει, καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις, εἰωθυῖα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν, ἀσμένη ἐδήλωσεν ἀκρατὴς μὲν ὀργῆς οὖσα, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προὔχοντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ τε ὁσίου τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προὐτίθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸ κερδαίνειν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἰσχὺν εἶχε τὸ φθονεῖν. ἀξιοῦσί τε τοὺς κοινοὺς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἄνθρωποι νόμους, ἀφ' ὧν ἅπασιν ἐλπὶς ὑπόκειται σφαλεῖσι κἂν αὐτοὺς διασώζεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἴ ποτε ἄρα τις κινδυνεύσας τινὸς δεήσεται αὐτῶν.

LXXXV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν ταῖς ναυσίν· 2. ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων, διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους, τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι ἐλῄζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον,

καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. 3. ἐπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον περὶ καθόδου· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπράσσετο, ὕστερον χρόνῳ πλοῖα καὶ ἐπικούρους παρασκευασάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, 4. καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐμπρήσαντες, ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ᾖ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰστώνην τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι ἐφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν.

LXXXVI. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι ναῦς ἔστειλαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Λάχητα τὸν Μελανώπου στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ Χαροιάδην τὸν Εὐφιλήτου. 2. οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν, πλὴν Καμαριναίων, αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον, ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε· τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων. 3. ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες σὶ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι, κατά τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν, πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆς τε γῆς εἴργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. 4. καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε σῖτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄγεσθαι αὐτόθεν, πρόπειράν τε ποιούμενοι εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. 5. καταστάντες οὖν ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

LXXXVII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἡ νόσος τὸ δεύτερον ἐπέπεσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν οὐδένα χρόνον τὸ παντάπασιν, ἐγένετο δέ τις ὅμως διακωχή. 2. παρέμεινε δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐνιαυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ δύο ἔτη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὅ,τι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν. 3. τετρακοσίων γὰρ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τετρακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τάξεων καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ὄχλου ἀνεξεύρετος ἀριθμός. 4. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.

LXXXVIII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῖνα τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τριάκοντα ναυσὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους καλουμένας· θέρους γὰρ δι' ἀνυδρίαν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρατεύειν. 2. νέμονται δὲ Λιπαραῖοι αὐτάς, Κνιδίων ἄποικοι ὄντες. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ μεγάλῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσι Διδύμην καὶ Στρογγύλην καὶ Ἱεράν. 3. νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν. κεῖνται δὲ αἱ νῆσοι αὗται κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, ξύμμαχοι δ' ἦσαν Συρακοσίων. 4. τεμόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν γῆν, ὡς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

LXXXIX. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἦλθον, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλοῦντες, Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, σεισμῶν δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράποντο πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. 2. καὶ περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Ὠροβίαις ἡ θάλασσα ἐπελθοῦσα ἀπὸ τῆς τότε οὔσης γῆς καὶ κυματωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε, τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἐστι πρότερον οὖσα γῆ· καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν, ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες. 3. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσον παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπίκλυσις, καὶ τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρεῖλε, καὶ δύο νεῶν ἀνειλκυσμένων τὴν ἑτέραν κατέαξεν. 4. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πεπαρήθῳ κύματος ἐπαναχώρησίς τις, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέκλυσέ γε· καὶ σεισμὸς τοῦ τείχους τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἄλλας οἰκίας ὀλίγας. 5. αἴτιον δ' ἐγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιούτου, ᾗ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐξαπίνης πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν· ἄνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

XC. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἑκάστοις ξυνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις

ξυμμάχοις· ἃ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἢ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπραξαν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἀντιπολέμιοι, τούτων μνησθήσομαι. 2 Χαροιάδου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων πολέμῳ, Λάχης ἅπασαν ἔχων τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐστράτευσε μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ Μυλὰς τὰς τῶν Μεσσηνίων. ἔτυχον δὲ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς Μυλαῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι, καί τινα καὶ ἐνέδραν πεποιημέναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. 3. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τούς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τρέπουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσι πολλούς, καὶ τῷ ἐρύματι προσβαλόντες ἠνάγκασαν ὁμολογίᾳ τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην ξυστρατεῦσαι. 4. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοί, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τἆλλα πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι.

XCI. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα μὲν ναῦς ἔστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Δημοσθένης τε ὁ Ἀλκισθένους καὶ Προκλῆς ὁ Θεοδώρου, ἑξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Μῆλον καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου. 2. τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους ὄντας νησιώτας καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι. 3. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς δηουμένης τῆς γῆς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἅραντες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς, ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὁπλῖται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῇ ἐς Τάναγραν τῆς Βοιωτίας. 4. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἱππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου στρατηγοῦντος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ Θουκλέους ἀπὸ σημείου ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων. 5. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ, ἐδῄουν καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν Ταναγραίων, καὶ Θηβαίων τινὰς προσβεβοηθηκότας, καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες, ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. 6. καὶ παραπλεύσας ὁ Νικίας ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ναυσί, τῆς Λοκρίδος τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔτεμε, καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἶκον.

XCII. Τὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Τραχινίαις ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο ἀπὸ τοιῶσδε γνώμης. 2. Μηλιῆς οἱ ξύμπαντες εἰσὶ μὲν τρία μέρη, Παράλιοι, Ἱερῆς,

Τραχίνιοι· τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχίνιοι πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ Οἰταίων ὁμόρων ὄντων τὸ πρῶτον μελλήσαντες Ἀθηναίους προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ οὐ σφίσι πιστοὶ ὦσι, πέμπουσιν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἑλόμενοι πρεσβευτὴν Τισαμενόν. 3. ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Δωριῆς ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν αὐτῶν δεόμενοι· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφθείροντο. 4. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνώμην εἶχον τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν, τοῖς τε Τραχινίοις βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τιμωρεῖν. καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι· ἐπί τε γὰρ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ναυτικὸν παρασκευασθῆναι ἄν, ὥστ' ἐκ βραχέος τὴν διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι, τῆς τε ἐπὶ Θράκης παρόδου χρησίμως ἕξειν. τό τε ξίμπαν ὥρμηντο τὸ χωρίον κτίζειν. 5. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο· κελεύοντος δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευον ἕπεσθαι πλὴν γ' Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. οἰκισταὶ δὲ τρεῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγήσαντο Λέων καὶ Ἀλκίδας καὶ Δαμάγων. 6. καταστάντες δὲ ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καινῆς, ἣ νῦν Ἡράκλεια καλεῖται, ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης εἴκοσι. νεώρια τε παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ ἦρξαντο κατὰ Θερμοπύλας κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στενόν ὅπως εὐφύλακτα αὐτοῖς εἴη. XCIII. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικιζομένης τὸ πρῶτον ἔδεισάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ διάπλους πρὸς τὸ Κήναιον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἔπειτα μέντοι παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέβη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεινὸν οὐδέν. 2. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν· οἵ τε Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων καὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι μεγάλῃ ἰσχύι παροικῶσιν, ἔφθειρον καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν ἀνθρώποις νεοκαταστάτοις, ἕως ἐξετρύχωσαν γενομένους τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πάνυ πολλούς· πᾶς γάρ τις Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκιζόντων θαρσαλέως ἦει, βέβαιον νομίζων τὴν πόλιν. 3. οὐ μέντοι ἥκιστα οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι τά πράγματά τε ἔφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν κατέστησαν, ἐκφοβήσαντες τοὺς πολλούς, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι, ὥστε ῥᾷον ἤδη αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσοικοι ἐπεκράτουν.

XCIV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν ἐν τῇ Μήλῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατείχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὄντες, πρῶτον ἐν Ἐλλομένῳ τῆς Λευκαδίας φρουρούς τινας λοχήσαντες διέφθειραν, ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐπὶ Λευκάδα μείζονι στόλῳ ἦλθον, Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε πᾶσιν, οἳ παρεβοήθησαν πλὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ξυνέσποντο, καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Κερκυραίων πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί. 2. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκάδιοι, τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς ὀχυρωμένης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ Λευκὰς ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχιζον· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἠξίουν Δημοσθένην τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες ῥᾳδίως τ' ἂν ἑκπολιορκῆσαι πόλεώς τε ἀεὶ σφίσι πολεμίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. 3. Δημοσθένης δ' ἀναπείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὡς καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι καὶ ἢν κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν, ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἠπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθηναίοις προσποιήσειν. 4. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ καὶ σκευῇ ψιλῇ χρώμενον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον, πρὶν ξυμβοηθῆσαι, καταστραφῆναι. 5. ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδώτοις, ἔπειτα δὲ Ὀφιονεῦσι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Εὐρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται· τούτων γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥᾳδίως καὶ τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν. XCV. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς καὶ μάλιστα νομίσας ἄνευ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις ξυμμάχοις μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δύνασθαι ἂν κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν Παρνασσόν, ἕως καταβαίη ἐς Φωκέας, οἳ προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀεί ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύειν ἢ κἂν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι· καὶ Φωκεῦσιν ἤδη ὅμορος ἡ Βοιωτία ἐστίν· ἅρας οὖν ξύμπαντι τῷ στρατεύματι ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀκόντων Ἀκαρνάνων παρέπλευσεν ἐς Σόλλιον. 2. κοινώσας δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν, ὡς οὐ προσεδέξαντο διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν, αὐτὸς τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ, Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν, αἱ γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα

τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπῆλθον νῆες, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλούς. 3. ὡρμᾶτο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶνος τῆς Λοκρίδος. οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι οὗτοι Λοκροὶ ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς παστρατιᾷ ἅπαντῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν· ὄντες γὰρ ὅμοροι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ ὁμόσκευοι μεγάλη ὠφέλεια ἐδόκουν εἶναι ξυστρατεύοντες μάχης τε ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ χωρίων. XCVI. αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν. 2. καὶ αἱρεῖ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ποτιδανίαν καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Κροκύλειον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ Τείχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψε· τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τἆλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον. 3. τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὖτη ἡ παρασκευὴ οὔτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδή τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβεβλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι Ὀφιονέων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες, Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς, ἐβοήθησαν. XCVII. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρῄνουν, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον· ἀναδιδάσκοντες αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὡς εἴη ῥᾳδία ἡ αἵρεσις εἶναι ἐκέλευον ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας καὶ μὴ μένειν ἕως ἂν ξύμπαντες ἀθροισθέντες ἀντιτάξωνται, τὴν δ' ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ πειρᾶσθαι αἱρεῖν. 2. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε πεισθεὶς καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἠναντιοῦτο, τοὺς Λοκροὺς οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὓς αὐτῷ ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι, ψιλῶν γὰρ ἀκοντιστῶν ἐνδεὴς ἦν μάλιστα, ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Αἰγιτίου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ ἐπιών. ὑπέφευγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα τῆς θαλάσσης ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. 3. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοί, βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰγίτιον, προσέβαλλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καταθέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐπίοι τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ὑπεχώρουν, ἀναχωροῦσι δὲ ἐπέκειντο· καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε καὶ ὑπαγωγαί, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ἥσσους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. XCVIII. μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οἷοί τε ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον·

τοξευόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοί, ἄνθρωποι ψιλοί, ἀνεστέλλοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου ἀποθανόντος οὗτοι διεσκεδάσθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν [καὶ] ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυνεχόμενοι οἵ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ ἐσπίπτοντες ἔς τε χαράδρας ἀνεκβάτους καὶ χωρία ὧν οὐκ ἦσαν ἔμπειροι διεφθείροντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὁδῶν, Χρόμων ὁ Μεσσήνιος, ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκώς. 2. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ κατὰ πόδας αἱροῦντες ἄνθρωποι ποδώκεις καὶ ψιλοὶ διέφθειρον, τοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν ὁδῶν ἁμαρτάροντας καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕλην ἐσφερομένους, ὅθεν διέξοδοι οὐκ ἦσαν, πῦρ κομισάμενοι περιεπίμπρασαν· 3. πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μόλις τε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθενπερ καὶ ὡρμήθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον. 4. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται περὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν, τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἡ αὐτή· οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθάρησαν. 5. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς Προκλῆς. τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς Ναύπακτον ὕστερον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκομίσθησαν. Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

XCIX. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐν ἀποβάσει τέ τινι τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ περιπόλιον αἱροῦσιν ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἅλικι ποταμῷ.

C. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Αἰτωλοί, προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἔς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις, Τόλοφόν τε τὸν Ὀφιονέα, καὶ Βοριάδην τὸν Εὐρυτᾶνα, καὶ Τίσανδρον τὸν Ἀπόδωτον, πείθουσιν ὥστε σφίσι πέμψαι στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ναύπακτον διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγήν. 2. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας τῶν ξυμμάχων. τούτων ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Τραχῖνι πόλεως τότε νεοκτίστου οὔσης· Σπαρτιάτης δ' ἦρχεν Εὐρύλοχος τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ξυνηκολούθουν αὐτῷ Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδαῖος οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται. CI. ξυλ-

λεγέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Εὐρύλοχος Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀζόλαις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἅμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβούλετο ἀποστῆσαι αὐτούς. 2. ξυνέπρασσον δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν Ἀμφισσῆς, διὰ τὸ τῶν Φωκέων ἔχθος δεδιότες· καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτον δόντες ὁμήρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισαν δοῦναι φοβουμένους τὸν ἐπιόντα στρατόν, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς Μυοτέας, ταύτῃ γὰρ δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς, ἔπειτα Ἱπνέας καὶ Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταιέας καὶ Χαλαιούς καὶ Τολοφωνίους καὶ Ἡσσίους καὶ Οἰανθέας. οὗτοι καὶ ξυνεστράτευον πάντες. Ὀλπαῖοι δὲ ὁμήρους μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἠκολούθουν δὲ οὔ· καὶ Ταῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν εἷλον κώμην Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν. CII. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο πάντα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους κατέθετο ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐχώρει τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον διὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν, καὶ πορευόμενος Οἰνεῶνα αἱρεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλιον· οὐ γὰρ προσεχώρησαν. 2. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ, καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἅμα ἤδη προσβεβοηθηκότες, ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ προάστειον, ἀτείχιστον ὄν, εἷλον· ἐπί τε Μολύκρειον ἐλθόντες τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ὑπήκοον αἱροῦσι. 3. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἔτι γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναύπακτον, προαισθόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἐλθὼν πείθει Ἀκαρνᾶνας, χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀναχώρησιν, βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ. 4. καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν χιλίους ὁπλίτας, οἳ ἐσελθόντες περιεποίησαν τὸ χωρίον. δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν μὴ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγων δὲ τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἀντίσχωσιν. 5. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ᾔσθοντο τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσελθοῦσαν, καὶ ἀδύνατον ὂν τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ ἑλεῖν, ἀνεχώρησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς Αἰτωλίας. 6. οἱ γὰρ Ἀμπρακιῶται, ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτούς, πείθουσιν ὥστε μετὰ σφῶν Ἄργει τε τῷ Ἀμφιλοχικῷ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιχειρῆσαι, καὶ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ ἅμα, λέγοντες ὅτι ἢν τούτων κρατήσωσι, πᾶν τὸ Ἠπειρωτικὸν Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχον καθεστήξει. 7. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐρύλοχος πεισθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφεὶς ἡσύχαζε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τοὺ

τους, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσαμένοις περὶ τὸ Ἄργος δέοι βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

CIII. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων ξυνεπολέμουν, ἐπ' Ἴνησαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα, οὗ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Συρακόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν, ἀπῆεσαν. 2. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ὑστέροις Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος Συρακόσιοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες τρέπουσί τε μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐκ ὀλίγους. 3. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὁ Λάχης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἀποβάσεις τινὰς ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τὸν Καικῖνον ποταμόν, τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας Λοκρῶν μετὰ Προξένου τοῦ Καπάτωνος, ὡς τριακοσίους, μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἀπεχώρησαν.

CIV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δή τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. 2. θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος, ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῷ καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἑλών, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἁλύσει δήσας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον. καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ Δήλια. 3. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικός, χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις. 4. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος·

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν·

ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

5. ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῖ, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου. τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη·

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
μνήσασθ', ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών·
Ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθ' εὐφήμως·
Τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσῃ.

6. τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ· ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἱπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

CV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀμπρακιῶται, ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι Εὐρυλόχῳ τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον, ἐκστρατεύονται ἐπὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὄλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὃ ποτε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχισάμενοι κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως, ἐπιθαλασσίας οὔσης, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἱ μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ξυνεβοήθουν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὃ Κρῆναι καλεῖται, φυλάσσοντες τοὺς μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννησίους μὴ λάθωσι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας διελθόντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 3. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσαντα, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡγεμὼν γίγνηται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων αἳ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον οὖσαι, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀριστοτέλης τε ὁ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἱεροφῶν ὁ Ἀντιμνήστου. 4. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον οἱ περὶ τὰς Ὄλπας Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐς τὴν πόλιν κελεύοντες σφίσι βοηθεῖν παντδημεί, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ

μετ' Εὐρυλόχου οὐ δύνωνται διελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ σφίσιν ἢ μαχωθεῖσιν ἡ μάχη γένηται ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν βουλομένοις οὐκ ἦ ἀσφαλές. CVI. οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς ἤσθοντο τοὺς ἐν Ὄλπαις Ἀμπρακιώτας ἥκοντας, ἅραντες ἐκ τοῦ Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἐχώρουν δι' Ἀκαρνανίας, οὔσης ἐρήμου διὰ τὴν ἐς Ἄργος βοήθειαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες τὴν Στρατίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀκαρνανίαν. 2. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Στρατίων γῆν ἐχώρουν διὰ τῆς Φυτίας καὶ αὖθις Μεδεῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα, ἔπειτα διὰ Λιμναίας· καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ σφίσι. 3. λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγροῖκον, ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν νυκτὸς ἤδη, καὶ διεξελθόντες μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Κρήναις Ἀκαρνάνων φυλακῆς ἔλαθον καὶ προσέμιξαν τοῖς ἐν Ὄλπαις Ἀμπρακιώταις. CVII. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόοι ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητρόπολιν καλουμένην καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον παραγίγνονται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακικὸν κόλπον βοηθοῦντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις, καὶ Δημοσθένης Μεσσηνίων μὲν ἔχων διακοσίους ὁπλίτας, ἑξήκοντα δὲ τοξότας Ἀθηναίων. 2. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες περὶ τὰς Ὄλπας τὸν λόφον ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐφώρμουν· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων ὀλίγοι, οἱ γὰρ πλείους ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν βίᾳ κατείχοντο, ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἤδη ξυνεληλυθότες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μαχούμενοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ αἱροῦνται Δημοσθένη μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρατηγῶν. 3. ὁ δὲ προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς τῆς Ὄλπης ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· χαράδρα δ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλη διεῖργε. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν πέντε ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ ἐτάσσοντο ἀμφότεροι ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ μεῖζον γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ περιέσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδον, ὁ Δημοσθένης δείσας μὴ κυκλωθῇ λοχίζει ἐς ὁδόν τινα κοίλην καὶ λοχμώδη ὁπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ αὐτῇ ἐξαναστάντες οὗτοι κατὰ νώτου γίγνωνται. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις, ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας, Δημοσθένης μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγων· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀκαρνᾶνες ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι εἶχον καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων οἱ παρόντες ἀκοντισταί. Πελοποννήσιοι

δὲ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀναμὶξ τεταγμένοι πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες ἀθρόοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' Εὐρύλοχος ἔσχατον εἶχε τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Δημοσθένην. CVIII. ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ὄντες περιέσχον τῷ κέρᾳ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ νώτου προσπίπτουσί τε καὶ τρέπουσιν, ὥστε μήτε ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι φοβηθέντας τε ἐς φυγὴν καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστῆσαι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδον τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον καὶ ὃ κράτιστον ἦν διαφθειρόμενον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, ὄντες ταύτῃ μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξῆλθον. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐνίκων τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος ἀπεδίωξαν· καὶ γὰρ μαχιμώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. 3. ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ ὡς ἑώρων τὸ πλέον νενικημένον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀκαρνᾶνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσώζοντο ἐς τὰς Ὀλπας, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, ἀτάκτως καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα ξυντεταγμένοι παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἕως ὀψέ.

CIX. Μενεδαῖος δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Εὐρυλόχου τεθνεῶτος καὶ Μακαρίου αὐτὸς παρειληφὼς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορῶν μεγάλης ἧσσης γεγενημένης ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μένων πολιορκήσεται ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀποκεκλημένος, ἢ καὶ ἀνιχωρῶν διασωθήσεται, προσφέρει λόγον περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάνων στρατηγοῖς, καὶ περὶ νεκρῶν ἅμα ἀναιρέσεως. 2. οἱ δὲ νεκροὺς μὲν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τροπαῖον αὐτοὶ ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τριακοσίους μάλιστα ἀποθανόντας ἀνείλοντο· ἀναχώρησιν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι, κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατηγῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδονται Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Μενεδαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀποχωρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τε καὶ τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον τὸν ξενικόν, μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ χρῄζων Ἕλληνας ὡς καταπροδόντες τὸ ἑαυτῶν προὐργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο. 3. καὶ οἱ μὲν

τούς τε νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο καὶ διὰ τάχους ἔθαπτον, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν κρύφα οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἐπιβουλευον. CX. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἀγγέλλεται τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν Ὀλπῶν ἀγγελίαν ἐπιβοηθεῖν διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, βουλομένους τοῖς ἐν Ὀλπαις ξυμμῖξαι, εἰδότας οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων. 2. καὶ πέμπει εὐθὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος τι τὰς ὁδοὺς προλοχιοῦντας καὶ τὰ καρτερὰ προκαταληψομένους, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ ἅμα παρεσκευάζετο βοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. CXI. ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ ὀργάνων ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες ὑπαπῆεσαν κατ' ὀλίγους, ἅμα ξυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ἃ ἐξῆλθον δῆθεν· προκεχωρηκότες δὲ ἤδη ἄποθεν τῆς Ὀλπης θᾶσσον ἀπεχώρουν. 2. οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνελθόντες, ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, ἐπικαταλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι. 3. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι ἀσπόνδους ὁμοίως, καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐπεδίωκον· καί τινας αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν κωλύοντας καὶ φάσκοντας ἐσπεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἠκόντισέ τις, νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι σφᾶς· ἔπειτα μέντοι τοὺς μὲν Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἀφίεσαν, τοὺς δ' Ἀμπρακιώτας ἔκτεινον. 4. καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστιν εἴτε Πελοποννήσιος. καὶ ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα ὄμορον οὖσαν, καὶ Σαλύνθιος αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλος ὢν ὑπεδέξατο.

CXII. Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπ' Ἰδομένην. ἐστὸν δὲ δύο λόφω ἡ Ἰδομένη ὑψηλώ· τούτοιν τὸν μὲν μείζω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης οἱ προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλαθόν τε καὶ ἔφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες, τὸν δ' ἐλάσσω ἔτυχον οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται προαναβάντες, καὶ ἠλίσαντο. 2. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης δειπνήσας ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας εὐθύς, αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλοχικῶν ὀρῶν. 3. καὶ ἅμα ὄρθρῳ ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς καὶ οὐ προγεγνωσθημένοις τὰ γεγενημένα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον νομίσασι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· 4. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης προὔταξε, καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε, Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν

ἰέντας καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οὐ καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης. 5. ὡς οὖν ἐπέπεσε τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτῶν, τρέπουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. 6. προκατειλημμένων δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν Ἀμφιλόχων ἐμπείρων ὄντων τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς καὶ ψιλῶν πρὸς ὁπλίτας, τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ὅπη τράπωνται, ἐσπίπτοντες ἐς τε χαράδρας καὶ τὰς προλελοχισμένας ἐνέδρας διεφθείροντο. 7. καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν χωρήσαντες τῆς φυγῆς ἐτράποντό τινες καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν, καὶ ὡς εἶδον τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς παραπλεούσας ἅμα τοῦ ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, προσένευσαν, ἡγησάμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα φόβῳ κρεῖσσον εἶναι σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, εἰ δεῖ, διαφθαρῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλόχων. 8. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀμπρακιῶται τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κακωθέντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν· Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τροπαῖα στήσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς Ἄργος.

CXIII. καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦλθε κήρυξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Ἀγραίους καταφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ὀλπης Ἀμπρακιωτῶν, ἀναίρεσιν αἰτήσων τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν ὕστερον τῆς πρώτης μάχης, ὅτε μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τῶν ὑποσπόνδων ξυνεξήεσαν ἄσπονδοι. 2. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ κήρυξ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐθαύμαζε τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ᾤετο τῶν μετὰ σφῶν εἶναι. 3. καί τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅ,τι θαυμάζοι καὶ ὁπόσοι αὐτῶν τεθνᾶσιν, οἰόμενος αὖ ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰδομένῃ. 4. ὁ δ' ἔφη διακοσίους μάλιστα. ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶπεν, Οὔκουν τὰ ὅπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ πλέον ἢ χιλίων. αὖθις δὲ εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος, Οὐκ ἄρα τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν μαχομένων ἐστίν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο, Εἴπερ γε ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰδομένῃ χθὲς ἐμάχεσθε. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οὐδενὶ ἐμαχόμεθα χθές, ἀλλὰ πρώην ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει. Καὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσασι τῆς Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐμαχόμεθα. 5. ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ὡς ἤκουσε καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοήθεια διέφθαρται, ἀνοιμώξας καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπῆλθεν αὐθὺς ἄπρακτος καὶ οὐκέτι ἀπῄτει τοὺς νεκρούς. 6. πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο μιᾷ πόλει Ἑλληνίδι ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἔγραψα τῶν ἀποθα-

νόντων, διότι ἄπιστον τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται ἀπολέσθαι ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως. Ἀμπρακίαν μέντοι οἶδα ὅτι εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δημοσθένει πειθόμενοι ἐξελθεῖν, αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν εἷλον· νῦν δ' ἔδεισαν μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν χαλεπώτεροι σφίσι πάροικοι ὦσι. CXIV. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρίτον μέρος νείμαντες τῶν σκύλων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διείλοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλέοντα ἐάλω, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνακείμενα ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς Δημοσθένει ἐξηρέθησαν τριακόσιαι πανοπλίαι, καὶ ἄγων αὐτὰς κατέπλευσε· καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Αἰτωλίας ξυμφορὰν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως ἀδεεστέρα ἡ κάθοδος. 2. ἀπῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Ναύπακτον. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους τοῖς ὡς Σαλύνθιον καὶ Ἀγραίους καταφυγοῦσιν Ἀμπρακιώταις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑναχώρησιν ἐσπείσαντο ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν, οἵπερ καὶ μετανέστησαν παρὰ Σαλύνθιον. 3. καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν ἔτη Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι πρὸς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὥστε μήτε Ἀμπρακιώτας μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους μήτε Ἀκαρνᾶνας μετὰ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, βοηθεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὁπόσα ἢ χωρία ἢ ὁμήρους Ἀμφιλόχων ἔχουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον μὴ βοηθεῖν πολέμιον ὂν Ἀκαρνᾶσι. 4. ταῦτα ξυνθέμενοι διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κορίνθιοι φυλακὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ἐς τριακοσίους ὁπλίτας, καὶ Ξενοκλείδαν τὸν Εὐθυκλέους ἄρχοντα· οἱ κομιζόμενοι χαλεπῶς διὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου ἀφίκοντο. τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

CXV. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἔς τι τὴν Ἱμεραίαν ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσαντο ἐκ τῶν νεῶν μετὰ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν ἄνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἱμεραίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους ἔπλευσαν. 2. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐς Ῥήγιον Πυθόδωρον τὸν Ἰσολόχου, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον ὢν ὁ Λάχης ἦρχεν. 3. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ξύμμαχοι πλεύσαντες ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείοσι ναυσί· τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν εἰργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο

ναυτικὸν ξυναγείροντες ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι. 4. καὶ ἐπλήρουν ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἀποστελοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἅμα μὲν ἡγούμενοι θᾶσσον τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλυθήσεσθαι, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενοι μελέτην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπέστειλαν, Πυθόδωρον, ὀλίγαις ναυσί, Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν Σωστρατίδου καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους ἐπὶ τῶν πλειόνων νεῶν ἀποπέμψειν ἔμελλον. 5. ὁ δὲ Πυθόδωρος ἤδη ἔχων τὴν τοῦ Λάχητος τῶν νεῶν ἀρχὴν ἔπλευσε τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Λοκρῶν φρούριον, ὃ πρότερον Λάχης εἶλε· καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἀνεχώρησεν.

CXVI. Ἐρρύη δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον. καὶ γῆν τινα ἔφθειρε τῶν Καταναίων, οἳ ἐπὶ τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. 2. λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥυῆναι τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ῥεῖμα, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο. καὶ ἕκτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

NOTES.

[redacted]

NOTES.

BOOK I.

The Preface of this history, which is supposed to have been written by Thucydides after the termination of the war (see N. on I. 1. § 1), extends to chap. 24, and may be divided into three parts: 1, the reason why the history was composed (chap. 1); 2, the magnitude of the Peloponnesian war, evinced by a comparison of the ancient state and condition of Greece (chaps. 2–19); 3, the nature of Grecian history and especially of the work now in hand (chaps. 20–23). The second of these portions may be subject also to a threefold division: 1, the times which preceded the Trojan war (chaps. 2–8); 2, the Trojan war (chaps. 9–11); 3, the times which succeeded that war (chaps. 12–19). Cf. Poppo ad loc.

CHAPTER I.

The historian alleges as the reason why he composed a history of the Peloponnesian war, that it was greater and more memorable than any war in Greece which had preceded it (§ 1); it is impossible to arrive at any certain knowledge of the nature and importance of the preceding wars, yet the probability is strong that they were not very great (§ 2).

1. Θουκυδίδης. This is the form of a patronymic without the signification, as Μιλτιάδης, Ἀριστείδης, etc. Cf. Mt. § 429, 3. —— Ἀθηναῖος. Some think that the words τοῦ Ὀλόρου have been left out by copyists, inasmuch as they are found in IV. 104. § 4, and elsewhere. But, as Poppo remarks, our historian so distinguished himself, that there was no danger of his being confounded with others of the same name. There is no need with some critics of supplying the article with Ἀθηναῖος, as no emphasis is intended. —— ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον, *composed a history of the war*. The Scholiast says, that γράψαι is used of *one* thing, ξυγγράψαι, of *several*. Hence reference may be had to the documents or narratives upon

which the history was founded. Thucydides is called (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*) *ὁ ξυγγραφεύς*. —— *ὡς ἐπολέμησαν, as they carried it on.* Supply *αὖτον*. Some are disposed to read *ὅν* instead of *ὡς*, but without sufficient authority to justify the change. —— *ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθίσταμενου* (= *ἀρξάμενος τοῦ συγγράψαι εὐθὺς ὅτε καθίσταto ὁ πόλεμος*), *having commenced it immediately at the beginning of the war*, i. e. he commenced the collection and arrangement of the materials at the first breaking out of the war. The history was not written out until the war had closed. Cf. V. 26. § 1, where he speaks of the war as finished, and II. 13. § 7, where the Long Walls are spoken of as a past affair. —— *καί*. Unless this connective suggests the mental repetition of *ξυνέγραψε*, I am at a loss to conjecture its use, since *ἐλπίσας, expecting, supposing* (cf. Lat. sperare), denotes the cause of the preceding proposition. Cf. K. § 312, b. —— *ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, more remarkable than any which had preceded.* This use of the superlative for the comparative, is of frequent occurrence in Thucydides. —— *ἀκμάζοντες—ἦσαν* (= *ἤκμαζον*), *were in the highest state of preparation.* —— *ἐς αὐτόν*, i. e. *for the war.* "*ἀκμάζειν ἔς τι* eodem modo dictum, ut *ἔῤῥωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*, II. 8. § 1, qua voce illam explicat Zon. p. 984." Krüg. —— *τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν* = *τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας*. —— *καὶ—ὁρῶν* = *καὶ ὅτι ἑώρα*, the construction having been changed from *ὅτι* with the verb to the participle. *καὶ* here refers to *τὲ* after *ἀκμάζοντες*, and introduces another reason for the conjecture expressed in *τεκμαιρόμενος*. —— *τὸ μὲν—τὸ δέ, partly—and partly.* —— *διανοούμενον* (sc. *ξυνίστασθαι* from the preceding clause). "*Id in animo habens*, id moliens." Bothe.

2. *κίνησις....βαρβάρων, for this was the greatest commotion which ever took place among the Greeks, and a considerable portion of the barbarians.* *κίνησις* does not take the article, because it is the predicate, and the pronoun *αὕτη* the subject. Cf. K. § 246, R. 1; Kr. § 61. 7. *δὴ* strengthens *μεγίστη, by far the greatest.* Some confine *μεγίστη δὴ* to *τοῖς Ἕλλησιν*, but it evidently is to be extended to *μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων*, "*a large portion of the barbarians.*" Arnold Reference is had to the Persians, Thracians, Sicilians, etc., who participated with the Greeks to a greater or less extent in the Peloponnesian war. —— *ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν* = *and I had well nigh said*, not, *and so to speak*, as this phrase is more commonly to be rendered. *καὶ* in the next clause is *even, also.* —— *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων* = *πλείστοις ἀνθρώποις*. —— *τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν*. "The plural pronoun refers to some such expression as *τὰ τοῦ πολέμου*, or *τὰ Πελοποννησίακα*, as we often find the Persian war called *τὰ Μηδικά*." Arnold. By *τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν* is meant the Persian, and by *τὰ ὅτι παλαιότερα*, the Trojan

war. Some, however, understand by the former of these expressions both the Persian and Trojan wars, and by the latter, those still more remote, viz. in the heroic ages. —— *διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος, on account of the length of time* which had elapsed since they were carried on This use of *πλῆθος*, in the sense of *μῆκος*, is quite rare. —— *ἀδύνατα — ἀδύνατον.* K. § 241. 3. —— *ὧν.* Some supply *ἐξ* from the preceding *ἐκ*, but it is better to make it stand for *ἃ* after *σκοποῦντι*, the genitive resulting from the attraction of the pronoun with its antecedent *τεκμηρίων*. Poppo in his Suppl. Adnot. says "per schema *κατὰ κοινοῦ* explicanda verba." —— *μακρότατον σκοποῦντι.* Poppo after the Scholiast explains these words, *diutissime spectare.* I prefer with Goel., Arnold, and Bloomf., to render it, *going back as far as possible in my inquiry.* —— *πιστεῦσαι*, "intelligendum *ὥστε*, *ita ut fidem habeam testimoniis.*" Bothe. —— *μεγάλα* refers to the *τὰ* which precedes. —— *ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, as it respects other things*, i. e. civil affairs. For this use of *ἐς* (old Attic for *εἰς*), cf. K. § 290. 2. c.

CHAPTER II.

The inhabitants of Greece in its earliest state were for several reasons migratory (§§ 1, 2); the richest districts were most subject to this change of inhabitants (§§ 3, 4); while Attica from its sterility was more permanently inhabited (§ 5); for which reason it excelled in population the other states of Greece, furnished a refuge for such as were driven from their homes, and planted colonies in Ionia (§ 6).

1. *φαίνεται—οἰκουμένη.* With the participle, *φαίνεσθαι* signifies *to appear, to show one's self;* with the infinitive, *to seem, videri.* K. § 311. 8; S. § 225. 8. —— *γὰρ* here introduces a confirmation of what was said in the preceding chapter, that neither the civil nor military affairs of Greece, in its earliest ages, were very considerable. —— *ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη, what is now called Greece.* S. § 225. 1. —— *βεβαίως*, "*modo firmo ac stabili.*" Betant. —— *μεταναστάσεις* (*migrations*) *οὖσαι.* Supply *φαίνονται* from the preceding context. —— *τὴν ἑαυτῶν, their own country.* —— *βιαζόμενοι....πλειόνων*, "*coacti ab iis, quicunque majore numero ipsos invaderent.*" Haack. *ἀεί, from time to time.* When it has this meaning, *ἀεὶ* is usually placed between the article and the adjective or participle. Cf. I. 11. §§ 1, 2; 22. § 1, *et saepe al.*

2. *νεμόμενοι....ἀποζῆν, each one holding as his own possession as much* (only) *as he could live on—just enough for subsistence.* On

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CHAPTER II.

The inhabitants of Greece in its earliest state were for several reasons migratory (§§ 1, 2); the richest districts were most subject to this change of inhabitants (§§ 3, 4); while Attica from its sterility was more permanently inhabited (§ 5); for which reason it excelled in population the other states of Greece, furnished a refuge for such as were driven from their homes, and planted colonies in Ionia (§ 6).

1. *φαίνεται—οἰκουμένη*. With the participle, *φαίνεσθαι* signifies *to appear, to show one's self;* with the infinitive, *to seem, videri*. K. § 311. 8; S. § 225. 8. —— *γὰρ* here introduces a confirmation of what was said in the preceding chapter, that neither the civil nor military affairs of Greece, in its earliest ages, were very considerable. —— *ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη*, *what is now called Greece*. S. § 225. 1. —— *βεβαίως*, "*modo firmo ac stabili*." Betant. —— *μεταναστάσεις* (*migrations*) *οὖσαι*. Supply *φαίνονται* from the preceding context. —— *τὴν ἑαυτῶν*, *their own country*. —— *βιαζόμενοι....πλειόνων*, "*coacti ab iis, quicunque majore numero ipsos invaderent*." Haack. *ἀεί*, *from time to time*. When it has this meaning, *ἀεὶ* is usually placed between the article and the adjective or participle. Cf. I. 11. §§ 1, 2; 22. § 1, *et saepe al.*

2. *νεμόμενοι....ἀποζῆν*, *each one holding as his own possession as much* (only) *as he could live on—just enough for subsistence*. On

ὅσον, cf. K. § 332. R. 8; S. § 222. 6. ἀποζῆν, "*vitam tolerare.*" Betant. —— χρημάτων is well rendered by Bloomf. *goods, moveables, property*, not money only. —— οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, *not planting the earth*, as with vines, olives, etc., since the enjoyment of the fruit of their labor would be so precarious. For the construction of ἄδηλον ὄν (*it being uncertain*), cf. K. § 312. 5; S. § 226. b. —— ὁπότε. The idiom of our language would have required εἰ μὴ after ἄδηλον ὄν. —— καί, *also, too.* —— ἀτειχίστων—ὄντων, sc. αὐτῶν. When the subject of the genitive absolute is a pronoun, which can easily be supplied from the context, it is often omitted. Reference is had in ἀτειχίστων properly to abodes and dwellings. The construction is varied, for ἀτειχίστους ὄντας ἀφαιρήσεται (sc. τὴν γῆν πεφυτευμένην). —— ἅμα, *moreover, withal.* —— καθ' ἡμέραν (*daily*) is frequently found with verbs denoting *to live, to obtain a livelihood.* —— ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς, *necessary subsistence.* —— οὐ χαλεπῶς, *without difficulty, readily.* —— δι' αὐτό, i.e. on account of the little difficulty they made in emigrating. —— παρασκευῇ refers to military apparatus.

8. τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη (= τῆς γῆς τὸ πλεῖστον. Cf. K. § 264. 2. c), *the richest country*, literally, *the best of the land.* —— νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη. Thessaly was in more ancient times called Emathia, Pelasgia, Pyrrha, etc. —— Ἀρκαδίας. The Arcadian country was mountainous, and hence as their lands were uninviting, the ancient settlers were suffered to remain unmolested, and they were, therefore, called by Herodotus αὐτόχθονες (cf. I. 6. § 3). —— ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα, *and whatever other parts were most fertile.*

4. ἀρετὴν γῆς, *fertility of soil.* τισὶ—ἐγγιγνόμεναι = γιγνόμεναι ἐν τισί. —— ἐφθείροντο refers to the persons who stirred up factions. —— ἅμα. See N. on § 2, supra. —— ἀλλοφύλων, *strangers, foreigners*, probably, for the most part, Greeks belonging to other tribes.

5. γοῦν, *for instance.* —— ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον—οὖσαν. This is explained by the Scholiast and some commentators, by making οὖσαν stand for εἶναι, thus blending two modes of expression, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον—εἶναι, and Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον—οὖσαν. They then take ἐκ τοῦ with οὖσαν (= εἶναι), and translate ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, *for the most part.* But I prefer with Poppo, Arnold, and Bloomf. (in his last edition) to regard ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον as a single expression = ἐξ ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning.* —— λεπτόγεων, *thinness of soil, sterility.* A great part of Attica was bare rock, where nothing could be sown. But in the portions capable of cultivation, barley, and even wheat were produced, and every sort of plant and animals throve in spite of the poverty of the soil. Cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Athens, p. 40. Agriculture was held in great estimation by the Athenians. Cf. Xen.

Œcon. 4; Aristot. Polit. VI. 4. —— *οἱ αὐτοὶ* (*the same.* S. § 160. 5) *ἀεί.* See N. on II. 36. § 1.

6. *καὶ παράδειγμα....αὐξηθῆναι, and this is no small proof of my statement* (viz.) *that on account of the migrations, Greece, in its other parts* (*ἐς τὰ ἄλλα*), *did not increase in like manner* (*ὁμοίως*) with Athens. After much examination, I am led to prefer this mode of translation, which connects *διὰ τὰς μετοικίας....αὐξηθῆναι* with *οὗ λόγου*, to the one adopted by Bloomfield, which unites it with *παράδειγμα τόδε.* The *παράδειγμα* (*proof*) is contained in the clause beginning with *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης.* Goel. and others would erase *ἐς*, and make *τὰ ἄλλα* (— *τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*) the subject of *αὐξηθῆναι.* This gives the same sense with the subaudition of *τὴν Ἑλλάδα* as the subject. The *λόγος* or statement to which Thucydides refers, as Arnold observes, is contained in the words *οὐ χαλεπῶς....παρασκευῇ*, § 2, supra. The interpretation of Haack after Poppo, I cannot but regard as very wide of the mark: *On account of the immigrations into Attica, that country did not increase in other respects* (i. e. in riches and military resources), *in an equal degree* with the number of its inhabitants. Nothing is said in the previous context about the comparative increase of the population and resources of Attica; therefore to introduce it here would be foreign to the design of the author, which seems to have been, to show how their migratory habits retarded the growth of many of the Grecian states. This he does by comparing them with Attica, where the population was stable and on the increase. —— *οἱ πολέμῳ* — *ἐκπίπτοντες* (*being banished, expelled*)—*οἱ δυνατώτατοι* — *τῶν πολέμῳ ἐκπιπτόντων οἱ δυνατώτατοι.* Melanthus and the Heraclidæ are supposed to be especially referred to in *οἱ δυνατώτατοι.* —— *ὡς βέβαιον ὄν* is an accusative absolute. Cf. S. § 226. a; Mt. § 568. 3. "Male Haack. *χωρίον* intelligit; debebat saltem *τί*, *tanquam aliquid firmum.*" Poppo. In abbreviated adjectival sentences, the predicate adjective stands in the neuter singular, when the subject to which it refers, expresses not any particular individual of a class, but merely the general notion. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 381. —— *πολῖται γιγνόμενοι.* In later times, it was with extreme difficulty that one, who came from another state into Athens, could obtain the *jus civitatis.* —— *ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ, of old, long ago.* —— *μείζω ἔτι, yet greater.* —— *ἐς Ἰωνίαν.* This is a *prolepsis*, inasmuch as Ionia received its name from the Ionian colonists, who being expelled from Peloponnesus, had taken refuge some sixty years before in Athens. A similar prolepsis is found in the use of *Σελινοῦντα*, VI. 4. § 2. —— *ὡς....Ἀττικῆς.* Cf. S. § 226. a. Bloomf. supplies *χωρεῖν αὐτοὺς* with *οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης.*

CHAPTER III.

Evidence of the weakness of Greece in its more early times, is furnished in the fact, that, before the Trojan war, no enterprise was undertaken by the states in combination, and that they had not yet any name in common (§ 1); they gradually received the appellation *Hellenes* from Hellen and his sons, who had become powerful in Phthiotis, and were called in by the other cities to their aid (§ 2); of which Homer is a witness, who, though living at a far later age, nowhere calls them Hellenes, but restricts that name to those who came with Achilles from Phthiotis (§ 3); nor in contradistinction from them does Homer call any *Barbarians*, inasmuch as the Greeks had yet no general name to which this appellation could be opposed (§ 4); the Trojan expedition was undertaken by them, only because at that time they began to turn their attention more particularly to naval affairs (§ 5).

1. δὲ resumes the main subject, which was broken off by the parenthesis, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς κ. τ. λ. in § 3, of the preceding chapter. —— τόδε refers forward to the sentence commencing with πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν. —— οὐχ ἥκιστα — μάλιστα. Thucydides is fond of the *litotes*. —— τῶν Τρωικῶν, *the Trojan war*. Cf. Mt. § 445. 6. d. —— φαίνεται—ἐργασαμένη. See N. on I. 2. § 1. —— δοκεῖ δέ μοι —εἶχεν. By the omission of ὅτι, the dependent clause here assumes the form of a principal clause. Great vivacity and strength is imparted in such cases, by the omission of the word denoting the dependent relation. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 798. 1. a; Kr. § 55. 4. N. 8. —— In τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἕλληνος (*in the times before Hellen*), the article is joined in the same manner as in the phrases τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, τὸ πρὸ τούτου, etc. Some prefer, however, to make τὰ μὲν —δὲ — τὰ μὲν—τὰ δέ, *partim—et partim*. —— καὶ πάνυ οὐδέ, *not at all*. καὶ increases the force of πάνυ, as our word *very*, in the phrases *very much*, *very little*, etc. Cf. Kr. § 69. 32. N. 18. —— εἶναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις. Notice the change of construction from εἶχεν, the nominative being here used with the infinitive, which construction is varied again by the accusative with the infinitive in καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας. The reason for this last change, seems to be the employment of the preceding accusatives with prepositions, κατὰ ἔθνη, and καθ' ἑκάστους, which are really subjects of παρέχεσθαι and καλεῖσθαι. Cf. Mt. § 427. 4. Obs. 2; Jelf's Kühn. 372. *Obs.* 2. —— ἄλλα τε καί, *and especially*. —— ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, *from themselves*, i. e. they themselves gave the name to their respective districts.

2. Ἕλληνος, *Hellen* was the king of Phthia in Thessaly, and was the mythical ancestor of the Greeks, in contradistinction from the more ancient Pelasgians. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Mythol. p. 378. —— ἰσχυσάντων, *having become powerful*. Cf. I. 9. § 2. —— ἐπαγο-

μένων (middle), sc. ἀνθρώπων elicited from ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις which follows. —— αὐτοὺς refers to Hellen and his sons. —— ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ, *for aid*, i. e. of the cities which invited them. —— καθ' ἑκάστους, *one by one, singly*. —— τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον, *more by intercourse* than by any conventional arrangement. Poppo suggests that μᾶλλον may signify, *magis magisque, in dies sæpius*. —— οὐ belongs to ἠδύνατο (sc. τὸ καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας). —— ἅπασιν ἐνικῆσαι, *to come into use among all*; literally, *to prevail, to get the upper hand*. Bothe takes ἅπασι in the sense of πάντως.

8. πολλῷ—ὕστερον. Homer is supposed to have lived after the Ionian migration, which was 100 years subsequent to the Trojan war. No less diversity than 500 years is assigned to the various dates of his birth. The most probable supposition is, that he lived about 800 years after the Trojan war. —— καὶ (before τῶν Τρωικῶν), *even*.

4. οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἴρηκε. "Non negat Thucydides, vocem βάρβαρος Homeri ætate et fuisse et peregrini quid indicasse (Il. 2. 867, καρῶν βαρβαροφώνων); negat, eam omnes exteros, tamquam Hellenibus oppositos, complexam esse. Cf. Odyss. 8. 294." Haack. —— διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἕλληνάς πω—ἀποκεκρίσθαι, *because the Greeks were not yet distinguished*.

5. οἱ....κληθέντες, *these several* (ἕκαστοι) *Hellenistic communities, having been first called Hellenists by separate cities*, (i. e.) *such as understood one another's language, and afterwards all being called by that general appellation*. There are other ways of translating this passage which for the sake of brevity I must omit. Some verbal explanations, however, are needful. οἱ δ' is put for οὗτοι δέ. οὖν is resumptive, and takes up the assertion made at the beginning of the chapter, πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν....Ἑλλάς. As Arnold well remarks, what is there ἡ Ἑλλάς, is now οἱ ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες, and the following words are a sort of explanation of the term, which properly speaking is an anachronism. ὅσοι, in the parenthetical clause ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, takes the gender implied in πόλεις, ξυνίεσαν is the imperf. 3 plur. of ξυνίημι. For its construction with the genitive, of K. § 278. 5. e. —— ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων, *want of intercourse with one another*. —— ἔπραξαν refers to Ἕλληνες for its subject. —— ἀλλὰ ξυνῆλθον, *nay, it was only because* (K. § 312. 8. b.) *they were better acquainted with nautical affairs* (literally, *the sea*) *that they united in that expedition*. This sentence introduces the remarks, which Thucydides now proceeds to make, on the origin of maritime affairs and the practice of piracy. It is unnecessary with Haack to supply ἐς or κατὰ before στρατείαν, as it is the cognate accusative after ξυνῆλθον (K. § 278).

CHAPTER IV.

Minos was the most ancient possessor of a navy, and having brought the Cyclades under his dominion and expelled the Carians, began to clear the sea of pirates (§ 1).

1. γὰρ is here inchoative and explanatory. In such instances it may be rendered *now*. "The Schol. remarks, that by three comparisons Thucydides shows the slender power of the times which preceded the Peloponnesian war; (1) by comparison with the period before Minos, (2) with that from his age up to the Trojan war, (3) from thence to his own times." Bloomf. —— παλαίτατος—ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο, *was the most ancient possessor of a navy*. Similar to this use of the superlative is the Latin *primus hoc facit — primus fuit, qui faceret*. —— ὢν — ἐκείνων ὤν. —— νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς Θαλάσσης. "πρότερον γὰρ Καρικὴ ἐκαλεῖτο." Schol. It is now called the Archipelago. —— Κυκλάδων. These islands received this name, because they formed a kind of circle around Delos. —— οἰκιστής, *colonizer*. —— Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας. Herodotus (I. 171) says that the Carians were expelled by the Athenians. It is probable, that the Dorian and Ionian colonies wholly extirpated those old Carian inhabitants, many of whom, doubtless, had been suffered to remain and enjoy equal privileges with the colony of Cretan settlers planted there by Minos. In this way, the apparently conflicting accounts of Herodotus and our author may be reconciled. —— ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδύνατο, *as far as he was able*. —— τοῦ —λέναι (S. § 222. 2; K. § 308. 2. b), *in order that greater revenues might accrue to him*.

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks and Barbarians anciently were much addicted to piracy, which, so far from being deemed unlawful or dishonourable, was regarded as in some measure conferring glory upon those who engaged in it (§ 1); this is seen in the traces of the custom still remaining in certain parts of the continent, and from the testimony of the old poets (§ 2); robbery by land was also practised, which custom still prevails in some of the Grecian states (§ 3).

1. γὰρ serves here to introduce the origin and cause of the piracy, referred to in the close of the preceding chapter. —— οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων. A litotes for, *the most powerful*. See N. on I. 8.

§ 1. —— *κέρδους....τροφῆς, both for their own gain and to supply food to their poor.* *τοῖς ἀσθενέσι* literally signifies, *the weak, infirm,* but as these persons are generally possessed of slender means of subsistence, we may render it as above. *τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς* is put for *ἕνεκα τροφῆς τῆς τῶν ἀσθενέων.* By attending to such passages the reader will see, in a manner, how Thucydides compressed his style. —— *κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις, being inhabited like villages,* i. e. in a scattering manner like Sparta, Mantinea, Tegea, etc. —— *τὸν πλεῖστον ἐποιοῦντο, derived thence the greatest part of their livelihood.* *τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου = τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου.* See N. on I. 2. § 3. —— *οὐκ—πω, not yet.* —— *φέροντος....μᾶλλον, but rather bringing something* (*τι*) *of glory even.*

2. *οἷς....δρᾶν, to whom it is an honour to do this cleverly, in good style.* *κόσμος* = an adjective in the predicate. Some take *καλῶς* in the sense of *humanely,* but this is a signification wholly unsuitable to the passage. As Bloomf. remarks, there is no word which better expresses the exact idea, than our English word *handsomely,* in the acceptation *dexterously.* *οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν = οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιηταί.* Bloomf. I prefer, however, with Bothe, to refer *οἱ παλαιοὶ* to the persons spoken of by the poets, inasmuch as it was not the poets themselves who asked the questions here referred to. Thus also it may be opposed to *τινὲς ἔτι νῦν.* —— *τὰς πύστεις—ἐρωτῶντες,* "i. e. *interrogari advenas ab hospitibus facentes,* nam non ipsi poetæ percontari poterant." Goeller. *πύστεις* depends upon *ἐρωτῶντες* as its cognate accusative. Cf. K. § 278. 1; S. § 182. 2. —— *ὧν πυνθάνονται = ἐκείνων ὧν* (S. § 192. n. 3) *πυνθάνονται.* Cf. II. 57. § 1. —— *ἀπαξιούντων, disowning, holding unworthy.* —— *οἷς....ὀνειδιζόντων.* The order is: *οὔτε οἷς* (= *ἐκείνων οἷς*) *ἐπιμελὲς εἴη εἰδέναι ὀνειδιζόντων.* The particles *τε—οὐκ* respond to *οὔτε* in the first member. The freedom from reproach here referred to is illustrated in Odyss. 8. 71.

3. *κατ' ἤπειρον, by land.* *ἤπειρος* signifies the *mainland* of Greece as opposed to its islands. —— *τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ* refers to the practice of piracy and robbery by land, just spoken of, and not, as Huds. and some others think, to the dispersed and defenceless condition of the people who inhabited the cities. —— *Λοκροὺς....Ἀκαρνᾶνας.* Grote well remarks (Hist. of Greece, II. p. 388), that the Ozolian Locrians, the Ætolians, and the Acarnanians were the most backward members of the Hellenic aggregate. It was not until near the time of the Peloponnesian war, that much information is given respecting them. —— *τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι, the wearing of armor* (literally, *the being clad in iron*), is the subject of *ἐμμεμένηκε, continued, remained* as a custom. —— *ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς λῃστείας.* Arms would be worn ne-

(§ 1); a custom which is now prevalent in some parts of Greece (§ 2
[illegible] laid aside by the Athenians, who adopted a more refined mode
was but recently, that the more elderly dispensed with the ornaments
age and adopted the simple apparel now in use (§ 3); in this adoption
costume the Lacedæmonians took the lead (§ 4); and were the first al
gymnastic exercises naked, girdles having been before worn around t
manner of the barbarians (§ 5); in many other respects, there was a si
the old Grecian mode of living, and that of the barbarians at the presen

1. *ἐσιδηροφόρει.* See N. on I. 5. § 3. —— *διὰ . . . οἰκ*
runt of their unprotected dwellings. Cf. *πόλεσιν ἀτειχίσ*
:loomf. would render *ἀφράκτους οἰκήσεις, open villages*
amlets. —— *ξυνήϑη* = *ξυνήϑως.* —— *δίαιταν* refers here
ıd modes of daily life ("*vitæ genus et institutio.*" Beta
ə rendered, *ordinary pursuits.* —— *μεϑ' ὅπλων* = *ἐνοπλι*

2. *ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, i. e. the Ozolian Locrians, *A*
carnanians. Cf. I. 5. § 3. —— *ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα, retain*
ıbit; literally, *living yet in this manner.* —— *τῶν ποτε*
διατημάτων depends on *σημεῖον.* —— *ἐς* = *extending to*

3. *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι, first of all* (K. § 239. R. 2). Some
ırase, *among the first.* But cf. Mt. § 290. 3; Jelf's Küh
4. 5. *a.* See also N. on III. 17. § 1. —— *ἀνειμένῃ τῇ δι*
ration of manners, i. e. by adopting customs less se
ισβύτεροι—τῶν εὐδαιμόνων = *the older men of the opulen*
τοῖς (= *ἐξ αὐτῶν*), *of them, among them.* Mt. § 387;
—— *διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον, on account of their luxurio*
:nold well remarks, explains why they wore the line
ıy they took it off. Hence these

Bloomf. Their shape bore a resemblance to the form of grasshoppers, a device which the Athenians seem to have adopted, to show that they were natives of the soil (*αὐτόχθονες*), as the grasshopper, which was produced from the land itself. Aristoph. Equit. 1331, alludes to these grasshopper-combs. The student is referred to Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 268, for an interesting sketch of the various ways in which the Greeks arranged their hair, with appropriate illustrations. *ἀναδούμενοι* depends on *ἐπαύσαντο* (S. § 225. 7), and *τῶν τριχῶν* limits *κρωβύλον*. —— *ἀφ' οὗ*, *from which* custom of the Athenians. —— *ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε* (*the fashion prevailed*) is a hypaliage for *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰώνων κατέσχον τὴν σκευὴν ταύτην*. Bauer.

4. *μετρίᾳ*, *simple*, *modest*. —— *ἐς* (before *τὸν νῦν*), *conformed to*. K. § 290. 2. (3) b. —— *ἐς τὰ ἄλλα*, *in other respects*. —— *πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς* is to be construed after *ἰσοδίαιτοι*, which the Schol. explains, *ὁμοδίαιτοι*. —— *οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι*. This shows that in the estimation of Thucydides, equality of property was not a feature of the Lacedæmonian institutions. Grote (Hist. Greece II. pp. 520–525) exposes most admirably the dreams of Plutarch, in respect to the alleged redivision of landed property by Lycurgus, and his banishment of gold and silver from Sparta.

5. *ἐγυμνώθησαν*. The practice of contending naked in the Olympic games, which, as we are here informed, arose from the Spartans, was adopted in the 14th Olympiad, as it appears from an epigram on Orsippus the Megarean. Gottl. says that *πρῶτοι* is not to be pressed too far, since the Lacedæmonians derived this custom from the Cretans. Cf. Plat. Repub. V. p. 452. A reference, however, to this passage in Plato, will show that the *ἀγῶνες* are not referred to, but the games themselves. —— *ἐς τὸ φανερόν*. There seems to be an ellipsis of *προελθόντες*, *exutis vestibus in conspectum progressi*. So Bauer, Goeller, and Poppo. Haack makes *ἐς τὸ φανερὸν* = *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ* or *φανερῶς*. Arnold's and Bloomfield's translation, *for all to see*, making *ἐς* denote either the designed or natural result of the action, is inadmissible, since the former was not true, and to notice the latter, as though the reader would need to be informed, that a combatant who exercised naked would be seen by all, does not comport with the brevity of Thucydides, who never turns aside to inform his reader of any thing, which he may be supposed to know. —— *λίπα* is an abridged dative for *λίπαῖ*, *λίπᾳ*, from *τὸ λίπα*. K. § 68. 9. —— *ἠλείψαντο*, i. e. *πρῶτοι*. —— *τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς* = *τῶν βαρβάρων ἔστιν οἷς* (= *ἐνίοις*. K. § 331. R. 4). —— *νῦν* is to be constructed immediately after *ἔτι δὲ καί*. —— Krüg. remarks with reason that *ἄθλα τίθεται* should properly have been *ἄθλων τιθεμένων*,

and the following καὶ omitted, since the difference between the Greeks and Barbarians, in the time of Thucydides, was not in the institution of prizes for wrestling and pugilism, but in the barbarian custom of contending with girdles around the loins. —— τοῦτο refers to τὸ πυγμαχεῖν καὶ παλαίειν, elicited from the preceding substantives πυγμῆς and πάλης.

6. Krüg. constructs πολλὰ with ὁμοιότροπα, but Bloomf. supplies κατὰ with πολλὰ and takes ὁμοιότροπα adverbially.

CHAPTER VII.

For the sake of security against the pirates, the more ancient towns were built some distance from the sea, while such as were more recently founded were built on the very sea-coast, or on isthmuses for the more convenient pursuits of commerce (§ 1).

1. ἤδη πλοϊμωτέρων ὄντων, *navigation being now more advanced*, "*when things began to admit more of navigation.*" Arnold. πλωϊμωτέρων is found in the editions of Goel., Haack, Poppo, and Bloomf. The plural is here used for the singular. —— ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς, *upon the very sea-coast.* S. § 160. 4. a. —— ἀπελάμβανον, *occupied.* In other places, as IV. 45. § 2; 102. § 4, it is more fully written ἰσθμὸν ἀπολαβόντα τειχίζειν, τείχεσιν ἀπολαμβάνειν. The verb therefore may be safely rendered, *they walled off, enclosed with walls.* Cf. Bernt *sub voce.* Bloomf. illustrates the choice of commanding positions as the site of these towns, by referring to Corinth and Potidæa. —— ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν, *for a long time prevalent*, "*diu obdurantem* — diuturnam." Bothe. Cf. II. 64. § 5. —— ἀπὸ in ἀπὸ θαλάσσης denotes distance from a place, the verb of the proposition being one of rest. K. § 288. 1. b. Reference is had to such cities as Sparta, Thebes, Delphi, Argos, etc. —— ἔφερον, *they* (i. e. the pirates) *laid waste, ravaged.* φέρω in this sense is usually joined with ἄγω. —— τῶν....ᾤκουν, *as many of the others as lived on the coast* (κάτω ᾤκουν), *although unacquainted with maritime affairs.* Haack supplies ἐκείνους before ὅσοι, on account of the preceding ἀλλήλους. The participle ὄντες is here concessive, and may be translated as a verb preceded by *although.* Cf. K. § 312. 4. d; S. § 225. 6; οὐ θαλάσσιοι — οὐκ ἔμπειροι τῆς θαλάσσης. —— καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε κ. τ. λ. resumes the narration, which was interrupted by the parenthesis ἔφερον....ᾤκουν. —— ἀνῳκισμένοι εἰσὶ (— ἄνω οἰκοῦσι), *are built at a distance from the coast.* The gender by *constructio ad sensum* is put in the masculine, although the verb properly refers to cities. See N. on I. § 136. 1.

CHAPTER VIII.

Piracy was also practised by the islanders, whom the purification of Delos showed to have been mostly Carians and Phœnicians (§ 1); but when Minos expelled the pirates from the islands, the sea became more open to navigation (§ 2); for which reason, the resources and power of those who dwelt on the sea-coast increased, and their mode of life becoming more settled, they surrounded their cities with walls, some of which cities obtaining the pre-eminence over smaller ones, attained to considerable consequence, and thus the way was prepared for the Trojan expedition (§§ 3, 4).

1. Poppo thinks that this section belongs to the preceding chapter, inasmuch as it illustrates the subject matter of that chapter. *οὐχ ἧσσον* — *μᾶλλον.* —— *ὄντες, who were.* The participle may sometimes be rendered by the relative and verb. Cf. K. § 309. 3. b; S. § 225. 2. —— *οὗτοι....ᾤκισαν (colonized).* Cf. Herodot. I. 171; IV. 147; VI. 44. —— *μαρτύριον δέ.* See *παράδειγμα*, I. 2. § 5. The full form is found in Herodot. II. 58. *τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε (ἐστί).* Cf. Mt. § 628. 2. *f;* Butt. § 151. 6. —— *καθαιρομένης.* After this purification of Delos by the Athenians on the advice of an oracle, they suffered no person to die on the island, but carried those whose end was approaching over into Rhenæa. —— *τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ.* Delos was purified at the end of the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. —— *ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, above one half.* —— *σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων* — *ὅπλοις* according to the opinion of some, but it is better to render *σκευῇ, fashion, make.* —— *ξυντεθαμμένῃ.* Goel. edits *ξυντεθαμμένου*, which yields the same sense.

2. The discussion of events seems here to be resumed from chap. 4, at which place the historian digressed, to speak of the existence of piracy and robbery, and their effect upon the condition and habits of the various states of Greece. *δὲ* may therefore be rendered, *however.* —— *καταστάντος, having been established.* —— *πλοϊμώτερα* — *πλοϊμώτερον.* Cf. N. on I. 7. § 1. —— *οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν* — *οἱ ἐν τοῖς νήσοις κακοῦργοι (the pirates) ἀνέστησαν (were expelled) ἐξ αὐτῶν.* K. § 800. 4. a. *πὲρ* gives a shade of indefiniteness to *ὅτε* — *about the time when.*

3. *οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι*, i. e. the men who inhabited the sea-coasts. —— *μᾶλλον....ποιούμενοι, having now obtained possession of greater wealth.* ——*βεβαιότερον* has reference to a more permanent mode of living. —— *τείχη περιεβάλλοντο* (sc. *ταῖς πολέσιν*) — *τὰς πόλεις τείχεσιν ἐκύκλουν.* —— *πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν* — *richer than they were before.* —— *γὰρ* "causam reddit verborum *βαιότερον ᾤκουν* et *τείχη περιβάλλοντο.*" Poppo. —— *κερδῶν* depends on *ἐφιέμενοι.* K. § 278. 2. b ——*οἱ—ἧσσους, the poorer.* S. § 65. —— *προσεποιοῦντο*

....πόλεις, *they won over and made obedient to them the smaller cities.* Two phrases are here blended into one.

4. μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες, *being now in a better state* than formerly, i. e. having now become powerful and rich. Bauer interprets this passage: *magis est*, ut tali conditione jam fuerint, quam ut in illa prisca." —— ὕστερον χρόνῳ = ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ, a former reading, but now considered a gloss.

CHAPTER IX.

The expedition against Troy was set on foot, not so much by the suitor's oath to Tyndarus, as the superior power and influence which Agamemnon had to any of the princes of his time (§ 1); for Pelops, by the wealth which he brought from Asia, became powerful in Peloponnesus (which took its name from him), which power was increased by Atreus, who obtained the sovereignty of Mycenæ and some other states on the death of Eurystheus (§ 2); all which wealth and power Agamemnon possessing, he drew together the armament against Troy, more through the influence of fear than attachment (§ 3); for he fitted out the greatest number of ships for that expedition, according to Homer, who also speaks of his extensive sway (§ 4); from this expedition may be conjectured the nature and importance of those which preceded it (§ 5).

1. τῶν τότε δυνάμει προὔχων, *by being superior in power to the princes of that time.* The genitive depends on προὔχων (S. § 198. 2), which participle denotes *means* (K. § 312. 4. e; S. § 225. 3), and is opposed to τοῖς ὅρκοις in the next clause. These clauses are inverted, the natural order being: δοκεῖ οὐ τοσοῦτον—ἦγων (ὅσον) τῶν τότε δυνάμει προὔχων. —— κατειλημμένους (*obstrictos*). The oaths referred to are those which, at the advice of Ulysses, were imposed upon the suitors of Helen by Tyndarus, to approve of the choice which she might make, and defend her from any violence which might subsequently be offered to her. Cf. Apollod. III. 10. § 9.

2. οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα κ. τ. λ. The order is: οἱ δεδεγμένοι (cf. I. 20. § 1) τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων, *those of the Peloponnesians who have received the clearest accounts.* I prefer this to the interpretation which makes Πελοποννησίων depend on τὰ σαφέστατα: *those who have received the clearest accounts of the affairs of Peloponnesus*, inasmuch as in such a case, we should have expected it to have been written τὰ Πελοποννησιακῶν. —— ἃ....ἔχων, *which he brought with him from Asia.* ἃ depends on ἔχων. —— τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν—σχεῖν, *furnished the name;* literally, *had the naming*, i. e. had it named after himself. —— ὅμως belongs to ἐπηλύτην ὄντα, *although he was a foreigner.* —— τοῖς....ξυνενεχθῆναι. Haack, Poppo, and others render: *to his posterity still greater power accrued*, taking μείζω for a neuter

plural, or supplying δύναμιν from the preceding context. Bloomf. translates: *with posterity attained unto still greater estimation.* In this case the construction would be: καὶ (λέγουσιν) ὕστερον ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι (γένεσθαι) τοῖς ἐκγόνοις. I prefer this rendering, because it seems to harmonize better with the context, it being the design of the author to exalt in this place the fame of Pelops, and to give his posterity (i. e. Atreus and Agamemnon) their meed of praise in the subsequent context. —— ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν. Eurystheus was slain by Hyllus and Iolaus, assisted by Theseus. —— κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον, *on account of his relationship.* —— τυγχάνειν depends on λέγουσι at the commencement of the section. —— αὐτόν, i. e. Atreus. The clause τυγχάνειν αὐτὸν would have followed μητρὸς....αὐτῷ far more naturally as a genitive absolute: καὶ φεύγοντος τὸν πατέρα κ. τ. λ. The structure of the sentence, as Krüger remarks, would have been improved, had ὄντος been a primary verb. —— διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον. The Schol. says that Pelops killed Chrysippus, and Atreus fearing the same treatment fled from home. According to another tradition, his step-mother Hippodameia hated him, and prevailed on her sons Atreus and Thyestes to kill him, on which account Atreus fled away from the anger of his father. —— δοκοῦντα εἶναι, *by appearing to be* (see N. on προῦχων, I. 9. § 1), is connected to φόβῳ by καὶ ἅμα. —— Μυκηναίων and ὅσων depend on τὴν βασιλείαν. —— παραλαβεῖν and καταστῆναι have the same construction as τυγχάνειν. —— τῶν Περσειδῶν depends on μείζους. Sthenelus the father of Eurystheus was the son of Perseus.

3. ἃ = *which wealth and power.* Similar to this is the use of ταῦτα, Xen. Anab. I. 6. § 9. Cf. I. 18. § 2. —— καὶ ναυτικῷ τέ, *and in naval power also.* On καὶ—τέ, cf. S. § 236. N. 3. —— ἐπὶ πλέον = μᾶλλον. —— ἰσχύσας. See N. on I. 3. § 2. —— οὐ....φόβῳ, *not so much by affection as by fear;* literally, *not by affection more* (τὸ πλεῖον = μᾶλλον) *than by fear.*

4. φαίνεται—ἀφικόμενος. See N. on I. 2. § 1. —— εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, *if his testimony be regarded valid.* It is here meant, not that the testimony of Homer is to be distrusted, but that some allowance is to be made for poetical exaggeration. —— ἐν....τῇ παραδόσει. Cf. Il. 2. 108. —— τοῦ σκήπτρου. This sceptre was a lance, which the Cheroneans venerated as a god. Cf. Pausan. 9. 40, p. 795, cited by Gottl. —— νήσων depends on ἐκράτει. —— ἔξω = χωρίς, *præter.* —— ἠπειρώτης ὤν, *inasmuch as he was an inhabitant of the continent.* See N. on I. 5. § 3. The participle here denotes the reason or cause. Cf. K. § 312. 4. b; S. § 225. 4. See also N. on I. 20. § 2.

5. οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς = *how powerful were the armaments before it.*

CHAPTER X.

It is no reason why the poetic account of the greatness of the armament against Troy should be discredited, because Mycenæ was apparently a small city (§ 1); this will appear evident, if, Lacedæmon having been overturned, any one should attempt to ascertain its power from its ruins (§ 2); the Trojan expedition ought therefore to be regarded as greater than any which preceded it, but inferior to those of the present age (§ 3); for Homer makes the number of the ships 1200, the largest containing 120, the smallest 50 men (§ 4); which number cannot be considered great, when regarded as the combined force of the whole of Greece (§ 5).

1. ὅτι....ἦν, *because Mycenæ was a small city.* See N. on ὡς βέβαιον ὄν, I. 2. § 5. Haack and Poppo supply πώλισμα from the following clause. Mycenæ was destroyed by the Argives, in the 78th Olympiad, A. C. 468, thirty-seven years before the Peloponnesian war. —— ἤ εἴ τι....εἶναι, *or if any of the cities of those times*, etc. Bloomf. makes this clause parenthetical, and renders: *and which of the cities of those times does not now appear inconsiderable?* But I think this to be unnecessary, as the commonly received signification makes apposite sense, ἀξιόχρεων, *worthy of notice.* —— οὐκ....εἰρήκασι, *no one using this* (i. e. ὅτι Μυκῆναι μικρὸν κ. τ. λ.) *as a certain proof, should disbelieve that this armament was as great as the poets represent.* ἄν belongs to χρώμενος and gives the sense *no one using* etc. (*if any one should peradventure use it as a proof*). μὴ is added to the infinitive because preceded by ἀπιστοίη, a verb of denial. Cf. Mt. § 534. *Obs.* 4; K. § 318. 8; S. § 230. 3. Sometimes ὅτι οὐ and ὡς οὐ are used in this construction with the indicative or optative. —— κατέχει, *prevails, obtains.*

2. Sparta and Athens are now brought forward as illustrative of what has just been said. γὰρ (*illustrantis*) may therefore be rendered, *for example.* —— τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, *the foundations of the edifices.* κατασκευὴ signifies *fixed* or *permanent furniture*, and hence, as here, is put for *buildings*, especially public edifices and large mansions. —— πολλὴν—ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως—πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν, *much doubt of their power in comparison with* (πρὸς) *their fame*, i. e. with what their fame represented it to be. —— προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου, *in a long lapse of time.* ——τοῖς ἔπειτα, *to posterity* (S. § 169. 1), limits εἶναι, which has for its subject, ἀπιστίαν. —— Πελοποννήσου μοίρας. The five divisions of Peloponnesus were, Laconia, Messenia (which was subject to Lacedæmon), Argolis, Achaia, and Arcadia (which included Elis). In Argolis were included the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Corinthians, and Sycionians. —— τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολ-

λῶν. This was true after the Peloponnesian war, when Thucydides composed the history. Before the war, the Spartans had few if any subject states out of Peloponnesus. —— οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης, "*not compactly built.*" Bloomf. —— πόλεως. For the omission of the article, cf. K. § 244. R. 3. —— κατὰ κωμας, *in villages.* Müller (Dorians, II. p. 48–50) says, that the names of these hamlets or villages were Pitana, Messoa, Limnæ, and Cynosura, which lay on all sides around the city (πόλις) properly so called, and were divided from one another by intervals, until at a later period (in the time of the Macedonian power), they were enclosed with walls and united and incorporated together. Niebuhr supposes that such was the early state of Rome, to which Arnold adds the Borghi of Florence, and some of the Italian towns. —— φαίνοιτ', sc. πόλις from the preceding πόλεως. A Schol. supplies δύναμις from the foregoing τῆς δυναμέως. —— Ἀθηναίων....παθόντων is put for εἰ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάθοιεν, and responds to the preceding members, εἰ ἐρημωθείη, ληφθείη δέ. —— εἰκάζεσθαι depends on οἶμαι, the words καίτοι....ὑποδεεστέρα being parenthetic. —— ἢ ἔστιν, instead of a noun in the regimen, is uncommon after words implying the idea of comparison, like διπλασίαν.

3. οὔκουν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, *hence it is not proper to doubt = we ought not to doubt.* —— τὴν στρατείαν, i. e. the armament fitted out against Troy. —— τῶν in τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς depends on μεγίστην. —— λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, *but falling short of those at the present time.* —— κἀνταῦθα (i. e. καὶ ἐνταῦθα) "has the same sense as if Thucydides had written καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας λέγοντι. Therefore the relative ἣν is in the feminine gender." Arnold. —— ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον—κοσμῆσαι, *to exaggerate for the sake of embellishment,* "*in majus celebrare.*" Poppo. —— καὶ οὕτως, i. e. even with all the embellishment of Homer.

4. χιλίων....νεῶν. The Schol. says that Homer's number of the ships was 1166. Eustathius finds in the catalogue the number of 1186. Thucydides may be supposed to have used a round number. —— ἀνδρῶν depends upon τὰς μὲν (i. e. ναῦς), as the genitive denoting the contents, or that with which a thing is filled; *ships of* (= holding, carrying) 120 *men.* In the same manner we find πλοῖα σίτου and ἅμαξαι σίτου. Cf. Kr. § 47. 8. N. 4. Krüg. in his note on this passage remarks that, as we can say *al νῆες ἦσαν* (νῆες) ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, so also we may say πεποίηκε τὰς ναῦς (ναῦς) ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν. —— ἄλλων γοῦν....παρεσκευασμένα is generally regarded as parenthetic, the main subject being resumed by οὖν in πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας οὖν. —— αὐτερέται (sc. νεῶν, cf. III. 18. § 5), *themselves rowers.* —— I have put a comma after πάντες, because ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτήτου ναυσὶ is by no means to be joined with ἦσαν, but is to be taken in the sense

of, in what he has said of the ships of Philoctetes. —— *περίνεως, supernumeraries*, i. e. those who are merely passengers, and take no part in the management of the ship. —— *τῶν....τέλει, those particularly in office — the chiefs.* Cf. *τὰ τέλη*, I. 58. § 1. —— *μέλλοντας* should properly be *μελλόντων*, but as in that case it would have referred to *βασιλέων*, and not as it does to the whole armament of the Greeks, the accusative was adopted, the subject being partly contained in the subject of the primary verb, *περίνεως πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν*, as Arnold remarks, having exactly the same meaning, as if Thucydides had written *περίνεως πολλοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἄγειν*. The subject of *μέλλοντας* is therefore *Ἕλληνας* to be supplied. —— *κατάφρακτα, decked, with decks.* Their ships were covered only in the prow and stern, which covering Homer calls *ἰκρία νηὸς* (cf. Odyss. 12. 229). Even in the time of the Persian war, the ships were not entirely covered (cf. I. 14. § 8, *αὗται....καταστρώματα*). Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 58. —— *λῃστικώτερον, rather after the piratical fashion.*

5. *πρὸς....σκοποῦντι, in reference to the greatest and the smallest ships, if we look at the medium — if we look at the medium between the greatest and the smallest ships.* *πρὸς* here denotes *fitness, conformity to.* Cf. K. § 298. III. 3. b. *οὖν — I say then*, or *accordingly.* *σκοποῦντι* limits *φαίνονται.* —— *ὡς—πεμπόμενοι, being regarded as sent.* K. § 312. 6.

CHAPTER XI.

The want of means to support an army, was a reason why the armament against Troy was no larger; and so limited were they in their resources, that they were obliged to engage in expeditions into the surrounding regions, in order to obtain subsistence for the army, which fact shows why the siege was so long protracted (§ 1); for if they had pressed the siege vigorously with their whole force, they might easily have taken the place (§ 2); but want of pecuniary resources made the military operations prior to this expedition feeble, and even this was inferior to its fame as celebrated by the poets (§ 3).

1. *αἴτιον, the reason* of this paucity. —— *ἀχρηματία, want of money.* —— *τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς.* The article, as Bloomf. well remarks, refers to something to be mentally supplied, as *the food*, sc. necessary for their sustenance. —— *αὐτόθεν, from the place itself*, i. e. from the Trojan country. —— *πολεμοῦντα* denotes the means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— *τε* in *ἐπειδή τε* responds to *τὲ* in *τόν τε στρατόν.* —— *δῆλον*

....ἐτειχίσαντο is a parenthetic clause, confirmatory of ἐπειδή τε.... ἐκράτησαν. The proof of δῆλον δέ is introduced by γάρ. —— οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο. Supply mentally εἰ μὴ μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. —— δέ in δ' οὐδ' is resumptive. It is often found after particles of time in the apodosis. —— ἐνταῦθα, i. e. when they had gained the first battle. —— πρὸς γεωργίαν. Eustath. (ad. Il. p. 387) says that Diomedes ploughed the Thracian fields, and was not present at the theatre of the war. —— λῃστείαν. Under the conduct of Achilles, the Greeks made excursions into the surrounding country and pillaged many cities. λῃστεία, although a word denoting piracy, is here to be taken in a modified sense, of *pillaging expeditions, excursions for plunder*, as Bloomf. remarks, bearing some resemblance to the *privateering* of modern times. —— ᾗ, "*hoc igitur modo* seu *quam ob causam*." Poppo. Cf. I. 25. § 4; II. 2. § 3; III. 13. § 2. —— αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων refers to the Greeks. —— τὰ δέκα ἔτη. The time of the siege was well known, and hence the article is prefixed to δέκα ἔτη. Cf. Kr. § 50. 2. N. 1. —— βίᾳ is to be taken with ἀντεῖχον, and not with ἀντίπαλοι (= ἀντάξια) as Bauer supposes, since it has the sense of *impetu, vi*, and not *viribus*. It is singular that Hier. Müller should connect βίᾳ with αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων. The idea is that, in consequence of the dispersion of the Greek forces in quest of the means of subsistence, the Trojans were enabled to make successful resistance in the open field, against those of their enemies who were left to carry on the siege. —— ἀεί, *for the time being*. See N. on I. 2. § 1.

2. ἔχοντες, *with*. K. § 812. R. 10. —— ἀθρόοι, *being collected together*. —— ξυνιχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, *had carried the war through* (i. e. to a successful termination) *without any interruption*. —— μάχῃ belongs to κρατοῦντες and not to εἷλον. —— οἵ γε. K. § 317. 2. —— ἀεί. See N. on the previous section. —— πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι, *but had they applied themselves to the siege*; literally, *sat down to the siege*. Poppo connects ἂν with εἷλον.

3. τούτων, i. e. the expedition against Troy. —— αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα, *indeed this itself* (K. § 303. 3). The plural is here used also, although referring to the Trojan expedition, the idea of *events* in the expedition being prominent in the writer's mind. —— γενόμενα is here concessive. See N. on I. 7. § 1. —— δηλοῦται—ὄντα, *is shown to have been*. δηλοῦν with a participle signifies, *to disclose, reveal*, with an infinitive, *to say, to announce*, etc. K. § 311. 12. —— καὶ τοῦ....κατεσχηκότος, *even the report which, through the medium of the poets, is now current respecting it*. See N. on I. 10. § 1 (end).

of, in what he has said of the ships of Philoctetes. —— *περίνεως, supernumeraries*, i. e. those who are merely passengers, and take no part in the management of the ship. —— *τῶν....τέλει, those particularly in office — the chiefs.* Cf. *τὰ τέλη*, I. 58. § 1. —— *μέλλοντας* should properly be *μελλόντων*, but as in that case it would have referred to *βασιλέων*, and not as it does to the whole armament of the Greeks, the accusative was adopted, the subject being partly contained in the subject of the primary verb, *περίνεως πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν*, as Arnold remarks, having exactly the same meaning, as if Thucydides had written *περίνεως πολλοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἄγειν*. The subject of *μέλλοντας* is therefore *Ἕλληνας* to be supplied. —— *κατάφρακτα, decked, with decks.* Their ships were covered only in the prow and stern, which covering Homer calls *ἱκρία νηὸς* (cf. Odyss. 12. 229). Even in the time of the Persian war, the ships were not entirely covered (cf. I. 14. § 3, *αὗται....καταστρώματα*). Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 58. —— *λῃστικώτερον, rather after the piratical fashion.*

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CHAPTER XI.

The want of means to support an army, was a reason why the armament against Troy was no larger; and so limited were they in their resources, that they were obliged to engage in expeditions into the surrounding regions, in order to obtain subsistence for the army, which fact shows why the siege was so long protracted (§ 1); for if they had pressed the siege vigorously with their whole force, they might easily have taken the place (§ 2); but want of pecuniary resources made the military operations prior to this expedition feeble, and even this was inferior to its fame as celebrated by the poets (§ 3).

1. *αἴτιον, the reason* of this paucity. —— *ἀχρηματία, want of money.* —— *τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς.* The article, as Bloomf. well remarks, refers to something to be mentally supplied, as *the food*, sc. necessary for their sustenance. —— *αὐτόθεν, from the place itself*, i. e. from the Trojan country. —— *πολεμοῦντα* denotes the means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— *τε* in *ἐπειδή τε* responds to *τε* in *τόν τε στρατόν.* —— *δῆλον*

....ἐτειχίσαντο is a parenthetic clause, confirmatory of ἐπειδή τε.... ἐκράτησαν. The proof of δῆλον δὲ is introduced by γάρ. —— οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο. Supply mentally εἰ μὴ μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. —— δὲ in δ' οὐδ' is resumptive. It is often found after particles of time in the apodosis. —— ἐνταῦθα, i. e. when they had gained the first battle. —— πρὸς γεωργίαν. Eustath. (ad. Il. p. 387) says that Diomedes ploughed the Thracian fields, and was not present at the theatre of the war. —— λῃστείαν. Under the conduct of Achilles, the Greeks made excursions into the surrounding country and pillaged many cities. λῃστεία, although a word denoting piracy, is here to be taken in a modified sense, of *pillaging expeditions, excursions for plunder*, as Bloomf. remarks, bearing some resemblance to the *privateering* of modern times. —— ᾗ, "*hoc igitur modo* seu *quam ob causam.*" Poppo. Cf. I. 25. § 4; II. 2. § 3; III. 13. § 2. —— αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων refers to the Greeks. —— τὰ δέκα ἔτη. The time of the siege was well known, and hence the article is prefixed to δέκα ἔτη. Cf. Kr. § 50. 2. N. 1. —— βίᾳ is to be taken with ἀντεῖχον, and not with ἀντίπαλοι (= ἀντάξια) as Bauer supposes, since it has the sense of *impetu, vi*, and not *viribus*. It is singular that Hier. Müller should connect βίᾳ with αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων. The idea is that, in consequence of the dispersion of the Greek forces in quest of the means of subsistence, the Trojans were enabled to make successful resistance in the open field, against those of their enemies who were left to carry on the siege. —— ἀεί, *for the time being*. See N. on I. 2. § 1.

2. ἔχοντες, *with*. K. § 312. R. 10. —— ἀθρόοι, *being collected together*. —— ξυνιχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, *had carried the war through* (i. e. to a successful termination) *without any interruption*. —— μάχῃ belongs to κρατοῦντες and not to εἶλον. —— οἵ γε. K. § 317. 2. —— ἀεί. See N. on the previous section. —— πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι, *but had they applied themselves to the siege*; literally, *sat down to the siege*. Poppo connects ἂν with εἶλον.

3. τούτων, i. e. the expedition against Troy. —— αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα, *indeed this itself* (K. § 303. 3). The plural is here used also, although referring to the Trojan expedition, the idea of *events* in the expedition being prominent in the writer's mind. —— γενόμενα is here concessive. See N. on I. 7. § 1. —— δηλοῦται—ὄντα, *is shown to have been*. δηλοῦν with a participle signifies, *to disclose, reveal*, with an infinitive, *to say, to announce*, etc. K. § 311. 12. —— καὶ τοῦ....κατεσχηκότος, *even the report which, through the medium of the poets, is now current respecting it*. See N. on I. 10. § 1 (end).

CHAPTER XII.

The Greeks still remained in an unsettled condition after the Trojan war, and therefore made no great improvement (§ 1); this resulted, among other things, from the factions which had arisen during that war, and through which, those who returned were banished from their respective countries (§ 2); the Bœotians and Dorians changed their abodes (§ 3); the country at length becoming tranquil and the population no longer migratory, colonies were sent out to Ionia, Italy, Sicily, and other regions (§ 4).

1. *ἐπεὶ καί, then also, and even.* Cf. I. 69. § 5. —— *ἔτι....μετῳκίζετο, was still moving from place to place and changing abodes.* Every edition before me, except Dindorf's, has *κατῳκίζετο*, instead of *μετῳκίζετο*, which Arnold renders, *was settling itself*, i. e. was not yet settled. —— *ὥστε....αὐξηθῆναι = ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασα καὶ μὴ αὐξηθῆναι*, inasmuch as the negative belongs to the whole clause. Cf. K. § 318. R. 5. Poppo, however, resolves the clause into, *ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασα καὶ οὕτως αὐξηθῆναι* which makes no material difference in the sense, since *οὕτως* refers to a state of rest, which is denied in *μὴ ἡσυχάσασα*. Not much different from this is the translation of Bloomfield: *so as to enjoy too little quiet to make any progress in power.* *ἡσυχάσασα* is put in the nominative (for *ἡσυχάσασαν*) by attraction with *ἡ Ἑλλάς*, the subject of the principal verb. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 863. *Obs.* 5; Kr. § 55. 2. Ns. 1, 4. Goeller commences the apodosis to *ἐπεὶ....αὐξηθῆναι*, with *μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ κ. τ. λ.*, § 4 infra. All the intervening words, both he and Bloomf. enclose in a parenthesis.

2. *χρονία γενομένη, taking place after so long a time.* Cf. Odyss. 17. 112. —— *πολλὰ* belongs to *ἐνεόχμωσε, made many changes.* —— *στάσεις, factions.* —— *ὡς ἐπὶ πολύ, for the most part, generally.* —— *ἀφ' ὧν, by which* (see N. on *ἀπὸ πολέμου*, I. 24. § 4), sc. *στάσεων*, and not *πόλεων*, which would either be without the preposition or else take *ἐκ.* —— *ἐκπίπτοντες—ἔκτιζον.* The subject is *οἱ πολῖται* elicited from the preceding *πόλεσι.* —— *τὰς πόλεις.* The use of the article Poppo (Proleg. I. p. 200) thus gives: "*claras urbes, quas inde novimus extitisse.*" See N. on *τὰ δέκα ἔτη*, I. 11. § 1. The chiefs who are here spoken of as being expelled from their country, were Teucer, Philoctetes, Diomedes, Menestheus, Pyrrhus, Idomeneus, etc.

3. *Ἄρνης.* The Thessalian Arne is here intended. The Bœotian Arne which was thus colonized was afterwards called Cheronæa (*Coroneia*, Leake). —— *ἀναστάντες, being expelled.* The aorist active

has here a passive sense. S. § 207. N. 8. —— ὧν in ἀφ' ὧν is plural because ἀποδασμός, to which it refers, has a collective idea. Müller says, that the writer added this through deference to the authority of Homer. But in the catalogue of the ships, the Bœotians are represented as possessing the whole of what was afterwards called Bœotia, and could not therefore have been a portion only of its inhabitants. Grote (Hist. of Greece, II. p. 22) says that Thucydides has not removed the discrepancy between himself and Homer by this statement, but only made it less strikingly obvious. The subject is involved in difficulty. —— Δωριῆς....ἔσχον. During their exile from Peloponnesus, the Heraclidæ took up their abode in Doris, Ægimius having bequeathed to Hyllus his dominions, in gratitude to Hercules for having reinstated him in his government which he had lost. It was thus that eighty years after the capture of Troy, they planned the recovery of their ancient possessions, the traditionary name of which expedition is "*the return of the descendants of Hercules.*" Cf. Cramer's Greece, Vol. II. p. 101; Müller's Dorians, I. p. 50 seq. The invasion was successful, and all Peloponnesus, except Arcadia and Achaia, fell into their power. Grote (Hist. of Greece, II. p. 18) thinks that Thucydides or some previous author, computed this epoch of eighty years by the generations in the line of Hercules, the first generation after Hercules commencing with the siege of Troy, which, reckoning thirty years for a generation, would bring the fourth generation to coincide with the ninetieth year after that period, or the eightieth year after the city was taken. This would agree with the distance in which Tlepolemus, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus stand removed from Hercules. ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει. Repeat μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν.

4. μόλις, *scarcely*, not *at length*, as that idea is contained in ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ. —— ἀνισταμένη, *being unsettled, migratory*. See the use of this word in the previous section and in I. 8. § 2. —— ἐξέπεμψε. I prefer with Haack, Goeller, Poppo, and others, the imperfect ἐξέπεμπε, because the writer is here speaking of colonization in general and not of any specific colonies —— Ἰταλίας, i. e. the southern part of Italy, in which were many Grecian colonies, and which was called by later writers Magna Græcia. —— ἔστιν ἡ χωρία (= ἔνια χωρία). See N. on I. 65. § 3.

CHAPTER XIII.

As Greece increased in power and wealth, tyrannies began to be established, and increasing attention was given to maritime affairs (§ 1); in which Corinth led the way, triremes being said to have been built first there (§ 2); and at the same time Aminocles the Corinthian constructed four for the Samians (§ 3); the earliest sea-fight took place between the Corinthians and the Corcyræans (§ 4); Corinth, by its favorable position for the land trade between Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece, and also for its maritime advantages, after the suppression of piracy, became a double emporium and arose to great opulence (§ 5); the Ionians also, in the times of Cyrus and Cambyses, possessed a considerable navy, as did also Polycrates and the Phocæans (§ 6).

1. *τὴν κτῆσιν—ποιουμένης*, *having obtained the possession of.* —— *μᾶλλον* is here employed as an adjective. —— *τὰ πολλὰ* is to be taken adverbially (= *ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ*), *for the most part, very generally* (K. § 279. R. 8), i. e. in most of the states. —— *τυραννίδες*, *absolute sovereignties.* Reference is had in this term to the mode, in which absolute power was obtained, rather than the manner in which it was exercised. As opposed to the *kingship* spoken of below, it signified power usurped and unlimited, in distinction from that which was legitimate, hereditary, and limited by constitutional restrictions. —— *ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι*, *with defined prerogatives*, i. e. such as had been long established by usage and common consent. *ἐπὶ* here denotes *condition*, K. § 296. II. 3. b. —— *πατρικαί*, *ancestral, hereditary.* Goeller thinks that *πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι* does not signify, *dominion received from one's father*, but rather *τὸ πατρικὸν* et *τὸ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι πάτριον*, and that the word *πατρικαὶ* is used, because it includes the signification of *paterni* et *patrum ex institutis administrati regiminis.* But his reasoning in support of this is by no means satisfactory. —— *ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο*, *began to fit out for himself navies.* —— *ἀντείχοντο* (sc. *οἱ Ἕλληνες* from *ἡ Ἑλλὰς* in the previous clause), *began to apply themselves.* So Betant in hoc loco.

2. *τρόπου* depends on *ἐγγύτατα.* S. § 195. 1. —— *μεταχειρίσαι*, *to change* in the structure. A Schol. says that the alteration consisted in converting vessels of fifty oars into triremes. Thucydides uses *μεταχειρίσαι* here in the sense of the middle *μεταχειρίσασθαι.* A similar usage may be found in *δουλοῦν*, I. 16. § 1; III. 37. § 4, and *καταλῦσαι*, III. 46. § 1. —— *τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς* = *the structure of ships;* literally, *those things pertaining to ships.* K. § 295. III. 3. —— *τῆς Ἑλλάδος* is added, says Poppo, because triremes had before this been in use among the Phœnicians.

3. *Σαμίοις*, *for the Samians*, depends on *ποιήσας.* For the con-

struction of φαίνεται—ποιήσας, see N. on I. 2. § 1. —— μάλιστα, *about, in round numbers.* Goeller prefers the sense of *ferme* instead of *circiter.* —— τοῦ πολέμου, i. e. the Peloponnesian war. This shows that Thucydides wrote the preface of his work, at least, after the war had terminated.

4. ὧν = ἐκείνων ἅς, of which equivalent, the antecedent depends on παλαιτάτη, and the relative is governed by ἴσμεν. —— Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους. Between the Corinthians and Corcyræans there existed the most inveterate enmity, although the latter people were a colony of the former. The expedition here referred to was the one conducted by Periander to avenge the death of his son Lycophron, whom he had driven from his home and banished to Corcyra, but afterwards recalled in his old age, and whom through fear of Periander, who was to take the place of his son, the Corcyræans murdered. Cf. Herodot. III. 50–53. —— ταύτῃ (sc. μάχῃ), *from the time of that battle.* For this use of the dative, cf. Mt. § 388. c. —— μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, i. e. the close of the Peloponnesian war.

5. γάρ, *now.* See N. on I. 4. § 1. —— ἀεὶ is strengthened by δή ποτε = *always at all times.* —— ἐμπόριον, *a place of traffic, a commercial town.* This name was generally applied to maritime places, where articles of merchandise were imported and exported. —— Ἑλλήνων is in the genitive absolute with ἐπιμισγόντων. —— τὸ πάλαι, *in olden time.* —— τὰ πλείω, *more.* —— διὰ ἐπιμισγόντων, *having intercourse with one another through their territory.* —— τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς. Reference is had to Homer, who says (Il. 2. 570):

Οἱ δὲ Μυκήνας εἶχον εὐκτίμενον πολιήθρον,
Ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον.

—— μᾶλλον ἐπλώιζον, *began to attend more to navigation;* literally, *began to sail more.* ἐπλώιζον is a poetic word. —— καθῆρουν. I concur with Poppo, Goeller, and others, in referring this verb to the Corinthians, inasmuch as τὰς ναῦς evidently means, *the ships just mentioned* (i. e. the Corinthian ships), and the following context shows a change of subject. Poppo notes a similar variation of the subject in II. 8. § 4 III. 16 (init.); 52 (init.). Such abrupt changes are not wonderful in a writer like Thucydides, who makes every thing subordinate to brevity. —— ἀμφότερα, *both ways,* i. e. Corinth became an emporium for traffic by sea as well as by land (K. § 279. R. 10; Butt. § 115. 5). It is remarked by critics that ἀμφότερα may be taken in three senses, 1, by sea and by land; 2, to the Greeks both within and without the isthmus; 3, to the two ports of Corinth, viz. Cenchrea and Lechæum. The first is the only interpretation which has claims to be considered as the true one. —— χρημάτων depends on προσόδῳ.

6. Ἴωσιν limits γίγνεται, of which ναυτικόν (*navy*) is the subject. —— ἐπὶ Κύρου, *in the time of Cyrus*. K. § 296. II. 2. —— τῆς—καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης, *their own sea*; literally, *the sea over against them*. For the construction of θαλάσσης in dependence on ἐκράτησαν, cf. S. § 189. —— Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες. Cf. Herodotus. I. 161 et seq. The participle here denotes time, *while they were carrying on war*. K. § 312. 4. a; S. § 225. 2. —— Πολυκράτης. See Herodotus. III. 39, 120. —— ἐπὶ Καμβύσου. See N. on ἐπὶ Κύρου supra. —— Ῥήνειαν, *Rhenea*, one of the Cyclades (see N. on I. 4. § 1) so near to Delos, that Polycrates is said (III. 104. § 2) to have connected them with a chain. —— ἀνέθηκε (*consecrated*) Δηλίῳ. The way in which this was done is mentioned in III. 104. § 2, and Herodot. III. 34, 122. —— Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες. Arnold remarks that this is not to be understood as referring to the sea-fight mentioned by Herodot. I. 166. He understands Massalia as being settled by a colony, sent out fifty-five years earlier than the flight of the main body from the arms of Cyrus, and therefore founded long before the subjugation of the parent state to the Persians. If this be true, the sea-fight here referred to must have been fought with the Carthaginians, some time previous to the one spoken of by Herodotus.

CHAPTER XIV.

Many generations after the Trojan war, the Greeks possessed but four triremes, the most common ships being fifty-oared vessels and long barks (§ 1); and it was only just before the Persian war that the tyrants of Sicily and the Corcyræans possessed any considerable number of triremes (§ 2); the Æginetæ and the Athenians had but few ships, and those mostly of an inferior class, until Themistocles incited the latter people to the construction of better ones, although, even then, not decked throughout (§ 3).

1. Poppo and Haack disconnect this chapter from the preceding one, by placing a period instead of a colon after ναυμαχοῦντες. Bloomf. closes the preceding chapter with the words ναυτικῶν ἦν. —— γάρ, *then, now*, an inchoative use of this connective, which is so frequent, that, unless in special cases, it requires no further notice. —— ταῦτα, i. e. the navies just mentioned. —— γενεαῖς is the dative of time *when*. A generation was reckoned at thirty years (see N. on I. 12. § 3). —— γενόμενα, *although being*. See N. on I. 7. § 1. —— χρώμενα depends on φαίνεται. See N. on I. 2. § 1. —— πεντηκοντόροις. These fifty-oared ships were of that class called μονῆρες, because the rowers sat in one rank, twenty-five on each side. These ships were first introduced

by the Phocæans. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 877. —— δ' ἔτι, *but still.* —— ἐξηρτυμένα, *provided with*, or perhaps *consisted of* would be a signification more appropriate in this passage. —— ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα (sc. τῶν Τρωικῶν), *as those in the Trojan war.*

2. ὀλίγον τε (sc. μόνον), *and only a short time.* —— τῶν Μηδικῶν refers to the first invasion of Greece by Darius. —— μετά, *after.* —— περί τε Σικελίαν, *around Sicily* (K. § 295. III. 1. b), i. e. on the Sicilian coasts. If however περὶ Σικελίαν = Σικελικοῖς, the order should be: τοῖς τυράννοις περὶ Σικελίαν. —— ἐς πλῆθος, *in a considerable number.* K. § 290. 2. 1. b. —— The context demands the subaudition of μόνον after ἀξιόλογα, in the sense of *the only navies worthy of note.*

3. εἴ τινες ἄλλοι, sc. ναυτικὰ ἐκέκτηντο. A shade of doubt is communicated by εἰ to the clause: *such others* (*if* there were any) *as had navies.* For this species of brachylogy, cf. K. § 346. 4. —— βραχέα (= μικρά. Cf. I. 74. § 3; 117. § 3; 140. § 1), *inconsiderable, small* as to numbers, although there may be a reference also to magnitude. Haack supplies πλοῖα, but ναυτιχὰ is to be preferred. —— ὀψέ τε, sc. ἦν. Krüg. whom Poppo follows, supplies ἐκέκτηντο. But this is less apposite and natural than the common rendering: *and it was not till late that Themistocles*, etc. —— ἀφ' οὗ = ἐπεί, which is found in one MS. —— τοῦ βαρβάρου is put for τῶν βαρβάρων, as in Latin *Romanus* is put for *Romani.* Reference is had to the second Persian invasion, which had been threatening Greece ever since the battle at Marathon and did not therefore come unexpectedly. —— διὰ πάσης (sc. νέως), *throughout the ship.* Poppo understands διὰ πάσης to mean, *in every ship*, i. e. nondum omnes tectas fuisse. Some reject as harsh the ellipsis of νέως, and take διὰ πάσης in the adverbial sense *omnino*, as διὰ κενῆς (Athen. 442. a), *frustra*, and ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης, I. 15. § 3. But see N. on that passage.

CHAPTER XV.

The states which gave their attention to the formation of a navy, greatly increased their power (§ 1); for no wars by land, except border hostilities, were yet carried on, nor were any distant enterprises undertaken (§ 2); combinations of smaller with greater cities were not formed for common expeditions, except in the war between the Chalcideans and Eretrians, when the rest of the states separated into parties on the one or the other side (§ 3).

1. δὲ—ὅμως, *however.* —— οὐκ ἐλαχίστην = *very great.* A litotes. See N. on I. 3. § 1. —— οἱ προσχόντες αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς ναυτικοῖς), *those paying attention to their navies*, i. e. making it an object to form and

establish a navy. —— προσόδῳ and ἀρχῇ are datives of *means*. —— καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι (= ἐκεῖνοι ὅσοι) μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώραν, *and especially as many as had a territory insufficient* for their sustenance. Bloomf. refers this especially to the Athenians. It was also true of the Corinthians.

2. ὅθεν, *whence*, refers to πόλεμος. —— καὶ in τὶς καὶ appears to us to be pleonastic, but the Attics employ it frequently after τίς, to connect the thought more closely. —— παρεγένετο, *accrued* (= *might accrue*). This use of the moods in adverbial sentences of place (K. § 336), is the same as in adjective sentences (K. § 333), the indicative being used when the attributive qualification is to be represented as *actual* or *real*. —— πάντες....ἑκάστοις. The order is: πάντες δὲ (sc. πόλεμοι) ὅσοι καὶ (σφεν) ἐγένοντο ἦσαν ἑκάστοις πρὸς ὁμόρους (*borderers*) τοὺς σφετέρους. —— στρατείας—ἐξήεσαν. K. § 278. 1. —— πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν is bracketed by Poppo and Goeller, on the ground that the idea contained in ἐκδήμους is repeated. But, as Bloomf. well observes, ἐκδήμους merely signifies, *abroad*, *foreign*, without defining the distance, and hence the clause in question is by no means superfluous. Cf. II. 10. § 1. —— ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ, *for the subjugation of others*.

3. οὐ γὰρ ξυνεστήκεσαν—πόλεις ὑπήκοοι. The Schol. says, that the lesser cities did not associate in war with the larger cities, as subject to them, οὐ γὰρ ὑπήκοοι. Hence Poppo makes ὑπήκοοι = ὡς ὑπήκοοι, and with it supplies οἱ Ἕλληνες instead of πόλεις. —— αὖ, *on the other hand*. Bothe reads ἂν. —— αὐτοὶ does not refer to ὑπήκοοι, but to all the Greeks, especially to those implied in μέγισται πόλεις. —— ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης (sc. μοίρας), *on equal terms*, i. e. the expenses being justly apportioned. The Schol. supplies συντελεῖας. But cf. III. 40. § 6. —— ἐποιοῦντο, "*solebant suscipere*." —— ὡς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες, *as they severally happened to border on each other*. The general idea is, that neighboring states went to war with one another, but no general combination was formed against any distant enemy. —— μάλιστα....διέστη, *especially in the war which anciently occurred between the Chalcideans and Eretrians* (it was that), *the rest of the Greeks ranged themselves on different sides*, and thus were engaged in general hostilities. καὶ has here the force of *also*, *likewise*. The sentence is exceedingly compressed, but its general sense cannot well be mistaken.

CHAPTER XVI.

Various obstacles were in the way of the prosperity of the other states, and especially were the Ionians weakened by the Persian power under Cyrus, as were their islands at a subsequent period by Darius (§ 1).

1. ἄλλοθι, *from other quarters, in other ways.* —— μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, i. e. τοῦ μὴ αὐξηθῆναι. Cf. K. § 308. 2. b. κωλύματα contains a negative idea and is therefore followed by μὴ with the infinitive. See N. on I. 10. § 1 (end). —— καί, *especially*, serves here to introduce a particular instance of the obstacles to their advancement. —— Bloomfield makes Ἴωσι to depend on ἐπεγένετο understood, the subject of which is Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία (a hendiadys), and in order to furnish a subject to ἐπεστράτευσε, he supplies ἡ referring to βασιλεία. But why not with the Schol. construct Ἴωσι after ἐπεστράτευσε, and make Κῦρος and βασιλεία the subject of the verb? This expedition of the Persians, of course would be a κώλυμα to the Ionians, and it is unnecessary, therefore, that this idea should be formally repeated by supplying ἐπεγένετο κώλυμα. —— προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων is referred by the Schol. to the Persians, but is evidently to be taken with Ἴωσι. —— Ἅλυος. The river Halys separated Lydia from the Persian dominions. The ancient Greeks designated what was called subsequently Asia Minor, by ἡ παραθαλάσσιος, or ἡ ἐντὸς Ταύρου, or ἡ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος. —— πόλεις, i. e. the Ionian cities. —— ἐδούλωσε. See N. on I. 13, § 2. —— Δαρεῖος. Repeat ἐδούλωσε. —— τῷ ναυτικῷ is the instrumental dative. K. § 608. The reduction of the Ionian states took place on their revolt, at which time (A. C. 498) Miletus was destroyed.

CHAPTER XVII.

The tyrants, with the exception of those in Sicily, looking only to their own interests and security, did nothing memorable (§ 1); so that Greece, impeded on every hand, for a long time made little advancement (§ 2).

1. τύραννοι belongs to ὅσοι (i. e. ὅσοι τύραννοι), and is therefore without the article, the whole proposition forming the subject of ἦσαν. —— τὸ....προορώμενοι, *providing only for their own interests.*

Kühner (Jelf's edit. § 633. 3. *e*) explains τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, *something depending on themselves*, i. e. having no reference to any body else. Cf. τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν, VI. 12. § 2. —— ἐς τὸ σῶμα = "*as it regarded their personal security and gratification.*" Bloomf. Notice this use of σῶμα in the sense of *person*. The fact here spoken of is illustrated by a reference to Periander, who is said to have had a body-guard of three hundred men. —— δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο, *as safely as possible*, i. e. with as much safety to themselves as possible. διὰ with its case is here taken adverbially. —— μάλιστα (= ἀκριβῶς. Schol.) belongs to ὅσον ἐδύναντο. —— ᾤκουν (= διῴκουν), *managed, guided the affairs of*. The cautious and timid policy here spoken of, had reference to foreign wars, as is seen from the context. —— ἀπ' αὐτῶν. "There is a mixed meaning in the word ἀπό, partly expressive of derivation and partly of agency: nothing great proceeded *from* them; nothing great was done *by* them." Arnold. Cf. Mt. § 573; K. § 288. 1. 3. c. —— εἰ μή εἴ τι, *except something*. We are not to understand τι as referring to any memorable deed, but as simply signifying *any deed whatever*. "When εἰ μή has the meaning *except*, another εἰ is sometimes joined, like *nisi si*, while the predicate of εἰ μή is omitted. K. § 340. 5. —— ἑκάστοις is to be constructed with ἐπράχθη (mentally supplied from the preceding sentence), there being a sort of apposition between it and ἀπ' αὐτῶν. —— γὰρ in οἱ γὰρ implies an ellipsis: I refer especially to the tyrants of Greece, *for those in Sicily*, etc. "Tyrannorum Siculorum magna potentia inertiæ Græcorum opponitur." Bothe. —— ἐπὶ πλεῖστον—δυνάμεως, *to a very great height of power*. The scope of the argument shows that the power here spoken of, referred to the ability of the tyrants of Sicily to carry on distant wars.

2. κατείχετο, *was held in, impeded*. κοινῇ, *in common, by joint undertaking*. —— κατεργάζεσθαι = ὥστε κατεργάζεσθαι. Poppo makes τε in πόλεις τε respond to μήτε going before. The clause κατὰ.... εἶναι may be rendered: *and by single cities it was still less adventurous*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Soon after the tyrants had been expelled by the Lacedæmonians, who, enjoying good laws from the most ancient times, had not been subject to these usurpers, the Persians invaded Greece and engaged with the Athenians at Marathon (§ 1); on their second invasion the Greeks combined for defence, the Lacedæmonians being at the head, and the Athenians doing all in their power by sea for the common safety; but soon after the close of the war the confederation was dissolved, and parties were formed under Athens and Lacedæmon as the leading states (§ 2); from that time to the present war, they were continually engaged in making truces or in carrying on hostilities, and thus acquired no small skill in warlike affairs (§ 3).

1. *οἵ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι.* Reference is had to Hippias and Hipparchus, who succeeded their father Pisistratus in the government of Athens. —— *οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος* is put for *ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι*, the preposition being attracted by *κατελύθησαν*, which denotes the direction *whence*, cf. K. 300. 4. See N. on I. 112. § 4. —— *ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης.* Haack, whom Arnold cites approvingly, interprets this clause: "*magnam partem ante, quam Athenienses, subacta a tyrannis*" = *a great part of Greece had been subject to tyrants before Athens was.* I concur, however, with Bloomf., who translates it indefinitely: *generally and even of old under tyrannical government.* —— *οἱ πλεῖστοι....κατελύθησαν, the greater part had been put down, the last, except those in Sicily, by the Lacedæmonians.* Cf. I. 122. § 3. *τελευταίοις* is to be connected with *ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.* —— *ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων* begins a parenthesis which closes with *πόλεσι καθίστασαν*, the design of which parenthesis being to show, why Lacedæmon took so prominent a part in expelling the tyrants from the other Grecian states, viz. because it had enjoyed so long a well-regulated government and had been free from tyrants (*ἀτυράννευτος*). The second *γὰρ* introduces a parenthesis within this parenthesis, the object of which is to expand and illustrate the idea contained in the preceding words *ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος.* By keeping in view these divisions of this long and apparently confused sentence, the student will have far less difficulty in explaining the words and clauses of which it is composed. —— *μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν—Δωριέων, after its occupancy by the Dorians.* The Heraclidæ did not found Lacedæmon, but took possession of it when it had been long founded. Hence *κτίσιν* here and *κτίζοντες* in V. 16. § 3, are to be taken in a modified sense of *founding anew*, inasmuch as Sparta had comparatively little importance before the Doric invasion. Cf. Müll. Dor. I. p. 102. In respect to the order of the clauses in this connection, *ἐπὶ....στασιάσασα* is to be constructed immediately after *ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων*, and *μετὰ....*

Peloponnesian war. According to Diod. Lacr. X. 80 [illegible] gives more than two hundred years earlier, that is, Heracleids (Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. at p. 850). Grote (Hist. Greece, II. p. 454) thinks tha duced his discipline and constitution about A. C. 83 ton (Fasti Hellen. III. p. 141), with his eye on this cydides, fixes the legislation of Lycurgus at about regency at A. C. 852. The chronology is very confu from the uncertainty which rests over the time whe ished. —— ὀλίγῳ πλείω, *somewhat more.* —— τοῦ ; Peloponnesian war. —— Bloomf. says that ἀφ' οὗ i χρόνου and δι' οὗ, etc. —— πολιτείᾳ, i. e. the oligar of elders established by Lycurgus. —— δι' αὐτό, i. e in the same polity. —— δυνάμενοι = δυνατοὶ ὄντες. —— The Lacedæmonians arranged the affairs of other st own model, abolishing both tyrannies and democraci political institutions, modes of government, etc. — resumes the subject, which had been interrupted by beginning at ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων, but it will be see resumption, the words are somewhat changed: ἐπειδ κατελύθησαν—μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν. W in the first clause, it is usually repeated in the resum Cyrop. II. 3. § 19), which here embraces the apodosis ἐγένετο. Cf. N. on I. 11. § 1. —— πρός, *against.* K.

2. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει. This refers to the commencem lition of Xerxes, and not to the [illegible]

an expedition than fighting a battle. —— *δουλωσόμενος* denotes the purpose of *ἦλθε*, S. § 225. 5. —— *ξυμπολεμησάντων*. "Aoristi participium offensioni est, quum scriptor non *qui communiter bellum gesserant*, sed *qui—gerebant* vel *gesturi erant* dicere velit." Poppo. Goelier thinks that the Aorist was employed, because the Greeks had already united in the first Persian war. —— *ἀνασκευασάμενοι, collecting together their moveables.* "*Colligere vasa.*" Betant. In Liddell and Scott's Lex. this passage is cited under the definition, *to dismantle one's* house, city, etc. This meaning is unsuitable to the passage. —— *ἐς τὰς ναῦς* belongs to *ἐμβάντες*. —— *διεκρίθησαν πρὸς* = *διακρίθεντες ἐχώρουν πρός*. This species of constructio pregnans, by which a verb of rest is followed by a preposition of motion, is quite common. Cf. K. § 300. 3. b; S. § 235. —— *οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες*. It is singular that Müller should supply *αὐτῷ* (i. e. *τῷ βασιλεῖ*), since the use of *τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων* supra, shows that it is here to be referred to those who united against the king. Two classes of Greeks are here spoken of, viz. those who had revolted from the king, and those who from the beginning had united to oppose him. —— *ταῦτα*. See N. on I. 9. § 3. —— *οἱ μὲν* refers to the Lacedæmonians, *οἱ δὲ* to the Athenians.

3. *ἡ ὁμαιχμία, the defensive alliance, confederacy* against the Persians. It was not until the destruction of the Persian fleet on the Eurymedon, by Cimon, that the Persian war was terminated. Until that time the alliance, to which the invasion of Xerxes had given birth, remained unbroken. —— *Ἑλλήνων* limits *τινές*. —— *εἴ τινές που διασταῖεν, whoever any where were at variance* = *when differences arose among any of them.* —— *ἐς τόνδε ἀεὶ κ. τ. λ.* The order is: *ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀεὶ τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες (sometimes making treaties and sometimes fighting).* —— *ἀλλήλοις* depends on *πολεμοῦντες*. S. § 202. 1. —— *τὰ πολέμια, in whatever pertains to war.* —— *μετὰ....ποιούμενοι, inasmuch as their practice was in the midst of dangers*, i. e. (as Arnold observes) "their field of exercise was not the parade, but the field of battle." *μελέτας ποιούμενοι* = *μελετῶντες.*

CHAPTER XIX.

The Lacedæmonians levied no tribute from their allies, but took care by conciliatory measures to establish oligarchical forms of government among them; the Athenians, on the contrary, deprived their allies of their ships and made them tributaries, by which means they became highly prepared for war (§ 1).

1. Here begins an account of the respective policy of the two leading states of Greece, which is given more at length in the process of the history. —— *οὐχ....ἡγοῦντο* is opposed to *χρήματα....φέρειν*, which is said below of the Athenians. —— *ὑποτελεῖς—φόρου*, *subject to pay taxes;* literally, *payers of tribute.* —— *τοὺς ξυμμάχους* depends on *ἔχοντες* (*by possessing*. See N. on I. 9. § 1), and not on *ἡγοῦντο* as the Scholiast directs, which verb in the signification *to rule, govern*, is followed by the genitive. K. § 275. R. 1. —— *κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν κ. τ. λ.* The order is: *θεραπεύοντες* (sc. *ξυμμάχους*) *μόνον ὅπως πολιτεύσωσιν ἐπιτηδείως σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* (i. e. the Lacedæmonians) *κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν*. Arnold cites I. 76, 144, as illustrative of this passage. Bekker and Arnold from a single MS. edit. *πολιτεύσουσι*. But notwithstanding the usage of Thucydides (*πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν*), the MS. authority is too feeble to admit this reading as genuine. —— *θεραπεύοντες* has the same construction as *ἔχοντες*, to which it is opposed. —— *Ἀθηναῖοι*, sc. *ἡγοῦντο* from the preceding context. The vulgar edition has *ἦρχον* after *παραλαβόντες*. But although this might express more specifically the idea of *ruling* as opposed to *ἡγοῦντο*, which, in reference to the Lacedæmonians, does not so much imply the exercise of dominion, as the leading or general oversight of states otherwise represented as free, yet I find that modern critics with great unanimity have rejected the word as spurious. The context will give to *ἡγοῦντο* the shade of signification, required by its reference to the Athenians. —— *τῷ χρόνῳ*, "*sensim paullatim.*" Haack. —— *πλὴν Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων*. In process of time the Lesbians became subject to the Athenians. —— *ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον* refers to the Peloponnesian war. —— *μείζων* in respect to revenue. —— *ὡς*, *when*. So the Latins use *ut* for *quando*. —— *τὰ κράτιστα—ἠνθησαν*, *they had been most flourishing* (K. § 278. R. 1). Reference is had to the period a little before the expiration of the thirty years' treaty, when the Athenians not only had subjected the islands of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, but had united to their confederacy Phocis, Argos, Bœotia, and Achaia. Cf. I. 102 105; 108, 111, 115. —— *τῆς ξυμμαχίας* against foreign invasion. See N. on *ἡ ὁμαιχμία*, I. 18. § 8.

CHAPTERS XX.—XXIII.

These chapters contain the third division of the preface, the subject of which is the nature of Grecian history, together with some preliminary remarks on the work now in hand. This portion of the preface should be read with great care and attention, as in it the historian unfolds the plan of his work, the principles which regulated its composition, and gives the ground of his claim to accuracy and impartiality. The easy and natural transition which it forms to the main history, the clear and magnificent view which it gives of the subject, and its adaptation to win for the writer the sympathy and confidence of his reader, render it one of the most finished specimens of the kind to be found in any language.

CHAPTER XX.

Such was the state of affairs in Greece, although, perhaps, it will be hard to be credited, from the proneness of men to catch at flying reports of past events without due examination (§ 1); thus the Athenians in general believe that Hipparchus was slain by Harmodius and Aristogiton, because he was the tyrant, whereas Hippias, who by right of primogeniture held the government, was the object of their conspiracy, and Hipparchus was slain as the result of a disarrangement in their plan (§ 2); thus also the opinion of the rest of Greece, in respect to the suffrage of the Lacedæmonian kings and the existence of the Pitanatan band, is incorrect (§ 3).

1. *τὰ μὲν οὖν.* The corresponding particle to *μὲν* is *δὲ* in the beginning of the next chapter, all between being properly a parenthesis. —— *χαλεπὰ....πιστεῦσαι* is difficult of interpretation on account of its great brevity. Bloomf. with Bauer makes *πιστεῦσαι* = *πιστευθῆναι* and translates: *however hardly it may find credit, even when established by a regular chain of proofs. παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ, every argument necessary to proof.* "*Omni* (i. e. omnis temporis) *testimonio ex ordine confirmata.*" Bothe. Goeller by a sort of grammatical attraction makes the passage = *τοιαῦτα εὗρον, ὥστε πᾶν ἑξῆς τεκμήριον αὐτῶν χαλεπὸν εἶναι πιστεῦσαι,* and remarks: "non solum *παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ* dixit, sed *παντὶ ἑξῆς τεκμηρίῳ*, quia in tanta vetustatis obscuritate non simplex argumentum sufficit, sed modo aliam rem ex alia colligendo et longiorem demum post conclusionem ad sententiam probabilem perveniri potest." Of this explanation Poppo remarks: "hunc sensum nos

narration may be open to suspicion, applies equally to
erpretation of Bloomf. or Goodw. The facts of the his
been based on the most incontrovertible evidence, and
remember how readily reports of past actions are cal
culated, may be disposed after all to doubt whether the
affairs in times so remote is given. Such I believe to be
is much disputed passage. —— γὰρ introduces the reason
just been stated. —— καὶ ἦν, *even if.* —— ὁμοίως = *jus*
re events in the history of another country. ὁμοίως is o
tically. —— ἀβασανίστως, *without question*, "*sine disqu*
letant.

πλῆθος—οἴονται. The verb is put in the plural, beca
s had to the individuals implied in the subject (K. § 241.
νον ὄντα, *as being the tyrant.* The participle here den
l cause. Cf. K. § 812. 6; S. § 225. 4. See also N. on I
as in respect to the supposition of his being the tyrant, t
s says the Athenians were mistaken. —— πρεσβύτατος
\. The order is: πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱ
τῶν Ἀθηναίων). —— Ἵππαρχος....αὐτοῦ is parenthetic
pend on the preceding ὅτι. —— ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ fixed u
pias. —— καὶ παραχρῆμα, *even at the very time*, i. e. just
about to perpetrate the deed. —— ὡς προειδότος, *as fo*
rned and therefore prepared. Bloomf. cites the prover
d, forearmed." —— δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, *to*
meet death) *after having done something* worthy of no

ment and for no very obvious reason in VI. 54–59, as well as the declaration of his personal knowledge of the family (VI. 55. §), has induced some (after the Schol. on I. 20) to think that Thucydides was connected to them by relationship. But this is mere conjecture. —— *ἀπέκτειναν*, sc. *τοῦτον*.

8. *οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα, not obliterated from the memory by time, the memory of which is not lost by length of time.* —— *οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες*, i. e. other than the Athenians. Of course the Lacedæmonians are also to be excepted, since they would certainly be acquainted with the things here mentioned. —— *μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ....δυοῖν*. It is thought by some that Herodotus is hinted at, who speaks (VI. 57) of the two votes of each king. Müller (Dorians, II. p. 105. N. a) thinks that Thucydides refers to Hellenicus rather than Herodotus, whose work he could scarcely have read. But although reference may have been had to Hellenicus and other early writers, whom Herodotus perhaps carelessly followed, yet I can scarcely be persuaded that the history of Herodotus was unknown to Thucydides. The story first related by Lucian and repeated by many others, that Herodotus read his work to the assembled Greeks at Olympia, and that the young Thucydides was present at the recitation and moved to tears, is undoubtedly a mere invention, as Dahlmann has most ably and conclusively shown. Yet that is no proof that Thucydides was a stranger to the writings of Herodotus, when he composed the history of the Peloponnesian war. In respect to the grammatical structure of *ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι*, there is no difficulty, if we give to the verb the signification, *to assent to, to accede to one's opinion* (*ψήφῳ*) *with a vote;* i. e. to give a vote. —— *Πιτανάτην λόχον*. Here again it is thought by some that a blow is aimed at Herodotus (IX. 53; III. 55). It is said that Caracalla in imitation of antiquity composed a *λόχος Πιτανάτης* of Spartans. So the Tarentines, in order to retain the local names of their mother city, had a division of their army which was called Pitanates; also upon a coin of Tarentum the *περίπολοι Πιτανᾶτοι* are mentioned. All this seems to favor the truth of the statement of Herodotus. Cf. Müll. Dorians, II. p. 49. N. t. Schweig. ad Herodot. l. c. conciliates the statement of these two great historians, by supposing that there was such a band commanded by Amompharetus in the battle at Platæa, which not being perpetual, ceased to exist in the time of Thucydides. —— *τὰ ἑτοῖμα* ("*ea, quæ in promptu sunt.*" Poppo), i. e. those things which can be learnt from hearsay without the labor of investigation.

CHAPTER XXI.

Although it is to be feared that these accounts will be approved by few readers (cf. I. 20. § 1), yet the historian avers, that they will not err who place greater confidence in him than in the poets and logographers, who shape their narratives so as to be pleasing to the ear rather than agreeable to the truth (§ 1); and though men fancy ancient wars to be the greatest, yet to those who judge from the facts, this war will appear greater than any preceding one (§ 2).

1. *ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων* resumes the subject from *τὰ μὲν οὖν* at the beginning of the previous chapter. This is clearly indicated among other things by *ὅμως*, which implies *εἰ καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ χαλεπά ἐστι πιστεῦσαι.* —— *τοιαῦτα....ἁμαρτάνοι, no one would err in the belief* (*νομίζων, in thinking.* See N. on I. 9. § 1), *that these things which I have narrated, are for the most part such* as I have represented them to be. *οἷα διῆλθον* may be supplied after *τοιαῦτα* from *ἃ διῆλθον*. The words *ἂν—ἁμαρτάνοι* belong not only to *νομίζων*, but also to *πιστεύων* and *ἡγησάμενος*. It may assist to the right understanding of the chapter, to regard *καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ....ἐκνενικηκότα* as a parenthesis, containing another and subordinate parenthetical clause, *ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα....ἐκνενικηκότα.* In this second parenthesis *ὅντα* refers to *ἃ* (= *ἐκεῖνα ἃ*) in *ἃ διῆλθον*, or it may be referred, as Goel. suggests, to *ὡς* (= *οἷα*) *ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι.* —— *ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες.* See. N. on I. 10. § 8. —— *λογογράφοι*, i. e. *writers of prose* as opposed to *ποιηταί*, which seems here to designate those early chroniclers who wrote in verse. The name *logographers*, which Thucydides here applies to his predecessors, is now given by scholars to the historians who preceded Herodotus, and whose histories were composed of myths and traditionary stories, although doubtless containing much that was true. Cf. Müll. Lit. of Greece, p. 265. —— *ἐπὶ. ..ἀληθέστερον, with a view to their being alluring to* (literally, *leading to*) *the ear rather than consistent with truth.* "When two adjectives are compared with each other, so as to signify that the property or quality is found in a higher degree in one than in the other, both of them are put in the comparative." Mt. § 456. Cf. K. § 323. 4; S. § 159. 2. —— *ἀνεξέλεγκτα, impossible to be convicted* or *refuted.* Liddell and Scott. "Which can neither be proved nor disproved for want of evidence on either side." Arnold. —— *αὐτῶν* depends on *τὰ πολλὰ—ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα, have encroached upon* (literally, *won their way to.* Arnold) *the fabulous, so as to be entitled to no credit* (*ἀπίστως*, "*ita ut nulla fides iis habeatur.*" Goeller). —— *εὑρῆσθαι—ἀποχρώντως, to be sufficiently well made out.* The subject of this infinitive is

easily elicited from *ἃ διῆλθον* supra. —— *ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι, for things so ancient;* i. e. considering their great antiquity (Cf. K. § 341. R. 8; S. § 223. 2). This clause, which Poppo makes = *ὡς παλαιὰ ἔνι ἐπιφανῆ εἶναι, quantum testimonia de rebus priscis clara esse possunt*, qualifies *ἀποχρώντως*.

2. *ὁ πόλεμος* is the subject of *δηλώσει* (*will appear*). —— *ἐν ᾧ*, sc. *χρόνῳ*. —— *ἀεί*. See N. on I. 11. § 1 (end). —— *πανσαμένων* = *αὐτῶν πανσαμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν* (from *πολεμῶσι*). —— *αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν ἀρχαίων*) depends on *μείζων*.

CHAPTER XXII.

While the exact words of the speeches uttered in this war are not pretended to have been given, yet the orations have been made to conform as nearly as possible to the general sense of what was really spoken (§ 1); as to the deeds, such only are narrated as fell under the observation of the historian, or were received on good authority from others (§ 2); this, however, was a task of extreme difficulty, from the conflicting accounts often given by those who were eye-witnesses of the same affair (§ 3); severe adherence to truth to the neglect of all mere embellishment may be less agreeable, but cannot but be more useful to the reader, and will render the history worthy of being an everlasting possession (§ 4).

1. *καὶ....ἕκαστοι, and as to the several* (*ἕκαστοι*. See N. on I. 8. § 5) *speeches which were made.* *λόγῳ* is antithetic to *τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων*, § 2 infra. —— Bothe edits *ὅσα λογῶν = ὅσους λόγους.* —— *ἐν αὐτῷ*, i. e. *ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν.* —— *τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων* (a changed construction for *τοῦτων τὴν ἀκρίβειαν*) = *ταῦτα τὰ λεχθέντα ἀκριβῶς.* —— *ἐμοὶ* limits *χαλεπόν.* —— *ὧν = ἐκείνων ἅ*, of which equivalent, the antecedent (referring to *τῶν λεχθέντων*) depends on *τὴν ἀκρίβειαν*, to be supplied from the preceding clause. —— *τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν—ἀπαγγέλλουσιν* is opposed to *ἐμοὶ....ἤκουσα.* —— *ἄν* belongs to *εἰπεῖν.* —— *τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα, those things most especially needed = most to the purpose.* —— *ἐχομένῳ....λεχθέντων, keeping as close as possible to the general* (*ξυμπάσης*) *sense of what was actually spoken.* On the construction of *γνώμης*, cf. K. § 278. R. 5. b; S. § 192. 1. —— *οὕτως* responds to *ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν.* "It thus appears that the speeches recorded by Thucydides are genuine as to their substance, although the style, the arrangement, and many of the particular arguments are altogether his own. They are like the speeches written by Johnson for the parliamentary debates in the Gentleman's Magazine; the substance of the debate was reported to him, and he then enlarged and embellished it, in order to set it off to the best advantage." Arnold.

2. τὰ δ'....πολέμῳ, *but as to the deeds which were actually performed in the war.* In order to avoid a pleonasm, Goeller, on the suggestion of Krüger, connects τῶν πραχθέντων with ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. But this is unnecessary, since the manifest design of the author was to give emphasis to the *actuality* of the deeds spoken of, and hence he departed from the usual mode of expression τὰ ἔργα τὰ πραχθέντα. Haack remarks: ad τὰ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πραχθέντα non solum τὰ ἔργα pertinent sed etiam τὰ λεχθέντα. —— οὐκ....ἐπεξελθών. Construct (as Poppo directs): οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' (ἠξίωσα γράφειν) ἐπεξελθὼν οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων (πυνθανόμενος). The words ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος = *from any one whom it chanced, from every chance comer.* —— ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει = *according to any mere impressions of my own.* —— αὐτὸς παρῆν. It is supposed that Thucydides served in the first seven years of the war, for in the eighth, he was appointed to the command of the Athenian fleet off the coast of Thrace. From what he says, he must have been an eye-witness and an ear-witness of many things, which were done and said in this war. ἐπεξελθὼν conforms rather to οἷς (= ἐκείνα οἷς) τε αὐτὸς παρῆν than to παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων, and hence πυνθανόμενος may be easily supplied from the preceding context. ἐπεξελθὼν implies great thoroughness of investigation, and hence with ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ (= ἀκριβέστατα Mt. § 461. *Obs.*) is highly emphatic.

3. οὐ....ἔλεγον, *did not give the same account of the same actions.* —— ἀλλ' ὡς....ἔχοι, literally, *as any one might be in respect of good will to either party, or of his memory = as any one was inclined to be partial to either party, or as his memory served him.* To the phrase ὡς ἔχει the genitive is added, to show in what respect the sense of the verb is to be taken. K. § 274. 3. b. ἑκατέρων depends on εὐνοίας, as expressive of the cause whence the feeling of good will or partiality arose (K. § 274, Kr. § 47. 7. N. 5). εὔνοιά τινος = εὔνοια πρός τινα.

4. μὲν refers forward to δὲ in ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται. In this way ἀτερπέστερον is opposed to ὠφέλιμα infra. —— τὸ μὴ μυθώδες αὐτῶν, *their being free from myths.* The negative μὴ is used, because the clause may be resolved into: *quia nullæ in iis extent fabulæ* instead of *extant*, which would express actuality without reference to any supposition, and would therefore demand τὸ οὐ μυθῶδες. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 475. *Obs.* 3. —— τῶν τε....ἔφεσθαι. Construct: σκοπεῖν τὸ σαφὲς (*the truth*) τῶν γενομένων (καὶ τὸ σαφὲς) τῶν μελλόντων ποτε αὖθις κ. τ. λ. On κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, *according to the course of human affairs, in all human probability* (ἀνθρωπείως), cf. K. § 292. II. 3. b. —— κρίνειν (sc. τούτους referring to ὅσοι), *for them to judge*, is the

subject of ἔξει (S. § 159. 2). The pronoun to be supplied here refers probably to political men, who endeavor to acquire a knowledge of the future by the study of the past, and to whom such a history as this would be preëminently useful. —— After ἀρκούντως ἔξει, Poppo, with several other critics, supplies τούτοις or αὐτοῖς referring to ὅσοι. But it is far better with Wolf, Haack, Arnold, and Bloomf., to supply ἐμοί, which is omitted *dignitatis vel modestiæ gratia.* —— κτῆμά τε— ξύγκειται = ξύγκειται ὡς κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεί, *this* (i. e. his history) *is composed as an* EVERLASTING POSSESSION. ἐς ἀεὶ = to our old *for aye.* Bloomf. —— ἀγώνισμα, *prize composition, a trial of literary skill.* Reference is here supposed to be had also to Herodotus, but the doubt, which now hangs over the statement of Lucian in respect to the recitation at Olympia (see N. on I. 20. § 8), makes such a reference in this place to an equal extent uncertain. Besides, those critics, who are continually spying out references to Herodotus of the kind here and previously referred to, should remember that it does not add to the praise of Thucydides, to represent him as indulging in these covert and petty allusions, the designed object of which, must have been to disparage the credibility, and thus undermine the reputation of his great predecessor and rival for coming ages. —— ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα denotes the object or purpose of ἀγώνισμα (K. § 290. 2. 3. a). —— ἀκούειν, sc. τινά. Cf. S. 222. 6. The sentiment of this passage is noble, and worthy of the man, who by common consent is justly styled PRINCEPS HISTORICORUM. —— The subject of ξύγκειται is properly αὐτὰ to be supplied from ὠφελιμα αὐτά.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The importance of the Peloponnesian war is again insisted on, by a brief comparison of it with the Persian war, which was shown to have been brought to a termination in two sea-fights and as many engagements by land, but this war was lasting (§ 1); and in the amount of blood shed, the capture of cities, the change of inhabitants by the war and the accompanying seditions, was never equalled (§ 2); to which things were added what before had only been heard of, viz. earthquakes, eclipses of the sun, droughts, famines, pestilence, and the like (§ 3); the causes of the war are introduced as next claiming attention, among which the veritable cause was the fear with which the Lacedæmonians regarded the growing power of the Athenians, but the ostensible one is detailed in the narration which follows (§ 4, 6).

1. Τῶν δὲ πρότερον. This chapter, although belonging to the preface, is more immediately introductory to the history which commences in the next chapter. —— δυεῖν ναυμαχίαν, i. e. the sea-fights at Artemi-

misium and Salamis. The land engagements were those at Pylæ and Platea. *δυεῖν* is in the genitive (K. § 99. 5) and depends on *κρίσιν*, *had its decision of two sea-fights = found its decision in two sea-fights.* Poppo, Haack, and Goeller read *δυοῖν*, but the reading of Dindorf is supported by that of Bekker, Arnold, etc. and by the authority also of almost all the MSS. —— *τοῦτου....προὔβη.* A varied form of expression for *ὁ πόλεμος* (i. e. the Peloponnesian war) *προὔβη ἐς μέγα μῆκος*, or (with Bloomf.) *τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου (τὸ) μῆκος (ἐς) μέγ προὔβη.* —— *ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, happened to be = befell.* —— *ἕτερα* refers to *παθήματα* to be mentally supplied from the preceding member. —— *ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ*, i. e. in twenty-seven years.

2. *οὔτε γὰρ....ἠρημώθησαν.* The sentiment is as though it had been written: *πλεῖσται γὰρ πόλεις ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ληφθεῖσαι ἠρημώθησαν (were taken and made desolate.* Butt. § 144. N. 7 end), since the construction is continued with *αἱ μὲν—αἱ δὲ—εἰσὶ δὲ αἳ*, whereas the words as they now stand would require to be followed by *οὔτε ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν*, etc. The negative form given by *οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαίδε*, adds much to the vivacity and strength of the passage. With *ἠρημώθησαν* we may mentally supply *πρότερον ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ.* —— *ὑπὸ βαρβάρων.* Reference is had to Mycalessus. Cf. VII. 30. —— *ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων.* Platæa (III. 68) and Thyrea (IV. 57) are supposed here to be meant. Haack includes with these Mytilene, but a reference to III. 50, will show that the walls only of that city were demolished, the city being saved from destruction by the reconsideration and rejection of a vote to destroy it, which had been passed by the Athenian assembly on the preceding day (cf. III. 49). —— *καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον* (sc. *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ*), *changed inhabitants even*, i. e. had their inhabitants driven away to make room for others. The cities here referred to are Ægina (II. 27), Potidæa (II. 70), Scio (V. 32), and Melus (V. 116). —— *φυγαί, banishments.* —— *ὁ μὲν—ὁ δέ, partly—partly.* —— *διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν, on account of sedition.* Haack thinks that reference is had in this place most especially to the Corcyræans. Poppo in his notes on the Scholia adds the Argives (V. 82), the Samians (VIII. 21. 73), et alii.

3. *ἀκοῇ, by report*, is here opposed to *ἔργῳ, in fact.* —— *οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, became not incredible = ceased to be incredible.* —— *σεισμῶν τε πέρι, both as it respects* (K. § 295. 3. I. 2. a) *earthquakes.* —— *ἅμα—καί, at once—and.* —— *γῆς* does not here mean the habitable globe, for, as Bloomf. justly remarks, that sense would require the article, but it signifies *land, territory*, and *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μέρος γῆς —ἐπέσχον, occupied a very extensive territory = were very extensively prevalent.* —— *ἐκλείψεις*, sc. *κατέστησαν* from *κατέστη* supra. Strict-

ness of construction would have required *ἐκλειψέων*, but it is varied as though *σεισμοί τε* had preceded. —— *πυκνότεραι....μνημονευόμενα, more frequent than what had been remembered from former times.* *παρὰ* here denotes *in comparison with* (K. § 298. III. 3. d), and *παρὰ τὰ μνημονευόμενα = τῶν μνημονευομένων* (in dependence on *πυκνότεραι*) only much more intensive. —— *ἐκ = ἀπό.* —— *αὐχμοί.* Repeat *ξυνέβησαν.* —— *ἔστι παρ' οἷς = παρ' ἐνίοις.* K. § 331. R. 4. Rarely is a word placed between *ἔστιν* in this use and its relative, and then it is a preposition. —— *ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, i. e. *αὐχμῶν.* The connection between drought and famine is very obvious. So on the footsteps of famine follows pestilence, and hence the connection of *λιμὸς* and *λοιμὸς* so common as to be almost proverbial. Cf. Matt. 24: 7. —— *καὶ ἡ.... νόσος, and that which produced the most* (*οὐχ ἥκιστα*, a litotes. See N. on I. 3. § 1) *damage and destroyed a considerable part* (*μέρος τι*), *the pestilential disease.* Some critics refer *μέρος* to territory and supply *γῆς*, i. e. *Ἀττικῆς.* Others translate: *did its share of destruction.* I concur in the following note of Arnold, in which he substantially follows Goeller: "The word *μέρος* seems to imply more than *a part*, for all the other visitations had destroyed a part of the people. It appears to signify so large a part as sensibly to affect the whole by its absence; *a proportion* or *substantive part of the whole nation.* Thus also it is used VII. 30." *ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος* (stronger than *ὁ λοιμὸς*) takes the article because it is epexegetical of *ἡ....φθείρασα*, where the article could not be dispensed with. —— *μετά*, *ἅμα*, and *ξυν-* are not pleonastic but highly intensive.

4. The historian now begins to detail the causes of the war. *ἤρξαντο—αὐτοῦ.* S. § 189. —— *λύσαντες, when they had broken.* See N. on *πολεμοῦντες*, I. 13. § 6. —— *Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν* by the Athenians under Pericles.

5. *διότι, why, wherefore.* —— *προέγραψα πρῶτον* is apparently pleonastic, but in truth highly emphatic. —— *τὰς διαφορὰς* which led to the war. —— *τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε, in order that* (S. §§ 222. 2; 194. 1) *no one may ever inquire.*

6. *πρόφασιν, cause, occasion*, opposed to *αἰτίαι, apparent causes, ostensible reasons.* These words might well have changed places, as both are employed out of their usual signification. *πρόφασιν* is the subject of *εἶναι* understood, the predicate of which is *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους —ἀναγκάσαι* (*= τὸ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναγκάσαι.* Cf. Mt. § 542. *Obs.* 1. *a*). —— *γιγνομένους, because they had become.* See N. on *ὅν*, I. 9. § 4. *ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι—ἑκατέρων, openly alleged by each party.* For the genitive, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 483. *Obs.* 4. —— *ἀφ' ὧν, on account of which.*

CHAPTERS XXIV.—LXVI.

We are now to enter upon the history of the war, which Thucydides shows to have avowedly risen out of the contest between the Corinthians and Corcyræans (chaps. 24–55), and the affair at Potidæa (chaps. 56–66). This portion may be regarded, therefore, in its relation to the main history, as a detail of the pretended causes of this long and ruinous war. It is well worth the perusal of the student, as laying open in a most lucid manner, the genius and policy of the states representing the two great forms of government, aristocratical and democratical, which were about to engage in a mighty and final struggle for the mastery. It should be regarded as a beacon light of the past, serving to warn against the most distant approach towards civil war, and showing to what extent the passions of men will carry them, and how ruinous their measures, when, overlooking the welfare of the whole, they seek to aggrandize and make powerful one state upon the ruins of others. The reader will find much that is reprehensible in the Athenian line of conduct, yet not more than in that of the Lacedæmonians, who, with a cold and selfish policy, were aiming at power not less eagerly than their more active and excitable rivals. A grasping and overbearing spirit had taken possession of both states, under different forms, it is true, but equally pernicious to their own best interests and those of Greece in general.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Epidamnus, the situation (§ 1), and founders (§ 2), and growth (§ 3) of which are described, had become agitated by internal dissensions (§ 4); the result of which was, that the common people banished those in higher life, who uniting with the Barbarians, carried on war by land and by sea against the party which had expelled them (§ 5); in consequence of which, the citizens sent to Corcyra their parent city for aid (§ 6); but failed in obtaining it (§ 7).

1. Ἐπίδαμνος. *Epidamnus*, afterwards called Dyrrachium and now Durazzo, is said by Euseb. Chron. to have been founded 188 years before this. —— ἐν δεξιᾷ....κόλπου, *on the right to one sailing* (K. § 284. 10. a; S. § 201. 4) *into the Ionian gulf*. By Ἰόνιος κόλπος is not meant the Ionian sea, but the southern part of that portion of it, which was afterwards called the Adriatic. —— προσοικοῦσι, *bordered on, dwelt near to*. The accusative which follows this verb, depends on the preposition. —— Ταυλάντιοι. Müller places the Taulantii north

of Epidamnus, but Bloomf. contends that their country lay between Epidamnus and Apollonia.

2. *τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους*, *of the posterity of Hercules*. It was usual to select the œkists, when new colonies were planted, from the distinguished Heracleid families, which were found in all the Dorian cities. Cf. Grote's Hist. Greece II. p. 479. —— *ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως*, i. e. from Corinth, which was the mother city of Corcyra. —— *κατακληθείς*, *being called* to this office.

4. *στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις κ. τ. λ.* There are two modes of translating this passage, according as *ἐφθάρησαν* is taken with *στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις* (*they were weakened by intestine discord*), or with *ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς* (*by a certain war*). The former translation, which makes *ἀπὸ* (= *ἐξ*) *πολέμου* the source or occasion of the intestine troubles, is defended by Haack, Goeller, and Arnold; the latter, which regards *ἀπὸ* (= *ὑπὸ*) *πολέμου* as the immediate cause of their being reduced in numbers, is adopted by Poppo, Bekker, Krüg., Bloomf. etc. A comma is placed after *βαρβάρων* by those who maintain the former interpretation. I am inclined to adopt the second translation, as according better with the signification of *ἀπό*, which stands much more commonly for *ὑπὸ* than for *ἐξ*, *after*, and with the general sense of the passage, since intestine broils would be likely to take place without the occasion of a barbarian war, especially as this colony was composed of settlers from two states that had long disagreed. But after being weakened by these internal feuds, what more natural than that the Barbarians (i. e. the Taulantii) should attack them, and that too with success? —— *ὡς λέγεται* is to be taken with the preceding words.

5. *τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα*, *at last*. K. § 278. R. 1. Some critics (as Goeller in his first edition) interpret, as though it were written *τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα ἦν, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου* (i. e. the Peloponnesian) *ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν*. —— *τοὺς δυνατούς*, "*optimates*." Betant. "There was here it seems, as well as elsewhere, that contest between the *οἱ ἔχοντες* and the *οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες*, the *have-somethings* and the *have-nothings*, which has harassed, more or less, every nation that has arrived at any height of civilization, and seems particularly to infest old and thickly inhabited countries." Bloomf. —— *ἀπελθόντες* from Epidamnus to the Barbarians. —— *τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει*, *those in the city* = the citizens of Epidamnus.

6. The events here spoken of took place A. C. 435. Olymp. 86. 1. —— *οἱ....ὄντες*, *those who were* (see N. on *ὄντες*, I. 8. § 1) *in the city*, in contradistinction to those who had been expelled. —— *ὡς μητρόπολιν οὖσαν*, *inasmuch as it was* (see N. on I. 9. § 4 end) *their parent city*. —— *μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους*, *not to look on and see them*

come to ruin. Cf. Liddell and Scott ad verb. περιοράω. See also Mt. § 550. —— τοὺς φεύγοντας, *the exiles*, or perhaps better *the persons accused*, and who had avoided trial by flight. —— ταῦτα—ἐδέοντο. In the sense of *to request*, δεῖσθαι takes the accusative of the thing. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 529. *Obs.* 1. —— καθεζόμενοι ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον (*in the temple of Juno*) by constructio prægnans (see N. on I. 18. § 2) for ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον καθέζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ. —— ἱκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο probably because the government of Epidamnus was now democratical, while that of the Corcyræans was aristocratical.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Epidamnians in their perplexity consult the Delphic oracle, whether they shall deliver up their city to the Corinthians, and having received an affirmative response (§ 1), depart to Corinth and entreat aid (§ 2); this the Corinthians promise to grant, both on the score of justice and through hatred to the Corcyræans (§ 3); which hatred arose from the insolent treatment they had experienced from them in their colonial relations, the Corcyræans being puffed up by their naval superiority, and because their isle had once been inhabited by the Phæacians (§ 4).

1. γνόντες—οὖσαν, *knowing that he was.* With the infinitive, γιγνώσκειν signifies *to learn, to judge*, etc. K. § 811. 4. —— τιμωρίαν = βοήθειαν. —— ἐν....παρόν, *were in a state of perplexity what to do in the present exigency;* literally, *were held in a strait* etc. θέσθαι, i. e. ὥστε θέσθαι, or ἐς τὸ θέσθαι. —— πέμψαντες ἐν Δελφούς. "The usual resource of desponding states." Mitford. —— εἰ παραδοῖεν. The optative (after an Historical tense) is used in indirect interrogative sentences, when the question is to be represented as proceeding from the mind of another. Cf. K. § 344. 6. —— τιμωρίαν ποιεῖσθαι = τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν. —— ὁ δ', i. e. the oracle. —— ἀνεῖλε, *responded.* —— ἡγεμόνας (i. e. τοὺς Κορινθίους), *leaders, heads of the colony.* They had been the founders of Epidamnus through the medium of Corcyra, now they were constituted the *immediate* founders, and received as such the allegiance of the Epidamnians.

2. τὸ μαντεῖον = τὸ μάντευμα. —— τὸν....ὄντα, *showing clearly that their founder was from Corinth.* With the infinitive, δείκνυμι signifies *to teach.* K. § 311. 11. Krüg. says that the use of σφῶν for ἑαυτῶν is mostly Ionic and Thucydidean. —— ἐδέοντό τε. Hermann on Eurip. Med. (Opusc. III. p. 156) defines these words, *prætereaque orabunt.* He lays down also the rule, that τέ is not employed to connect a main circumstance, but one inferior in importance. But I cannot see why the entreating, etc. in this place, is not to be regarded

as an important circumstance, inasmuch as it was the burden of the message which had been previously sent to the Corcyræans, and that to which the delivering up of the colony to the Corinthians was an indispensable step, a *sine qua non*. —— διαφθειρομένους is more intensive than φθειρομένους (I. 24. § 6), *utterly* (δια-) *perishing*.

3. δὲ in Κορίνθιοι δὲ is a general connective. —— τὲ after κατὰ is responded to by δὲ in ἅμα δέ, serving thus to connect the reasons why the Corinthians acceded to the request of the Epidamnians. —— ἑαυτῶν εἶναι, *was theirs*. K. § 278. 2. *a*. —— ὄντες, *although they were*. See N. on I. 7. § 1.

4. οὔτε γὰρ—διδόντες. The construction may be made regular by writing οὔτε διδόντες, or οὔτε γὰρ ἐδίδοσαν, or still better, by repeating παρημέλουν (K. § 313. R. 1). The existence of γὰρ shows, that the writer intended to have repeated a verb of similar meaning to παρημέλουν. This, as Arnold remarks, he either forgot, or supposed that παρημέλουν itself could serve as the verb, notwithstanding by the insertion of γὰρ he had rendered it grammatically impossible. —— πανηγύρεσι, *festive assemblies*. The Schol. refers this to the Olympic and Nemean games, but it is better to understand by it the public festivals in each city. —— γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα includes probably the προεδρία. —— οὔτε....ἱερῶν has afforded commentators much trouble. Bloomf. translates: *nor committed the leading part of the sacrificial rites to a Corinthian;* literally, *not beginning the sacrificial rites with a Corinthian*. Goeller, whom Arnold quotes approvingly, makes Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ depend on διδόντες, and προκαταρχόμενοι = ἐν προκαταρχῇ, and then translates οὔτε γὰρ....ἱερῶν: *neque in publicis solennitatibus consuetos honores tribuentes, neque solita munia viro Corinthio in sacris*. By *munia*, Goeller (whose interpretation is substantially that of Bloomf. and Haack) means the rites with which the sacrifice commenced, such as pouring wine upon the head of the victim, sprinkling the barley (οὐλοχυτάς), and casting into the fire the hair cut from the head of the victim. But, as Poppo remarks, if Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ pertains to δίδοντες γέρα, and with these words, to both members of the sentence, it could not have well been placed after the second οὔτε. I prefer, as most natural, the translation which is in substance that of Poppo: *nor serving a Corinthian with the first* (= best) *portion of the victims*. It is obvious that Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ admits of this interpretation as readily as though it had the plural form Κορινθίοις ἀνδράσι, which Bloomf. thinks in that case would have been required. In respect to this signification of προκατάρχω, cf. Butt. Lexil. No. 29; Liddell and Scott *sub voce*. The reader is also referred to some valuable remarks in Grote's Hist. Greece (IV. p. 78), on this custom of

honoring the citizens of the metropolis with a privileged seat at festivals, and with the first taste of the sacrificial victim. —— *χρημάτων δυνάμει* is opposed to *τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ* (infra), and shows in what respect *ὁμοῖα* is to be taken. The *καὶ* before *χρημάτων* has reference to *καὶ* before *τῇ ἐς πόλεμον*. —— *ὁμοῖα....πλουσιωτάτοις, equal to the richest of the Grecian states.* On *ὁμοῖα* with the superlative, cf. K. § 239. R. 2; S. § 159. 5. According to Mt. § 290. 3, the use of *ὁμοῖα* is seen in the equivalent, *ὄντες πλούσιοι ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα (πλουσίοις) τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. Cf. Bloomfield's note. —— *δυνατώτεροι* than the Corinthians. —— *ναυτικῷ....ἐπαιρόμενοι, sometimes (ἔστιν ὅτε, occasionally.* Bloomf.) *being puffed up on account of their great naval superiority.* For the use of *προέχειν* denoting the ground of *ἐπαιρόμενοι*, cf. Mt. § 534. II. *b*; K. § 285. 1 (1). *ναυτικῷ* denotes the respect in which *προέχειν* is to be taken. —— *καὶ κατὰ....ναῦς, and because the Phæacians, renowned in naval affairs, dwelt formerly in Corcyra;* literally, *being elated* (*ἐπαιρόμενοι* repeated) *on account of the previous dwelling of the Phæacians in Corcyra.* For the double genitive after *προενοίκησιν*, cf. K. § 275. R. 6; S. § 187. N. 2. *κατὰ τὴν—προενοίκησιν* (a varied construction from *προέχειν ἐπαιρόμενοι*) is interpreted by the Schol., *ὁμοίως τῇ προενοικήσει τῶν Φαιάκων = in a manner befitting the preoccupation of Corcyra by the Phæacians*, i. e. as became the successors of the Phæacians. It must not be supposed from this, that Thucydides placed much if any confidence in the fabulous account of the Phæacians. He speaks here of the subject, as it was considered by the Corcyræans. —— *τῇ, for this reason* (cf. I. 11. § 1), refers to the fact just before alluded to, that the Phæacians formerly had occupied their island. —— *οὐκ ἀδύνατοι, very powerful,* "*quite powerful.*" Schol.

CHAPTER XXVI.

For the reasons just given, the Corinthians send out colonists and troops to assist the Epidamnians (§ 1); these go by land to Apollonia (§ 2); the Corcyræans hearing this, sail with a fleet to Epidamnus, and order the citizens to receive the exiles (cf. I. 24. § 5), and to send back the colonists and troops that had come to their assistance (§ 3); on their refusal to do this, the Corcyræans proceed against them with forty ships, taking with them the exiles and some Illyrian auxiliaries (§ 4), and lay siege to the place, having first made proclamation, that any Epidamnian or stranger who wished, might depart unmolested (§ 5).

1. *ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες = κατηγοροῦντες.* Phav. —— *οἰκήτορα.... κελεύοντες, making proclamation that any one who chose might go as a*

colonist. —— Ἀμπρακιωτῶν depends on φρουρούς. Ambracia, in the southern part of Epirus, was founded by a Corinthian colony, as was also Leucadia, an island on the western coast of Acarnania. —— φρουροὺς depends on κελεύοντες, which in this connection signifies *commanding.* εἶναι must of course be repeated.

2. πεζῇ, *by land.* Although it is not said expressly, that they went to Epidamnus, yet it is implied in the emphasis which must be given to πεζῇ = they went by *land* to Apollonia, and afterwards proceeded to Epidamnus by *water.* Apollonia, the ruins of which are now call Pollina, was situated near the mouth of the Æas or Aous (now *Voioussa*), about fifteen miles south of the Apsus. It was at this time dependent upon Corinth. Bloomf. suggests that they went by water from Apollonia, in order to avoid the danger of passing through the territory of the Taulantii. —— δέει, *through fear.* —— κωλύωνται. The subjunctive here depends on a verb (ἐπορεύθησαν) denoting time past, in order to impart vivacity to the discourse, by narrating past events as though they were present. Cf. K. §§ 330. R. 1; 345. 5; S. § 212. N. —— περαιούμενοι, *while passing, on their passage.* (See N. on πολεμοῦντες, I. 13. § 6); or, perhaps, it is better (with Mt. § 555. Obs. 2) to construe this participle as an infinitive after κωλύωνται, *should hinder from passing.*

3. ᾔσθοντο—ἥκοντας. With the participle, αἰσθάνεσθαι signifies *to perceive, to observe;* with the infinitive, *to think, to imagine.* K. § 311. 5; S. 225. 7. —— ναυσὶ is the dative of accompaniment. S. § 206. 5. —— ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ consisting of fifteen ships, as we learn by a comparison of § 4 infra, where the fleet of the Corcyræans is said to consist of forty sail. —— κατ' ἐπήρειαν, *insultingly, with insolent threats.* The haughty demand made here by the Corcyræans, arose less from a desire to aid the exiles, than from hatred to the Epidamnians, increased probably by the intelligence, that they had applied to Corinth for assistance. —— γὰρ in ἦλθον γὰρ introduces the reason for the demand made by the Corcyræans in behalf of the exiles. The parenthetic clause extends to κατάγειν, after which the demand made by the Corcyræans is resumed, the τὲ in τούς τε φρουροὺς corresponding to the τὲ in τούς τε φεύγοντας, and ἀποπέμπειν depending on ἐκέλευον κατ' ἐπήρειαν at the beginning of the section. —— τάφους ξυγγένειαν, *pointing to the sepulchres* (of their ancestors) *and showing their* (= claiming) *relationship.* For the *dilogia* in ἀποδεικνύντες, cf. K. § 346. 3. —— ἣν προϊσχόμενοι, *holding out which, alleging which* as an argument or ground of request. —— ἀποπέμπειν from Epidamnus. —— οὐδέν, i. e. κατ' οὐδέν, stronger than οὐκ. Bloomf. —— αὐτῶν is neuter. Cf. I. 29. § 1; 140. § 4.

4. The Schol. interprets ἀλλὰ by καί, but the abruptness of ἀλλὰ is quite in keeping with the style of Thucydides. An ellipsis may be easily supplied, such as: *the Corcyræans* (made no more verbal demands), *but proceeded against them*, etc. —— ὡς κατάξοντες (sc. αὐτοῖς), *under pretence of restoring them.* ὡς is here used *de re pretextu.* —— καὶ (*also*) connects προσλαβόντες with μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων. —— προσλαβόντες as auxiliaries. The participle is to be construed with στρατεύουσιν.

5. προσκαθεζόμενοι, *blockading*, not strictly *besieging*, since, as Bloomf. and Poppo observe, it was not until after the Epidamnians would listen to no proposal, that it is said the Corcyræans ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν. The accusative is rarely found after προσκαθέζεσθαι, and only in the general meaning which it has in this place. —— προεῖπον —τὸν βουλόμενον—ἀπιέναι. The object of verbs which take the genitive or dative, is frequently put in the accusative with the following infinitive. Cf. K. § 307. N. 3; S. § 222. 3. a. —— εἰ....χρήσεσθαι, *but otherwise they would treat them as enemies.* Poppo and Goeller edit χρήσασθαι, but the future form is adopted by Bekker (in his last edition), Haack, and Arnold, which is undoubtedly correct, since the time of the action is essentially future. Cf. K. § 257. R. 2; Jelf's Kühn. § 405. *Obs.* 2. There is no need with Bloomf. to repeat προεῖπον per dilogiam (see N. on § 3 supra), in the sense of *order*, *declare openly*, since such brevity of expression is continually occurring in every language. —— ἐπείθοντο refers to the Epidamnians. —— ἔστι δ' ἰσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον is a parenthesis, and is so marked in most of the editions before me. ἰσθμὸς (= ἀμφιθαλάσσιος. Schol.) means here a *peninsula*, or an *isthmus on a peninsula.* Notice the position of ἰσθμὸς between the subject and the verb.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Corinthians prepare to send out a fleet for the relief of Epidamnus (§ 1); ships, money, and troops are furnished at their request by their allies (§ 2).

πολιορκοῦνται, sc. οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι. The indicative is here employed because the statement is given in the messenger's own words, ὅτι in such cases serving as a mark of quotation = (announcing) "*the Epidamnians are besieged.*" Cf. K. § 329. R. 8; S. § 213. 1. Some may prefer, however, in this and similar cases, to regard the indicative as supplying the place of the optative (S. § 213. N. 1), for the sake of

vacity: (announcing) *that the Epidamnians*, etc. —— ἀποικίαν.... ἐκήρυσσον = *proclaimed that a colony was about to be sent to Epidamnus.* (See N. on διεκρίθησαν πρός, I. 18. § 2). ἐς in its use here is much like our *for*, in such expressions as, *the expedition is for Oregon.* So here: *proclaimed a colony for Epidamnus.* —— ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ (sc. μοίρᾳ or τιμῇ), *having equal and similar rank and privileges* with the old colonists and with one another. Not, as Goeller supposes, equal to the citizens of the parent state, but equal to one another, whatever distinctions may have existed among them at Corinth. —— Haack supplies ὥστε before ἶέναι. Cf. K. § 306. R. 3; S. § 223. 1. —— μὴ ἐθέλοι—βούλεται. A shade of uncertainty is given to the first verb by the optative = *should perhaps be unwilling —and yet wished* (as a matter of fact). For this intermingling of the optative and indicative, cf. Mt. § 529. 5; Rost, § 122. I. 7; Jelf's Kühn. § 855. *Obs.* 4. The apodosis is contained in μένειν, which is constructed like the preceding ἶέναι. —— πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας, *by paying fifty Corinthian drachmæ*, towards defraying the expenses of sending out the colony. The Corinthian drachma was equal in value to the Æginetan, which was worth ten oboli. Fifty of these would amount, therefore, to something more than eighty-three Attic drachmæ (see N. on III. 17. § 3). Some translate Κορινθίας, *at Corinth*, but are divided in opinion, whether it is to be taken with καταθέντα or with μένειν. Many of the MSS. have Κορινθίοις. —— μένειν depends on ἐκήρυσσον.

2. τῶν Μεγαρέων. Megara, with the states here named, formed a part of the ancient Peloponnesian confederacy, and were bound to Corinth by the ties of consanguinity, amity, and unity of political views. The aid which Megara received from Corinth, when it revolted from Athens, is spoken of, I. 114. § 1. —— ξυμπροπέμψειν, *to convoy, to attend for the sake of defence.* —— εἰ ἄρα, *if perchance.* —— κωλύοιντο —πλεῖν. K. § 306. 1. a. —— Παλῆς (Att. for Παλεῖς. S. § 48. N. 2. b), *the inhabitants of Pale*, one of the four cities of Cephallenia, and as some think, a Corinthian colony. But cf. Müll. Dorians, I. p. 180, N. m. —— Ἐπιδαυρίων. The Epidaurus here spoken of, was a city of Argolis, on the western coast of the Saronic Gulf, over against Ægina. —— Ἑρμιονῆς, *the inhabitants of Hermione*, which was also a city of Argolis, south of Epidaurus and opposite Hydrea. —— Τροιζήνιοι. Troezen lay about midway between Epidaurus and Hermione, somewhat east of a direct line between the two cities. —— Θηβαίους Φλιασίους. These being wealthy, but not maritime states, furnished money doubtless in the way of a loan. The Eleans, in addition to money, furnished empty ships, not having seamen to man them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Corcyræans hearing of this extensive armament send ambassadors to Corinth, charging them to withdraw their garrison and colonists from Epidamnus (§ 1); professing their willingness to submit the whole affair to the arbitration, either of other states, or of the oracle at Delphi (§ 2); but if war was resolved upon, they should look for aid from some powerful quarter (§ 3); to this the Corinthians reply, that they would consider their proposals, whenever they should withdraw their fleet and barbarian auxiliaries from Epidamnus (§ 4); the Corcyræans consent to do this, provided the Corinthians will take upon themselves the same conditions (§ 5).

1. *οὓς παρέλαβον* to be witnesses (says the Schol.), or to ensure to the Corcyræans more respect from the Corinthians. It is probable that the Corcyræans began to be alarmed at the powerful confederacy which was formed against them, and had recourse to the mediation of the Lacedæmonians and the Sycionians. —— *ὡς....Ἐπιδάμνου, as they had no concern with Epidamnus.* For the construction of *ὡς—μετὸν* (from *μέτειμι*), cf. K. § 312. 6. c; S. § 226. a. *αὐτοῖς* may be referred to S. § 201. 3; and *Ἐπιδάμνου* to S. § 191. 2.

2. *εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται* (sc. *Ἐπιδάμνου*), *lay any claim to Epidamnus.* *ἀντιποιεῖσθαι*, "*vindicare sibi.*" Betant. —— *δίκας—δοῦναι*, "*to submit the quarrel to a fair discussion.*" Arnold. I would rather say, *submit the matter to arbitration*, or *to a judicial investigation.* The expression is a forensic one. —— *παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς*, i. e. *παρὰ πόλεσιν παρ' αἷς.* K. § 300. 5. b. —— *ξυμβῶσιν*, sc. *δίκας διδόναι.* —— *ὁποτέρων* depends on *εἶναι* (*to belong*). S. § 190. —— *κρατεῖν* is constructed in the same manner as *ἰέναι* and *μένειν*, I. 27. § 1. It is worthy of note, that the Corcyræans did not offer to refer the subject to a congress of the Peloponnesian states, lest, as Müller (Dorians, I. p. 202) justly remarks, by the preponderance of Sparta, their liberty might have been endangered, but it was to be referred to arbitrators chosen by both states, or to the Delphic oracle. This last offer was very generous on the part of the Corcyræans, inasmuch as the Delphic oracle had countenanced the proposal of the Epidamnians, to put themselves under the protection of Corinth, and might be inclined therefore to favor their interests. —— *πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἴων ποιεῖν, but they were unwilling to make war;* literally, *they would not permit* etc. Mt. § 608. 1.

3. *εἰ δὲ μή, but otherwise*, i. e. if the Corinthians would not consent to an amicable adjustment of the difficulties. —— *αὐτοί, they themselves* (as the Corinthians had done). —— *ἐκείνων βιαζομένων* (taken transitively), *they compelling, at their compulsion.* —— *ποιεῖ-*

σθαι, *to make for themselves.* —— Haack refers φίλους to the Spartans or Athenians. The latter doubtless are meant. —— βούλονται refers to the Corcyræans and not to the Corinthians. The meaning is, that the Corcyræans did not wish to be obliged to pursue the course here spoken of. —— ἑτέρους as an expression of difference is followed by the genitive (K. § 271. 3; S. § 195. 2). It is here qualified by μᾶλλον, *far other than*, i. e. of a very different nature than. —— τῶν νῦν ὄντων, i. e. the exiles and the Illyrians (cf. I. 26. § 4), who were at this time aiding the Corcyræans, for this state had not yet confederated itself with any Grecian power (cf. I. 31. § 2). The Schol. explains τῶν νῦν ὄντων by τῶν νῦν ἰσχυόντων, and therefore Matthiæ conjectures ἑκατέρους τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων μᾶλλον, taking ἔχειν μᾶλλον in the sense of *potiorem esse.*

4. τάς τε ναῦς, i. e. the forty ships with which they were now blockading Epidamnus (I. 26. § 4). —— τοὺς βαρβάρους, i. e. the Illyrians. —— βουλεύσεσθαι, *they would deliberate upon the thing.* —— πρότερον the withdrawal of the ships and Barbarians. —— οὐ.... πολιορκεῖσθαι, *it would not be well for those* (i. e. the Epidamnians) *to be sustaining a siege.* The particles μὲν and δὲ are here employed to connect two propositions, which are strongly contrasted with each other. The οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν, cf. Butt. § 150. p. 445, was predicated of neither of the actions taken by itself, but of the incongruity of carrying on hostilities while arbitrating for peace. —— αὐτοὺς refers to both the Corcyræans and Corinthians. Goeller refers it to the Corinthians alone, but as Poppo remarks, why then was it not written σφᾶς? —— δικάζεσθαι, *to be litigating, to be at issue in a suit.*

5. ἀντέλεγον, *replied.* —— τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, i. e. the colonists and troops sent to Epidamnus by the Corinthians (I. 26. § 1). —— ποιήσειν ταῦτα, i. e. τὰς ναῦς καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπάξειν. —— ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι κ. τ. λ. There is some diversity in the translation of this passage. One class of interpreters, among whom are Poppo and Haack, make ποιήσασθαι to depend on ἑτοῖμοι, and construct ὥστε (in the sense of *hac conditione ut.* Mt. § 479. *a*; S. § 228. 1) after κατὰ χώραν. The sense then would be: *they were also ready to make a truce on this condition, that both parties should remain as they were* (literally, *in their place*), *until the cause should be decided.* Arnold and Bloomf., on the other hand, construct μένειν (defined more specifically by ὥστε) in direct dependence on ἑτοῖμοι, and retain δὲ after σπονδὰς (which is omitted or bracketed by all the recent editors), thus connecting ποιήσασθαι with μένειν. This would give the sense: "*they were also ready to agree that both parties should remain where they were, and a truce be made, to continue until the cause should be de-*

cided." Bloomf. This strikes me as the more natural interpretation, and one, which avoids the harsh transposition of words upon which the other is based, although the interposition of ὥστε between ἑτοῖμοι and μένειν, is somewhat troublesome to account for. In respect to the mood which ἕως takes, Kühner lays down the rule (Gram. § 337. 3. 5), that when the point of time expressed by it is past, and the statement is to be represented as a fact, the indicative is used; when present or future, the subjunctive.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Corinthians reject the proposals of the Corcyræans, and sail for Epidamnus with seventy-five ships under Aristeus and other leaders (§§ 1, 2); the Corcyræans send a herald to Actium to forbid their further approach, and meanwhile busy themselves in preparing their fleet for action (§ 3); the mission of the herald proving unsuccessful, they come to action with the Corinthian fleet and destroy fifteen of their ships (§ 4); and on the same day get possession of Epidamnus (§ 5).

1. πλήρεις, i. e. full of sailors, well manned. —— πρότερον, i. e. in advance of the armament. —— προεροῦντα. S. § 225. 5. The Schol. regards this act of the Corinthians as done by the way of insult, but it was a ceremony of general usage. —— ἄραντες, *having weighed anchor, put to sea.* —— διςχιλίοις. Three thousand hoplites are spoken of (I. 27. § 2). There may have been some mistake in the text, or perhaps the whole number could not be got in readiness to embark in season. The Schol. thinks that through contempt of the Corcyræans, one thousand were left behind. But this is very unlikely. —— Κερκυραίοις. S. § 202. 1. —— ἐναντία is used adverbially (cf. III. 55. § 3) and strengthens πολεμήσοντες, *to fight against.* S. § 225. 5.

2. ἐστρατήγει conforms in number to the first subject which follows it. Cf. K. § 242. R. 1. —— νεῶν. S. § 189.

3. ἐν Ἀκτίῳ....γῆς, *in Actium in the country of Anactorium.* The genitive denotes the whole, the city or town being a part. See N. on I. 114. § 2. Actium was afterwards celebrated for the naval fight between Augustus and Mark Antony. —— ἐν ἀκατίῳ, *in a skiff.* The Schol. says that this was done to show their peaceful intention. —— ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν. See N. on I. 10 § 1 (end). —— ἐπλήρουν. See N. on πλήρεις, § 1 supra. —— ζεύξαντες. There is much doubt in what consisted the repairs, which all commentators agree that this word denotes. The only views which seem capable of justification are, (1) that of Passow, Goeller, and Arnold: *undergirding with ropes,*

i. e. passing under-girths under the ship and so binding it together. Arnold says that the Russian ships taken in the Tagus in 1808, were kept together in this manner, in consequence of their age and unsound condition. He also refers to Acts 29: 19. But Poppo denies that ὑποζώννυμι, which is there found, has the same meaning as ζεύγνυμι, or that the signification of ὑποζώματα in Plato, Repub. X. p. 616. C (cited by Goeller, and Arnold) is parallel; (2) the interpretation dopted by Portus, Haack, and others: *furnishing with benches, oars*, etc.; (3) the interpretation of Bloomf., who refers it to the *inner blocks, beams, and stays*, by which the frame of the ship is held together, and which need to be repaired or renewed whenever it is refitted. I am inclined to adopt this view, although far from being certain as to its correctness. The general definition *repairing* (cf. Betant *sub voce*), is perhaps all that we can give with our present knowledge of the word, and the ancient structure of ships. —— ἐπισκευάσαντες refers, probably, to such minor repairs and equipments as all vessels occasionally require.

4. γὰρ in τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ implies an ellipsis: the number (i. e. eighty) was all they could oppose to the Corinthians, *for forty*, etc. —— ἐνίκησαν. Leake thinks that the action took place between Paxú and Cape Varlám. —— παρὰ πολύ, *by far*. Phav. quotes this in the adverbial form παραπολύ. —— διέφθειραν, *disabled, put hors de combat*. —— αὐτοῖς refers to the Corcyræans. —— τοὺς—πολιορκοῦντας refers to those of the Corcyræans who were besieging Epidamnus. Haack well observes that this is shown by the change of case, since otherwise the construction might have been continued by the dative, τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦσι. —— παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογίᾳ, *forced to a capitulation, brought to agree to terms of surrender*. This use of παρίστημι is easily derived from its literal signification in the middle: *to cause a person to stand by one's side*, and hence *to compel to be on one's side*. —— ὥστε, *on condition that*. See N. on I. 28. § 4. —— ἐπήλυδας, *new comers*, the same that were called ξένοι (I. 26. § 5), i. e. the Ambraciots and Leucadians (I. 26. § 5). —— ἀποδόσθαι "est in servitutem vendere." Goeller. —— Κορινθίους δὲ δήσαντας ἔχειν, *but having bound the Corinthians they should keep them* = should retain the Corinthians in custody.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Corcyræans having erected a trophy, put the rest of the captives to death, but retain the Corinthians in custody (§ 1); the fleet of the latter retiring homewards, the Corcyræans remain masters of the sea in those parts, ravage the territory of Leucas and burn Cyllene (§ 2); the Corinthians send out a new fleet to sustain the cause of their allies, which takes its station at Actium and about Chimerium (§ 3); the Corcyræan fleet takes its station opposite at Leucimne (§ 4); but neither party attempt to bring on an engagement, and on the approach of winter retire homeward (§ 5).

1. Λευκίμνῃ. Arnold prefers Λευκίμμῃ, as the reading of the best MSS. and confirmed by the name Leukimmo, which the place still bears. Cf. Dodwell's Class. Tour. I. p. 39. Col. Leake (Travels in North. Greece, I. p. 94) by the name Aléfkemo identifies it with the low cape advancing into the channel at Corfu, eight miles to the northward of Cape Bianco. —— τοὺς....ἀπέκτειναν. This was done contrary to the terms of surrender, probably in the excitement occasioned by the erection of the trophy, or at the suggestion of the democratical leaders, in order to cut off all hope of accommodation with the aristocracy. —— ἄλλους than the Corinthians. They were called ἐπήλυδες in the preceding chapter.

2. ἠσσημένοι, *worsted.* —— ἐπ' οἶκου, *homeward.* ἐπὶ with the genitive marks the aim, object, or direction of the action, as πλεῖν ἐπὶ Σάμου, *to sail towards Samos*, but ἐπὶ Σάμον, *to Samos;* ἐπ' οἶκον, *to their home.* Cf. K. §§ 273. R. 8; 296. 1. b; S. § 231. —— ἐκράτουν is the apodosis of ἐπειδὴ—ἀνεχώρησαν. —— τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία, i. e. the sea adjacent to Corcyra. —— τὴν—ἀποικίαν. This has been mentioned before (I. 27. § 2), and hence the article is attached to it. —— τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον, *ravaged a part of the country.* For the genitive, cf. Mt. § 325. 1; K. § 273. 3. a; S. 191. 1. The same expression we find in II. 56. § 4. —— ἐπίνειον, *naval arsenal, sea-port*, where the navy of the state lay. Such was the Piræus, Nissæa, Gytheum, etc. —— παρέσχον refers to the Eleans. Cf. I. 28. § 2.

3. περιόντι τῷ θέρει, *when the summer was drawing to a close, about the end of summer.* Poppo and Haack read περιόντι τῷ θέρει (*æstatis reliqua parte*), which reading is found in almost all the MSS. and also in Bekker's edition. But Arnold shows pretty conclusively, that this would demand the reading τῷ περιόντι τοῦ θέρους, or τῷ θέρει τῷ περιόντι. Some render it (as did Bloomf. in his earlier edition), *until the return of* (the next) *summer*, on the ground that the sea-fight could not have taken place before the last of July, which

would have left too little time for the Corinthians to return home, refit their fleet, which must have been roughly handled in the engagement, and station it at Actium and about Chimerium, in season to make applicable the words which follow (§ 5 infra), ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι κ. τ. λ., *after remaining in opposite stations this whole summer*. But may we not assign to the time of the battle, an earlier date in the summer than this interpretation assumes? Goeller thinks that it took place in the beginning of the summer, and perhaps even in th spring. If so, there would remain ample time for the transactions here spoken of. Besides, if ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι κ. τ. λ. refers to the next summer after the battle, it has a very harsh connection, to say the least, with τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον, with which the section commences, especially if τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα κ. τ. λ. with which the next chapter begins, be taken also into consideration. The battle took place A. C. 435. The full year after the sea-fight, and the year subsequent to that, would include the winters of A. C. 435–4, and 434–3. But here a difficulty arises from the fact, that the best chronologists unanimously fix the date of the second expedition in 432. What were the contending parties doing the year that is here omitted? Arnold leaps over the difficulty, by assigning the date 433 to the time when the speeches (chaps. 32–43) were delivered, and 432 to the events which are detailed in I. 44. But perhaps the *terminus a quo* of these two years may be the winter of A. C. 435–4, when both parties went into winter quarters; the year after the sea-fight would then be 434–3 and the next year 433–2, so that in the spring of 432 the second expedition might be made. —— Ἀκτίῳ. This station and that at Chimerium were chosen, for the protection of the Leucadians and their other allies in that quarter. —— Χειμέριον, *Chimerium*, according to Leake the place now called *Arpitza*. Cf. N. on I. 46. § 4.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Corinthians spend the next two years in active preparations for war (§ 1); at which being alarmed, the Corcyræans determine to send ambassadors to implore the aid of the Athenians (§ 2); the Corinthians hearing this, send an embassy also to Athens (§ 3); an assembly being convened in that city, the debate is opened by the Corcyræans (§ 4).

1. ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν—πόλεμον, *carrying on the war with spirit*. The old commentators (whom Bloomf. here follows) interpret it, *being indignant at the war, taking in dudgeon the war* (i. e. the events of it).

But cf. τὰ ἄλλα ξυμφέροντα, V. 80. § 2, upon which Poppo remarks: nihil aliud significare possunt quam *reliqua impetu quodam animi administrabant.* —— ἐναυπηγοῦντο, *kept building ships for themselves.* —— τὰ κράτιστα = *to the utmost of their ability.* —— μισθῷ πείθοντες (sc. αὐτούς), *inducing them by wages* (to enter into their service). Bloomf. from III. 31. § 1, would supply ξυμπολεμεῖν, and refers to our expression, *taking them into pay.*

2. ἦσαν γὰρ commences a parenthesis which extends to Λακεδαιμονίων. The verb ἔδοξεν which follows, is connected by καὶ (before the parenthesis) to οἱ Κερκυραῖοι....ἐφοβοῦντο. —— οὐδενὸς depends on ἔνσπονδοι, *in alliance with no one.* —— ὡς, *to*, "is never thus prefixed to a noun denoting an inanimate object." S. § 136. N. —— εὑρίσκεσθαι, *to find for themselves.* Cf. Anab. II. 1. § 6. The object is ὠφέλειαν.

3. καὶ αὐτοί, *they also.* —— πρεσβευσόμενοι (S. § 225. 5), *to negotiate by ambassadors.* Poppo prefers πρεσβευόμενοι. —— σφίσι depends on ἐμπόδιον. —— πρὸς—προσγενόμενον. Sometimes the preposition with which a verb is compounded is repeated. —— θέσθαι (= ἐς τὸ θέσθαι) denotes the respect in which ἐμπόδιον is to be taken. Cf. I. 25. § 1. Bloomf. takes it in the sense of διαθέσθαι, *disponere, order*, i. e. bring to an issue. This verb is usually accompanied by εὖ or καλῶς, which sense is here given by ἢ βούλονται.

4. καταστάσης is intransitive. Cf. Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 165. —— τοιάδε, *as follows.* The substance of the speech is given. Cf. I. 22. § 1.

CHAPTERS XXXII.—XXXVI.

This oration of the Corcyræans may be divided into, 1, the exordium (chap. 32); 2, the argumentative portion (chaps. 33–36. § 2); 3, the peroration (chap. 36. § 3). The second part (i. e. the argumentative) may also be subdivided into the τὸ ὠφέλιμον (chap. 33), and τὸ δίκαιον (chaps. 34, 35). This last head may also be subdivided into an argument, 1, upon the claims which the Corinthians, as the mother country, might be supposed to have upon the Corcyræans (chap. 34); and 2, upon the violation of the Peloponnesian treaty with which the Athenians would be chargeable, should they succor the Corcyræans (chap. 35. § 4). The orator then recurs again to the advantages of the proposed alliance (chaps. 35. § 5, 36. § 2), and closes with the peroration.

The orations and speeches in Thucydides are full of exegetical difficulties, and require much laborious study, in order to understand them, so as to see

and appreciate their beauty and force. The reader should subject every sentence to the most searching grammatical analysis both etymological and syntactical, and having thus explored the meaning, should treasure it carefully in memory, so as to be able to read in connection larger portions, and in the end, the whole oration. This, however, should not be deemed all that is requisite. Repeated perusals are necessary, to secure that ease of translation and freedom from verbal perplexities, which bring the mind into sympathy with the great and glowing ideas of the writer, and cause it to be borne along upon the stream of argument, which flows with such depth and vehemence and grandeur. The editor of this edition would therefore urge upon every reader, the importance of attaining by frequent reviews that facility of translation, which will enable him to read these speeches, without the interruption occasioned by consulting lexicons and other books of reference.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The exordium commences with an acknowledgment, that those who ask aid, in the circumstances in which the Corcyræans present themselves to the Athenians, should show that an advantage will accrue thereby to those who confer the favor, and that the obligation will be amply repaid by the party assisted (§§ 1, 2); a brief reference is made to the unwise line of conduct previously pursued by the Corcyræans in having abstained from alliance with any of the states (§§ 3, 4); they had indeed defeated the Corinthians in a former battle, yet the extensive forces which their enemies were collecting from Peloponnesus, compelled them to ask aid of the Athenians (§ 5). This exordium has ever been regarded as a master-piece of its kind, and has been closely imitated by subsequent writers, among whom may be mentioned, Procop. in orat. Gepid., and Sallust Bell. Jug. Compare also the oration of the Campanians. Livy, VII. 30.

1. Δίκαιον....ἀναδίδαξαι. The order is: *δίκαιον τοὺς ἥκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεησομένους ἐπικουρίας, μήτε εὐεργεσίας —προυφειλομένης* (sc. *ὑφ' ὑμῶν Ἀθηναίων*) *ἀναδίδαξαι*. Poppo, Goeller, Arnold, and Bloomfield edit. *προοφειλομένης*. —— *παρὰ τοὺς πέλας, ad alios*, i. e. *to those with whom intercourse is had*. —— *ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς*, sc. *δεόμεθα*. —— *δεησομένους* marks the purpose of *ἥκοντας*. K. § 312. 4. c; S. § 225. 5. —— *ἀναδιδάξαι, to make it clearly* (*ἀνα-*) *appear*. —— *πρῶτον—ἔπειτα*. Between these correlative particles, we find two other corresponding conjunctions, *μάλιστα μὲν* and *εἰ δὲ μή*. —— *ξύμφορα* (sc. *δέηματα*. Jelf's Kühn. §§ 529. *Obs.* 1; 583, 45) is connected by the preceding *καὶ* to the antithetic clause *ὅτι γε* (*at least*) *οὐκ ἐπιζήμια*. —— *ὅτι* belongs to *δέονται* repeated from the preceding clause. —— *τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἕξουσιν, they shall have the favor secure* (to be returned when needed) = *shall do a favor not to be forgotten*. There

is here a change of subject, which, however, is only rhetorical, since the expression = *they* (i. e. the persons benefited) *will not forget the favor bestowed*. This appears to be the view taken by the Schol., who explains χάριν by ἀντίχαριν. Cf. τὴν χάριν καταθείσθε, I. 33. § 1, with the explanation given in the note. Poppo prefers the common interpretation: (qui societatem petant) *etiam firmam gratiam habituros, will acknowledge their lasting obligations*. This interpretation involves no change of subject, and therefore by some may be preferred to the one above given. —— βέβαιος in Thucydides is an adjective of two terminations. —— σαφὲς καταστήσουσι = σαφεῖς (*clear*) ποιήσουσι. —— μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι depends on δίκαιον.

2. Κερκυραῖοι... ἡμᾶς. Construct: Κέρκυραῖοι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς πιστεύοντες, μετὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως τῆς ξυμμαχίας παρέξεσθαι ταῦτα ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν, *the Corcyræans have sent us, trusting that while we ask the alliance* (literally, *with the asking of the alliance*), *we shall establish these points to your satisfaction* (literally, *shall make these points sure to you*). ἡμῖν is the *dat. commodi*. K. § 284. 3. R. 4.

3. τετύχηκε....ἀξύμφορον, *but it has happened* (= it is our fortune) *that the same custom*, (when considered) *in relation to* (ἐς, K. § 290. 2. 3. c) *our present request is irrational in your view* (πρὸς ὑμᾶς, K. § 298. III. 3. e), *and prejudicial to the present posture of our affairs*. The ἐπιτήδευμα here spoken of, was that of making no allies, and of minding their own interests only. This appears from the following section, introduced by γὰρ (epexegetical). ὂν is often omitted after τυγχάνω. K. § 311. R. 5; Mt. § 553. δ. *Obs.* 1. πρὸς ὑμᾶς is to be joined with ἄλογον, and not with ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν, *when viewed with reference to our interests as it regards you*, as some interpret the passage. χρείαν is a *request* resulting from necessity. ἡμῖν = ἡμῶν, i. e. ἡμετέραν. Some, with Arnold, may prefer to make ἡμῖν depend upon τετύχηκε. The sense would not be altered. —— ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν, *in reference to our interest*.

4. ξύμμαχοι....ἦχομεν explains ἄλογον in the preceding section, and καὶ ἅμα....καθέσταμεν is exegetical of ἀξύμφορον. Some refer both clauses to each of the above mentioned adjectives. —— ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ, i. e. ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ (fully written in II. 58. § 2; 73. § 3), *in the time before this* = *aforetime*. —— ἑκούσιοι, *voluntarily*. —— τοῦτο, i. e. ξύμμαχοι εἶναι. —— ἔρημοι of helpers. —— δι' αὐτό, .. e. because they had formed no alliances. —— The subject of περιέστηκεν is ἡ....σωφροσύνη (*prudent moderation*. Poppo), with which τὸ....ξυγκινδυνεύειν is in epexegetical apposition (K. § 226. R. 3). —— —— τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ, "aliorum arbitratu." Poppo. —— ἀβουλία is thought to refer to ἄλογον, and ἀσθένεια to ἀξύμφορον. —— φαι-

νομένη depends on περιέστηκαν in the sense of εἰς τὸ φαίνεσθαι, *has turned out to be manifestly* ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια.

5. οὖν is here resumptive of the thought which was partially interrupted by §§ 3, 4, the orator now proceeding to give the reason why the Corcyræans, although victorious in the former battle, applied to the Athenians for aid. In this use, οὖν = *I say then.* —— ναυμαχίαν—ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους. After the analogy of νικάω (S. § 184. N. 1), ἀπωθέω is here followed by two accusatives, *we defeated the Corinthians in a sea-fight.* Cf. Mt. §§ 409. 3; 421. N. 3; Bernh. Synt. p. 121. It is strange that this should have been overlooked by such critics as Haack, Goeller, and Bloomfield, and that the old method of supplying a preposition should have been resorted to in constructing ναυμαχίαν. —— κατὰ μόνας strengthens αὐτοί, "*alone by ourselves.*" δὲ in ἐπειδὴ δὲ responds to μὲν in the preceding proposition. —— ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὁρῶμεν ὄντες, *we saw that we were unable.* The participle after οἶδα, when it refers to the subject of the verb, may be put either in the nominative, or in the accusative to agree with the reflexive pronoun. Cf. S. § 225. N. 2. c; K. § 310. 4. a. —— περιγενέσθαι the Corinthians. —— Portus refers ὁ κίνδυνος to Greece at large, but Bloomf. thinks that the danger to Athens is hinted at, which in the course of the oration is prominently brought forward. —— ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, *under them*, i. e. in their power. —— ξυγγνώμη (sc. ἔστι ἡμῖν), *we are excusable.* —— εἰ μὴ....τολμῶμεν. Poppo refers μετὰ κακίας and δόξης ἁμαρτίᾳ to τολμῶμεν, and constructs and explains: εἰ (ὅτι) τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία δρῶμεν, (εἴπερ τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν) μὴ μετὰ κακίας (= κακοὶ ὄντες) δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ (= ἀλλ' ὅτι δόξης ἡμάρτομεν). On the reference of εἰ and μὴ to different words, cf. Hoog. Gr. Particles, p. 56. IV. I prefer, however, with some of the most able of the recent commentators, to refer μετὰ κακίας....ἁμαρτίᾳ to ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, because the main design of this exordium was to remove unfavorable impressions in respect to the past conduct of the Corcyræans, rather than to apologize for their present temerity in applying to the Athenians for aid. μετὰ κακίας (= κακίᾳ), *with evil intention.* δόξης ἁμαστίᾳ, *by an error of judgment.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Having finished his exordium, the orator proceeds to show that it will be for the interest of the Athenians to furnish aid to the Corcyræans, who being the injured party, will be less likely to forget the favor, than those to whom they are opposed, and who besides have a powerful navy (§ 1); the Athenians are reminded, that they now enjoy the rare fortune of receiving, as voluntary allies, the very power whose accession to their interests they would have valued above much treasure (§ 2); and this alliance is rendered timely by the war with the Lacedæmonians which now threatens the Athenians, a sure premonition of which was the Corinthian invasion, designed as it was to break down the Corcyræan power, and thus deprive the Athenians of their aid in the approaching struggle (§ 3); wherefore these plans should be anticipated and frustrated (§ 4).

1. *ἡ ξυντυχία—τῆς ἡμετέρας*, *the occurrence* (*der zufall.* Poppo after Bredow) *of our request.* Bauer very strangely connects *ξυντυχία* with *κατὰ πολλά.* —— *πρῶτον....ποιήσεσθε.* The justice of their cause is here slightly alluded to, but is fully argued in chaps. 34, 35. —— Its introduction served to show that the orator was by no means disposed to overlook so important a point, or to place the *τὸ σύμφορον* before the *τὸ δίκαιον*, although it was first discussed in the oration. *ἔπειτα* corresponds to *πρῶτον μέν*, and therefore stands for *ἔπειτα δὲ* (K. § 322. R. 4), introducing another reason why the request of the Corcyræans should be granted. —— *δεξάμενοι*, *by receiving* into your alliance. The participle here denotes the means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— *ὡς ἂν μάλιστα—καταθείσθε = καταθείσθε ἂν ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καταθείσθε*, or *καταθήσεσθε ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καταθείσθε*, if the future indicative be preferred as corresponding better with *ποιήσεσθε*. Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 116) gives up the reading *καταθῆσθε*, which he previously had adopted and defended. Goeller well remarks, that the metaphor in *καταθείσθε* is taken from depositing money with some one, from whom it may be received afterwards with interest. —— *ναυτικόν τε.* A third reason is here introduced why the request of the Corcyræans should be granted, and in order to express it with delicacy, it is made by the connective *τε* a part of the preceding proposition. —— *κεκτήμεθα* is here used as a present. —— *πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν*, *except yours.* —— *πλεῖστον.* The article is omitted for the same reason, probably, that *τε* was employed as a connective instead of *ἔπειτα.*

2. *τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα* (*what more rare good fortune*) = *οὐδεμία εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα = αὕτη ἡ εὐπραξία σπανιωτάτη.* Cf. Mt. § 450. *Obs.* 2 (end). —— Haack would mentally supply *ἡ ἐκείνη* after *λυπηροτέρα*, referring forward to *εἰ ἦν....αὐτεπάγγελτος*, which would con-

tain the explanation of the pronoun. Both he and Poppo place a comma after *εἰ*, to connect it more plainly with *αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος*. —— *ἣν—δύναμιν—αὕτη*. The relative clause is frequently put before the proposition containing the antecedent, for the sake of emphasis (S. § 173). *δύναμιν* belongs properly to *αὕτη* (*this same power*), but is put after the relative by attraction (S. § 175. 2; C. § 525). The design of this attraction, as well as the inversion of the clauses, is to give the adjectival sentences a substantival character, while the substantive clause deprived of its principal word, becomes subordinate to the adjectival sentence. —— *ἂν πρὸ—ἐτιμήσασθε*, *would have value beyond*. The object of *ἐτιμήσασθε* is *ἣν—δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι* (*to be added*). —— *αὐτεπάγγελτος*, *freely*, *spontaneously*. —— *τοὺς πολλοὺς* is explained by Poppo, as referring to mankind at large (*vulgus*), but perhaps it is better to refer it to the other states of Greece. —— *ἀρετήν*, *reputation for virtue* (*εὐδοξία*). The sentiment is, that if the Athenians accepted the alliance thus voluntarily sought by the Corcyræans, they would secure for themselves a high reputation among all the states of Greece. —— *οἷς* = *ἐκείνοις οὕς*, of which equivalent the antecedent limits *φέρουσα* supplied from the preceding clause. —— *ἃ—ἅμα πάντα*, *all which advantages together* (i. e. at the same time). —— *ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ*, "est *omni tempore quod novimus* = *ex omnia memoria*, quum *ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ* sine articulo esset *omni tempore*." Goeller. Cf. K. § 246. 5. *β*. —— *δὴ* strengthens *ὀλίγοις*, *very few*. —— *οἷς* = *ἐκείνοις οὕς*, the antecedent limiting *διδόντες*. —— *ἀσφάλειαν* refers back to *ἰσχύν*, and *κόσμον* to *ἀρετήν*. —— *οὐχ ἧσσον—ἤ*, *not less—than* = *as well as*.

8. *τὸν δὲ πόλεμον*, *but as to the war*, is properly in apposition with *τοῦτον* the omitted subject of *ἔσεσθαι*. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 581. 1. —— *γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει*, *he errs in judgment*. Bloomf. says that the metaphor is taken from archery. —— *αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους—πολεμησείοντας* (a *desiderative* word, S. § 143). See N. on I. 26. § 8 (init.). —— *παρ' αὐτοῖς*, *in their* (i. e. the Lacedæmonian) *estimation* (K. § 297. II. 2). Cf. II. 29. § 1; VI. 59. § 3. We find the varied expressions *μεθ' αὑτὸν* in II. 101. § 5, and *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις* in IV. 105. § 1. —— *ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν* (S. § 162) *ἐπιχείρησιν*. "Port. recte vertit *ad vos invadendos*." Poppo. The object of the orator is to show, that the plan of the Corinthians and their allies is, first to break down the power of the Corcyræans, and then to attack the Athenians, thus preventing them from an union against the encroachments of the common enemy. This will serve to explain *ἵνα....στῶμεν* which follows. —— *μηδὲ δυοῖν....βεβαιώσασθαι*. Various interpretations have been given to this passage, which for brevity's sake I must omit, and con-

tent myself with giving the one which, on the whole, appears to me to be encompassed with the fewest difficulties. Hermann de Ellip. et Pleon. p. 142 explains it: *ἢ τοῦ φθάσαι ἡμᾶς κακῶσαι, ἢ τοῦ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι*, and supposes that to avoid this repetition, *φθάσαι* was put once in the preceding clause. This, as I conceive, unfolds the true sense. The construction would then be: *μηδὲ δυοῖν ἁμάρτωσι* (= *that they may certainly attain to one of the two objects*), *φθάσαι* (*αὐτά*), *ἢ κακῶσαι—ἢ βεβαιώσασθαι* (= *ἢ φθάσαι κακῶσαι ἢ φθάσαι βεβαιώσασθαι*), *either to be beforehand, in humbling us, or in strengthening their own power*. *φθάνειν* is usually constructed with a participle.

4. *ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι, it is our business then to anticipate them.* —— *τῶν μὲν διδόντων*, sc. *ἡμῶν* referring to the Corcyræans. —— *προεπιβουλεύειν* and *ἀντεπιβουλεύειν*, Bloomf. well renders *foreplot* and *counterplot*.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The orator now passes from a consideration of the advantages resulting from the proposed alliance, to a discussion of the justice of their suit, against which it is no argument that they were colonists of the Corinthians, since their alienation has resulted from the ill-usage which they have received from the parent state (§ 1); this is tacitly admitted by the Corinthians, in their declining to submit the difficulties to a judicial investigation (§ 2); the conduct of the Corinthians towards those connected to them by the ties of consanguinity, should admonish the Athenians of what they may expect, if they enter into a league with them (§ 3).

1. *λέγωσιν* refers to the Corinthian deputies. —— *μαθέτωσαν, let them learn* from experience. —— *πάσχουσα*, sc. *ὑπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως*. This appears from *τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν* which follows. —— *ἐπὶ τῷ—εἶναι, with a view to be*. *ἐπὶ* here denotes *condition*. Cf. K. § 296. II. 3. b. —— *δοῦλοι* and *ὁμοῖοι* are in the nominative after *εἶναι*, because its subject is the same as the principal subject of the sentence. K. § 305. 2; S. § 224. —— *τοῖς λειπομένοις*, i. e. the citizens of the parent state.

2. *ὡς δὲ ἠδίκουν*, sc. *οἱ Κορίνθιοι*. The course of reasoning made use of by the speaker, may be reduced to a syllogism: The state which ill-treats its colonies, can make no objection, on the score of justice, to their putting themselves under the protection of another state—the Corinthians have ill-treated us—therefore they can make no objection, etc. The minor term of this syllogism the orator proves, from the virtual confession of ill-doing made by the Corinthians, in their refusal to submit the affair to arbitration. —— *προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου, ἐς κρίσιν*. Cf. I. 28. § 2. —— *ἴσῳ* as op-

posed to πολέμῳ signifies *fair and peaceful measures.* —— μετελθεῖν, *to prosecute.*

8. ὑμῖν is the *dat. commodi.* —— τεκμήριον, *sign*, here *warning.* —— ὥστε denotes the result of ὑμῖν....τεκμήριον. When the effect is to be represented as conceived merely, the infinitive is employed after ὥστε, otherwise the indicative or optative. Cf. Mt. §§ 531. N. 2; 341. 2. 3; S. § 217. 3. —— ἀπάτῃ, *fraud, trickery*, here *sophistry.* Opposed to this is ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, *in a straight-forward manner, openly.* These last words are to be joined to δεομένοις, and not to μὴ ὑπουργεῖν, in the sense of *immediately, at once*, as is done by some interpreters. A little reflection on the passage must convince any one, that the antithesis lies in ἀπάτῃ and ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, and not in the infinitives, which in such a case would be the mere repetition of the same idea varied in words only. —— ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας— λαμβάνων (=μεταμελεῖται), *for he who repents the seldomest.* The Schol. says that this is put for ὁ μηδ' ὅλως (*not at all*) λαμβάνων μεταμέλειαν. —— ἀσφαλέστατος, sc. ὤν, which is sometimes omitted after διατελεῖν. K. § 311. R. 5.

CHAPTER XXXV.

An alliance with the Corcyræans would be no infringement, on the part of the Athenians, of any treaty with the Lacedæmonians (§ 1); for states, which (like Corcyra) have entered into no confederation, may select whomsoever they please as allies (§ 2); and it would be unjust for the Corcyræans not to have the same privilege as the Corinthians, who were summoning auxiliaries to their aid from all parts of Greece (§§ 3, 4); allusion is again made to the advantages of the proposed alliance, especially to the accession of naval power, which the Athenians would thus obtain (§ 5).

1. λύσετε....σπονδάς. Müller (Dorians I. p. 214) says that the defensive treaty with Corcyra, engaged in a war with its mother country, was, according to ancient Greek principles, wholly unlawful and unjust.

2. ἐν αὐταῖς, i. e. in the thirty years' truce. Cf. I. 115. § 1. —— ἥτις = εἴ τις (S. § 215. N. 7), and is therefore accompanied by μηδαμοῦ instead of οὐδαμοῦ. K. § 318. 3. —— ἐξεῖναι, Butt. (§ 150. p. 442) remarks that "ἔνεστι refers to the physical possibility, *it is possible;* ἔξεστιν, to the moral, *it is lawful, one may;* ἔστι stands indefinite between the two, *it may* or *can be done.*" Sometimes these meanings are interchanged for rhetorical purposes. —— παρ'....ἐλθεῖν. Fully written it would be: ἐλθεῖν παρ' ἐκείνους παρ' ὁποτέρους (ἐλθεῖν) ἂν ἀρέσκηται. In respect to this article in the thirty years' truce, Müller (I. p. 214. N.) says that its meaning can only be: states not included

in the alliance may join whichever side they please, by which means they come within the treaty, and the alliance guarantees their safety. But if a state already at war with another state, party to the treaty (*ἔνσπονδος*), is assisted, a war of this description is like one undertaken by the confederacy of the assisting state.

8. *καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν—ἡμᾶς δέ.* The construction of *δεινὸν* is only suited to the second of these clauses, the other being thrown in to heighten by contrast the effect of the second. It was not *εἰ τοῖσδε....ὑπηκόων* which was *δεινόν*, but *ἡμᾶς δὲ....ὠφελείας* (i. e. that the privilege just spoken of should not be granted to the Corcyræans). Cf. Mt. § 622. 4; Butt. § 149. p. 426. —— *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων*, *from the states confederate with them*, *from their confederates.* —— *ἔσται.* See N. on *ἐξεῖναι*, § 1 supra. —— *ὑπηκόων.* The Schol. says that the Palians of Cephallenia are meant, as they were subjects of the Athenians. Cf. I. 27. § 2. —— *προκειμένης*, *proposed*, i. e. the one now under consideration. Some render it, *present*, *in hand.* —— *εἶτα.* The old commentators and editors place a period after *ὠφελείας*, Poppo and Bloomf. a colon. In either case *εἶτα* is used in the way of reproach and may be rendered, *and yet*, *and nevertheless.* See Arnold's Gr. Prose Compos. p. 140. —— *ᾔσονται* has here a transitive signification.

4. *πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι* is for *ἐν δὲ πολὺ πλείονι.* —— *αἰτίᾳ—ἔξομεν = αἰτιώμεθα.* —— *οὐχ ὅπως* (= *οὐχ ὅπως οὐ*)—*ἀλλὰ καί*, *not only not —but even*, is a formula by which antithetic clauses are strongly opposed to each other. K. § 321. 3. b; Kr. § 67. 14. N. 3. —— *ἐχθρῶν.* The Corinthians had taken it ill, that the Athenians supported the Megareans in a war which arose between these two states subsequent to the Persian war. —— *ἐπιόντων* (sc. *καθ' ἡμῶν*) is opposed to *κινδυνεύοντας* in the preceding proposition. —— *περιόψεσθε.* See N. on *περιορᾶν*, I. 24. § 6. —— *ἦν οὐ δίκαιον*, sc. *προσλαβεῖν Κορινθίους.* —— *ἀλλ' ἤ.* Supply *δίκαιόν ἐστι* from the preceding context. —— *κἀκείνων* depends on *μισθοφόρους*, and not upon *κωλύειν*, the sense being, *to prohibit their mercenaries from being raised out of your country*, and not *to prohibit your mercenaries from them.* —— *καθ' ὅ,τι* (*as far as*) *ἂν πεισθῆτε*, "*quatenus vobis persuasum fuerit.* Poterant enim modice, poterant clanculum, non aperte, nec magnis viribus Corcyræis opitulari." Haack. —— *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς*, *openly.* This shows that a secret mode of assistance was hinted at in the preceding clause, and hence between *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς* and *καθ' ὅ,τι*, there is a sort of antithesis.

5. *πολλὰ—τὰ ξυμφέροντα* (sc. *ὄντα.* Cf. K. § 310. R. 5) *ἀποδείκνυμεν*, *we show* (= *have to show*, *can show*) *that the advantages are many.* See N. on *δείκνυμι*, I. 26. § 2. —— *ἐν ἀρχῇ* of the oration, especially in chap. 33. —— *ἡμῖν*, i. e. the Corcyræans and the Athenians. ——

ἦσαν. The tense conforms to ὑπείπομεν instead of ἀποδείκνυμεν. So Arnold correctly explains: "*We say, as we said before, that we have both the same enemies.* Thucydides has expressed it a little differently *we say what we said before*, (viz.) *that we had both the same enemies.*" —— ὅπερ (= *id quod*) refers to the idea contained in οἵ τε....ἦσαν and ὅπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις (*pignus fidei*) is to be regarded as a substantival adjective sentence. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 836. 2. —— μεταστάντας, *deserters* (when considered in relation to the Corcyræans), and *seceders*, if the Athenians be considered as referred to. That it might refer to the latter as well as to the former state is evident, for to withdraw from one confederacy and to pass over to another, was an avowal of hostility, followed almost necessarily by war. —— Haack makes ἐάν to depend on διαφέρει (ξυμφέρει. Arnold), elicited from οὐχ ὁμοία in the preceding proposition. Goeller makes ἀλλὰ stand in the place of καί, and refers the infinitive back to ἀλλὰ δίκαιον ἦ in ἀλλ' ἦ (§ 4 supra). I prefer with Kühner (Jelf's edit. § 671. 3) to supply δεῖ or χρή. In such cases, it becomes a general expression of necessity or of something to be done. —— εἰ δὲ μή, *but if otherwise*, i. e. if what has just been said is impossible. —— ἐχυρώτατος in respect to a navy.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The argument in favor of the utility of the proposed alliance is continued. If the Athenians fear a rupture with the Lacedæmonians, such a fear, accompanied with strength, will intimidate the foe more than courage or confidence, unaccompanied by so powerful an ally as is now offered to them (§ 1); the argument is strengthened by a reference to the favorable situation of Corcyra, in respect to hindering the approach to Peloponnesus of any navy from Italy or Sicily (§ 2); in brief, if the Corcyræan navy is not united to that of the Athenians, it will be seized upon by the only other naval force in Greece (viz. the Corinthian), and thus in the end be opposed to the Athenians (§ 3).

1. τὸ—δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ, *his fear;* literally, *his being afraid* in respect to breaking the treaty. τὸ δεδιὸς = τὸ δεδιέναι. So τὸ θαρσοῦν = τὸ θαρσεῖν (K. § 263. a. γ), and refers to such confidence of the Athenians in the observance of the treaty, and in their own resources, as would lead them to reject the proffered alliance of the Corcyræans, and enter single-handed into the contest which was evidently approaching. This would be an object of less dread to their powerful enemies (ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς), than a fear on the part of the Athenians of breaking the treaty, overbalanced by the desire to unite to their arms so powerful an ally as the Corcyræan state. It must be

borne in mind, that the *fear* here spoken of is, lest the treaty should be broken, and the *confidence*, that it would not be broken and that war would not ensue. From the second member of the antithesis (τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν....ἐσόμενον), Bloomf. would supply with τὸ δεδιὸς αὑτοῦ ἰσχυν ἔχον in the first member, the words δεξαμένου ἡμᾶς. For the construction of φοβῆσον with γνώτω, see N. on I. 25. § 1 (init.) —— μὴ δεξαμένου, *if he does not receive us.* μὴ is used with the participle, when it can be resolved into a conditional clause. K. § 318. 5; S. §§ 225. 6; 229. 3. —— ἀσθενές, i. e. comparatively weak in consequence of the rejection of a powerful ally. —— ἀδεέστερον, *non formidandum*, or as Goeller translates, *minus formidandum.* —— βουλευόμενος. Repeat γνώτω. —— ὅταν....πόλεμον, *when in reference to an approaching and almost present war.* ὅσον οὐ, *all but.* —— τὸ αὐτίκα. S. § 169. 1. —— περισκοπῶν, *by surveying.* —— ὃ....πολεμοῦνται, *which is made a friend or an enemy at the most critical time;* or perhaps, *whose friendship or enmity is of the highest moment.*

2. γὰρ introduces the proof of what was asserted in ὃ....πολεμοῦνται. —— Ἰταλίας and Σικελίας depend on παράπλου. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 502. καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται, *is well situated in respect to the coasting along.* For καλῶς constructed with the genitive, cf. K. § 274. 3. b; Mt. § 338; S. § 195. 1. παράπλου is employed, because the voyage to Italy was made by coasting along the shores of Greece as far as the promontory of Iapygia, at which place they crossed over to Taros. —— ἐκεῖθεν, i. e. from Italy and Sicily. —— τό τε ἐνθένδε (sc. ναυτικὸν) πρὸς τἀκεῖ παραπέμψαι, *and to send on their course* (= convoy) *any navy sailing hence and to those countries.* ἐνθένδε refers to Greece in general, although a special reference to Athens may here be easily understood, since that state, probably, was well known to the Corcyræans, as having an eye on those western regions as a field for their ambitious plans.

3. βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ, *but to sum up all in the shortest compass.* ἂν κεφαλαίῳ is repeated in τῷδ' ἄν, in consequence of the intervening clause, τοῖς....ἕκαστον. This dative accompanies μάθοιτε, denoting that *from* which the thing spoken of may be learnt. Cf. K. § 285. 3. b. —— τοῖς ξύμπασι κ. τ. λ. refers to things, and not to persons: *in respect to all and every particular;* "*both as to generals and particulars.*" Bloomf. This dative may be referred to K. § 284. 3 (10); S. § 201. 4. —— ὄντα. The syntax of this participle is encompassed with some difficulty, but I like best the solution of Goeller, who supplies (as does Poppo after him) ἴστε from the preceding μάθοιτε ἄν (K. § 311. 2), *you know that there are.* Of the other modes of solution, one only is worth repeating, and that is, to consider the

conjunction δὲ after τούτων to be placed in the apodosis of the sentence, which would then give the sense: *as there are* [but] *three navies in Greece of any account, if then of these three, you allow two to be united together.* —— καὶ....προκαταλήψονται is epexegetical, i. e. it denotes the manner in which the Corcyræan and Corinthian fleets would be united, viz. by the subjugation of the Corcyræans to the Corinthians. —— δεξάμενοι. See N. on I. 33. § 1. —— ἔξετε—ἀγωνίζεσθαι, *you will be able to contend.* —— πλείοσι, sc. τῶν Πελοποννησίων. Poppo, Goeller, and Haack edit ταῖς ἡμετέραις, *with* (= by the accession of) *our ships*, making it depend on πλείοσι, as πολλῷ does in the phrase πολλῷ πλείονες. So Krüg. calls it the dative of difference, although he retains with Bekker the old reading ναυσὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις. But may not this dative be constructed with ἀγωνίζεσθαι, as the dative of the means? —— οἱ δὲ....τοιάδε, *after them the Corinthians spake as follows.*

CHAPTERS XXXVII.—XLIII.

These chapters contain the reply of the Corinthians to the foregoing speech of the Corcyræans. After a brief exordium (chap. 37. § 1), in which the charges, that the Corinthians had treated the Corcyræans unjustly, and were now oppressing them with an unjust war, are alluded to as topics which ought first to be considered, the orator proceeds to a refutation of these charges (chap. 37. § 2 to chap. 39). He then shows that it would be a breach of the treaty with the Peloponnesians, to assist the Corcyræans in this war (chap. 40), and having urged upon the Athenians a remembrance of the former services of the Corinthians, in assisting them against the Æginetæ, admonishes them that they should not be induced by motives of interest to commit an act of injustice (chaps. 41, 42). The speech is then closed with a brief peroration (chap. 43).

The argumentative portion of this oration, is founded on considerations of justice and equity, rather than what will be for the policy of the party addressed. In this it differs from the oration of the Corcyræans, the principal object of which was to show, that the alliance would conduce to the interests of the Athenian state. It will readily be apprehended how appeals of this latter sort would influence an assembly like the one here addressed, composed of men whose whole thoughts were engrossed with the aggrandizement of the state and the extension of its sway. In strong invective, biting sarcasm, bold and striking antitheses, vehement and passionate appeals to the moral sense of the audience, the oration of the Corinthians far surpasses the preceding one, which is rather a specimen of calm, earnest reasoning, than of the stormy wrath, which characterizes the one which followed.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

After a brief exordium (§ 1), the orator proceeds to show, that it was not from any honorable motive, but from their bad character and ill nature, that the Corcyræans had formed no alliance (§ 2); for which neutrality the situation of their city was highly favorable, inasmuch as they could be their own judges, in cases where they had done injury (§ 3); the real ground, therefore, of their standing aloof from alliances, was that they might commit injustice apart and alone, and escape detection (§ 4); had they been what they profess to be, in proportion to their being less amenable in consequence of their position, would have been their desire to interchange mutual offices of justice and kindness with others (§ 5).

1. τόνδε here expresses contempt, like the Latin *iste*. —— Some may prefer, however, to take it in the sense of ἐνταῦθα (see N. on I. 53. § 2). —— τὸν λόγον = ὃν ἐποιήσαντο λόγον, τὸν αὑτῶν λόγον. Poppo. —— ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ (= ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου ὡς), *but concerning this also, how that*, etc. —— αὐτοί, i. e. the Corcyræans. —— μησθέντας....ὁμφοτέρων, *when we also have first considered* (see N. on πολεμοῦντες, I. 13. § 6) *both these points*. καί, i. e. in like manner with the Corcyræans. —— οὕτω καὶ commences the apodosis. —— ἰέναι (of which ἡμᾶς is the subject) depends on ἀναγκαῖον, the words Κερκυραίων πολεμοῦνται being parenthetical. —— τὸν ἄλλον λόγον, *the rest of our speech, what we have yet to say*. As the refutation of the charges advanced by the Corcyræans embraces the remainder of this, together with the two following chapters, the ἄλλος λόγος refers to the subject matter of chap. 40. —— ἀφ' ἡμῶν, instead of the simple genitive ἡμῶν, conforms to the verbal ἀξίωσιν, the words ἡ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀξίωσις = ἡ ἡμῶν ἀξίωσις. As opposed to χρεία (see N. on I. 32. § 3), ἀξίωσις signifies a *claim of right*. —— ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε, "*you may be more certainly acquainted beforehand*." Arnold. To ἀσφαλέστερον employed adverbially, μὴ ἀλογίστως (*not rashly* = *considerately*) in the next proposition is opposed.

2. φασί, i. e. the Corcyræans. —— δέ, *now*. —— διὰ τὸ σῶφρον. Cf. N. on σωφροσύνη, I. 32. § 4. —— τὸ δ' (= τοῦτο δέ. K. § 247. 8. a)—ἐπετήδευσαν, *whereas they practised this custom*. —— ἀρετῇ. "Prepositio ἐπὶ ad ἀρετῇ ne cogitatione quidem repetatur necesse est." Poppo. —— βουλόμενοι, *because they wished*. See N. on I. 9. § 4 (end). —— οὐδὲ μάρτυρα. Arnold with Dobree would read οὔτε, and connect it with what follows, *either as a witness* (to their evil deeds), *or to have the shame of asking his aid* (to do ill). This is substantially the interpretation of Bloomfield, Bauer, Haack, and Goeller in his last edition. But οὔτε responds to τέ before οὐδένα, and hence does not require any change in οὐδέ. Poppo refers the shame spoken

of, to the refusal with which the overtures of alliance, made by a state of such notoriously bad character, would be sure to be met with by all the other states. I like this interpretation, because a state so bad as Corcyra is here represented to be, would not blush at asking others to be their coadjutors in wrong doing, but still might feel a reluctance to ask a favor, which they knew well beforehand that no state could honorably grant. The sense given by the Schol. is inadmissible, because this idea is already contained in *οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν*. Equally to be rejected is the sense given by Gottl. and Kistemm., that they were ashamed to ask allies, when they had acted as allies to none.

3. *αὐτάρκη*. This epithet is applied to a city having in itself every thing necessary for the support of its inhabitants. So Betant defines it: "*sibi sufficiens, per se validus.*" Cf. II. 41. § 1. —— *θέσιν* is to be constructed with *κειμένη* as the accusative of the cognate notion. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 556. *b*. —— *παρέχει....γίγνεσθαι, makes them* (themselves) *judges of those acts in which they injure any one, rather than that judges should be appointed by mutual agreement.* This is in the main the interpretation of Poppo, Arnold, Goel., and Bloomf. (in his last edition), and one which after repeated examination I am inclined to adopt. By *ξυνθήκας*, Goel. remarks, "Thucydides intelligit pacta de litibus inter civitates per arbitros dirimendis." From the preceding clause, *τοὺς δικαστὰς* is to be supplied with *γίγνεσθαι*. Haack most strangely refers *μᾶλλον* to *πόλις—κειμένη, opportunitate urbis potius, quam pactis, tamquam judices sunt eorum, quos læduut.* But in this interpretation, he leaves out *τινὰ* (used here collectively in the sense of *τινάς*), and, as Poppo remarks, reliquam structuram non expedit. *ὧν = ἐκείνων ἅ*, of which the relative is constructed with *βλαπτουσί*, which has in this place two accusatives. Cf. Mt. § 415. *β*; Butt. § 131. 5; K. § 280. 2. —— *διὰ τὸ....δέχεσθαι*, i. e. *διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς ἥκιστα μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δέχεσθαι, ἅτε δὴ ἀνάγκῃ ἐκεῖσε καταίροντας*. Steph. *διὰ τὸ—δέχεσθαι* denotes the reason of *παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς κ. τ. λ.* Had the Corcyræans visited their neighbors, they would have received *like for like;* but remaining in their well-furnished and independent city, they could practise with impunity any imposition they chose, upon such as were compelled by stress of weather (*ἀνάγκῃ καταίροντας*), or for any other cause, to touch there. In this picture of the Corcyræan policy and conduct, there was doubtless much exaggeration and false coloring. *ἐκπλέοντας, while they sailed.* See N. on *πολεμοῦντες*, I. 18. § 6.

4. *κἂν τούτῳ....ἄσπονδον—προβέβληνται = ἐν τούτῳ ἔνεστιν τὸ εὐπρεπές, ὃ προβέβληνται (praetexere solent.* Bothe), in this connexion

their specious practice of forming no alliance, which they pretend to, i. e. this is the reason why they form no alliances. *τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον = τὸ ἄσπονδον τὸ εὐπρεπές*, "*this specious, fair-showing non-alliance.*" Bloomf. *ἐν τούτῳ* (= *διὰ τοῦτο*) refers to *ἀλλ' ὅπως—ἀδικῶσι, καὶ ὅπως—βιάζωνται, πλέον ἔχωσιν*, and *ἀναισχυντῶσι*, which follow. Some take *εὐπρεπὲς* as sarcastically spoken in the sense of *decorous, excellent.* —— *οὐχ ἵνα—ἀλλ' ὅπως*, *not that* (i. e. not with the design that)—*but that.* Goeller has a long note on the hyperbaton which he finds here. But it is very common in this formula, to place the negative clause first in order, and is evidently more emphatic. —— *κατὰ μόνας.* See N. on I. 32. § 5. —— Haack says that *ἐν ᾧ.... ἀναισχυντῶσι* explains the preceding clause, *ὅπως κατὰ μόνας*, and further remarks: eadem respondent superioribus illis: *ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα αἰσχύνεσθαι.* —— *ἐν ᾧ*, *whenever. οὗ* has also the same meaning. ——*ἀναισχυντῶσι*, *may practise their impudence* either in denying the charge of rapine, or in admitting it, and impudently braving it out. The first of these is preferable, inasmuch as the whole argument is, to show that the Corcyræans wished their deeds of violence to remain concealed. Arnold paraphrases: *may be spared their blushes, as there are none to witness them.*

5. *καίτοι*, *and yet certainly.* —— *ἀληπτότεροι—τοῖς πέλας*, literally, *hard to be taken by others, inaccessible to any attack = less amenable to others.* Cf. I. 82. § 4; 143. § 5. For the construction of *τοῖς πέλας*, cf. K. § 284. 3. (11); S. § 206. 4. —— *διδοῦσι....δίκαια, in giving and receiving what is just and equitable*, or, if the expression be taken in a forensic sense, *in doing justice, and in receiving it willingly at the hand of others.* These participles belong to *δεικνύναι* as denoting the means. Cf. N. on I. 9. § 1.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Corcyræans are charged with not having acted towards the Corinthians in a just and becoming manner (§ 1); for the Corinthians, as their founders, were entitled to their respect and obedience (§ 2); and that this was rendered them by their other colonies was a proof both of their own moderation and the injustice of the Corcyræans (§§ 3, 4) even if the mother country had been in the wrong, it would have been honorable for the colony to have submitted, but, so far from this having been the case, the colony was the aggressive party (§§ 5, 6).

1. *τοιοίδε*, i. e. such persons as are willing to reciprocate acts of justice. Cf. I. 37. § 5. —— *ὄντες*, *although they are.* See N. on I. 7. § 1. —— *ἀφεστᾶσι*, *stand aloof = have stood aloof*, inasmuch as the

action belongs to the past, and also extends to the present. Cf. K. § 255. R. 1. —— διὰ παντός, *continually*, is opposed to the idea that this was the first and only instance of hostility on the part of the Corcyræans. —— ὡς—ἐκπεμφθείησαν, *that they were not sent out* as colonists. Allusion is made to what the Corcyræans said in I. 34. § 1, the note on which passage will explain the use of ἐπὶ in ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν.

2. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοί φαμεν, *but we deny* (K. § 318. R. 4). αὐτοὶ gives to ὑμεῖς an exclusive sense, *we ourselves* (S. § 160. 4. a), whatever they may think or say. —— κατοικίσαι at great expense and pains. —— τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι, *to be looked up to with due respect.* τὰ εἰκότα is to be taken adverbially, and refers to the honors enumerated in I. 25. §§ 3, 4. Betant defines θαυμάζειν, *cultu et observantia prosequi.* Cf. III. 39. § 5.

3. γοῦν. See N. on I. 2. § 5. —— ἡμᾶς καὶ μάλιστα, *and we especially* of the Grecian states. Müller remarks (Dorians, I. p. 132. N. b), that her other colonies showed a remarkable obedience to Corinth. —— στεργόμεθα. This verb is used primarily to denote the mutual love of parents and children, and hence by an easy transition, the affection between a king and his people, a country and its colonies. Sometimes it designates conjugal affection, and is therefore a stronger term than ἀγαπάω or φιλέω.

4. τοῖς πλέοσιν of the colonies. —— ἂν—οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέσκοιμεν. The optative with ἄν follows εἰ with the indicative, when a settled conviction is to be politely expressed with a shade of doubt. Here, the idea is: *if we are acceptable to the rest of the colonies, we cannot with reason be disagreeable to them alone*, but perhaps we are not acceptable. Cf. K. § 339. 3. *a*; S. § 215. 1. ——οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν ἐκπρεπῶς, *nor that we would make war unreasonably.* Haack very correctly makes ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν depend on ὅτι, which with ἄν is to be repeated from the previous context. In respect to the apparent disagreement of ἐκπρεπῶς with μὴ.... ἀδικούμενοι, *unless we had been greatly injured*, I am pleased with the citation by Arnold of the line in Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, which before it was altered, as it has been in the recent editions (because it was ridiculed by Ben Jonson), ran thus:

"Cæsar doth never wrong but with just cause;"

which means, that although Cæsar does what may seem hard or wrong to an individual, yet he does it not without just cause, and therefore it is not really wrong. —— ἀδικούμενοι. Herm. on Soph. Elect. 47, says that here is indicated a present effect of a past action.

5. καλὸν δ' ἦν, *it had been becoming* = *it would have been becom-*

ατία, i. e. the insolence of authority which wealth confer
ssessor. But cf. I. 16. § 1; 123. § 1; III. 45. § 4; VI.
hich passages the idea of power is most relevant to the se
ουσίᾳ and *ὕβρει* belong to *ἡμαρτήκασι* as the dative of
λα in reference to the particular injury alluded to in wh
— *κακουμένην*. See N. on *μνησθέντας*, I. 37. § 1. —— *οὐ*
ντο, "*non conciliabant sibi* beneficio." Bothe. See N.
l. —— *ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν*, *but when we went.* See N. just
όντες βίᾳ ἔχουσι, *they forcibly seized and still retain;*
wing forcibly seized it, they keep possession of it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

e orator proceeds to reply to what the Corcyræans had said, respecting
ubmit the affair to arbitration (I. 34. § 2), by saying that this offer was
tention, inasmuch as it was proffered after they had secured the advantag
ion of having obtained the upper hand (§ 1); the wrong done by them
ipidamnus, was aggravated by their application to the Athenians to be
articipators in their wrong doing (§ 2); which application ought to hav
efore they had been brought into peril by their acts of injustice (§ 3).

1. δή is here used ironically in the sense of *forsooth*, the
tainty being employed in respect to that, which in the esti
). Corinthians was doubtful, at least so far as related to th
the Corcyræan proposal referred to. —— *δίκῃ—κρίνεσθαι*, *t

(K. § 278. 4), to which also the article τὰ belongs. προσχοντα and ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς are to be taken with προκαλούμενον, and denote the circumstances in which the offer to submit to the proposed arbitration was made (S. § 225. 2; K. §§ 312. 4. a; 288. 3. g). λέγειν τι, *to speak something of importance*, or *to the purpose*. —— δοκεῖν has for its subject ἐκεῖνον contained in τὸν—προκαλούμενον (= ἐκεῖνον ὃς προκαλεῖται. S. § 225. 1). For the construction of δεῖ, cf. S. 222. 1. —— ἀλλὰ....καθιστάντα, *but he* (should be thought to speak to the purpose), *who, before he contends in law, makes his actions and his words equally conduce to equity*. I have been much perplexed in respect to this sentence. If with Goeller and Portus we render ἐς ἴσον.... λόγους, *facta verbis equat;* or if with Bloomf. we make ἐς ἴσον denote a similarity between the words and actions, then of what use is ὁμοίως? Where also is the antithesis, which we should expect to find between this sentence and the one which precedes it? It appears to me that to προσχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, which denotes the unequal condition of the parties, ἐς ἴσον is antithetic, and denotes an equality in position as well as in words, which ought to subsist between them. The words of the Corcyræans were fair and equitable, but their actions in laying siege to Epidamnus, and in provoking a war with the Corinthians, made all their professions of desire for amicable settlement nugatory, inasmuch as the parties were placed in very unequal positions. With this view I find that Poppo harmonizes, in his approbatory citation of Cassa's interpretation: *qui factis pariter atque oratione æquitatem retinet.* So also Haack: *facta non minus quam verba ita tamquam in integrum deducere, ut nil commodi præ altero habeas.* Poppo renders πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι (S. § 223. § 3), *priusquam bellum gerere incipiat*, in order that it may harmonize with οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν which follows. But these words last quoted, contain the application of the general principle, laid down in the foregoing words, to the conduct of the Corcyræans in the present affair. As that general proposition has reference to judicial proceedings, and as διαγωνίζεσθαι corresponds to προκαλούμενον in the previous clause, I prefer with the Schol. and Betant, to take this verb in a forensic sense, *before they come to trial*, or *contend in a suit at law*.

2. τὸ χωρίον, i. e. Epidamnus. —— περιόψεσθαι. See N. on I. 35. § 4. —— τὸ εὐπρεπές. See N. on I. 37. § 4. —— παρέσχοντο. Goeller says: παρέχεσθαι est *verbis*, παρέχειν τε *offerre*. —— οὐ τἀκεῖ μόνον αὐτοί, i. e. μόνον αὐτοὶ τἀκεῖ. It will readily be seen that αὐτοὶ and ὑμᾶς are opposed to each other. —— ἀξιοῦντες depends on ἥκουσιν, *they have come to ask*. S. § 225. 5. —— ξυναδικεῖν, *to assist them in doing wrong, to be their coadjutors in wickedness*. Notice the alliterа-

tion in this word and *ξυμμαχεῖν*. —— *διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν, because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4 end) *they are our enemies.* I see not how Poppo can make *διαφόρους ὄντας* equivalent to *ὥστε ὑμᾶς διαφόρους εἶναι.* Reference is evidently had to what was said by the Corcyræans (I. 33. § 3), that the Corinthians were hostile to the Athenians, and therefore the proposed alliance should be accepted, in order that the encroachments of the common enemy might be the better resisted. The argument of the Corcyræans stands thus: the Corinthians are enemies of the Athenians; the Corcyræans are hostile to the Corinthians, and should therefore be received into alliance by the Athenians, in view of the inevitably approaching war with Corinth.

8. *οὓς* is the subject of *προσιέναι.* —— *ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν.* At first sight, the sentiment here seems to conflict with that expressed in *ἦν γε....δεῖ* (§ 1 supra). But no disagreement whatever exists, for here the argument is against the deferment, on the part of the Corcyræans, to ask aid of the Athenians to the time when they were threatened with the perils of war (*οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι*); but there, against the procrastination of their offer to submit to arbitration, until they had secured a vantage ground, which would prejudice the suit in their favor. Bothe prefers, instead of *ἀσφαλέστατοι*, the comparative *ἀσφαλέστεροι* with the sense of the positive (Mt. § 457), as corresponding better with *οὗτοι κινδυνεύουσι* to which it is opposed. —— *προσιέναι* to you for aid. —— *ἐν ᾧ, when.* —— *τῆς τε....μεταλαβόντες, who did not then* (i. e. *ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν*) *share their power.* For the participial construction, see N. on *ὄντες*, I. 8. § 1. Reference is had here, as the Schol. remarks, to the war with the Samians (cf. I. 115. 116), and Æginetæ (I. 105), when the Athenians stood greatly in need of assistance, and to have shared the Corcyræan power would have been of eminent advantage to them. —— *μεταλαβόντες—μεταδώσετε.* See N. on *ξυμμαχεῖν* and *ξυναδικεῖν* (§ 2 supra). —— *τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι* (= *γενόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων*), *although disconnected with* (literally, *far away from.* K. § 288. 1. (1) b) *their faults.* In respect to the participle, see N. on *ὄντες*, I. 7. § 1. —— *αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον, an equal degree of blame.* S. § 188. 1. —— *κοινώσαντας, by having shared.* See N. on I. 9. § 1 (init.). —— *κοινὰ....ἔχειν, they should share the consequences* = *the results should be common* to both parties. *οὓς χρῆν* is to be repeated before *ἔχειν*, inasmuch as this is a condensed and emphatic repetition of what has just before been said. Haack and Bothe refer the whole clause to the Athenians, which would give the sense: *the results* (of their crimes) *you should share in common with them, by having long ago participated also in their power.* But this transition is unnecessary, since by referring it

to the Corcyræans, the same idea is reached, viz. that in order to involve the Athenians in the consequences of the prosperity of the Corcyræans, it was proper that they should have also shared in the prosperity itself. Besides I know of no instance, where κοινόω in the active signifies *to participate in*, this sense being confined to the middle which then frequently takes the genitive.

CHAPTER XL.

Having thus disposed of the arguments of the Corcyræans, the orator proceeds to show, that they cannot be received with justice into the alliance of the Athenians (§ 1); for what is said in the treaty, that neutral states may join whichsoever party in the confederacy they please, has no application to the present case, an alliance with one party being here sought to the injury of the other (§§ 2, 3); they should, therefore, either stand aloof from both the Corcyræans and Corinthians, or unite with the latter to whom they were friends by treaty (§ 4); to this course they should be incited by the example of non-interference set by the Corinthians, when the Athenians were putting down the Samian rebellion (§ 5); a contrary example now furnished by the Athenians, would in the end prove highly prejudicial to their own interests (§ 6).

1. μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων, *with fit charges*, i. e. with accusations weighty and well substantiated. —— ἐρχόμεθα, *we have come*. The present of this verb has the sense of the perfect after the analogy of ἥκειν. Cf. Mt. § 504. 2. —— οἵδε, i. e. the Corcyræans. —— δεδήλωται is to be constructed with ὡς, *thus it has been shown*.

2. ὡς is a conjunction, and serves to introduce the substantival sentence, οὐκ....δέχοισθε, the object of μαθεῖν (K. § 329. 1). —— ἄν —δέχοισθε. With the optative ἄν is used, when the affirmation is to be considered as a conjecture, supposition, or undetermined possibility (K. § 329. 5; S. § 215. 1). The optative here follows a principal tense (χρή), because it is conditioned by a protasis to be mentally supplied: *you could not justly receive them* (if you wished to do it). Cf. K. § 327. R. 1. —— εἰ γάρ, *for though*. —— ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, i. e. in the thirty years' truce. —— παρ' ὁποτέρους follows ἐλθεῖν, and precedes in construction τὶς—βούλεται. Cf. I. 35. § 2. —— ἀγράφων, *not registered* or *recorded* as parties to the treaty. Such cities were also styled ἄσπονδοι or ἔκσπονδοι, by which was meant, that they belonged to the confederacy neither of the Athenians nor the Lacedæmonians, and were therefore neutral. Those who were parties to the confederacy were styled ἔνσπονδοι, which differed from σύμμαχοι in this respect, viz. the Corinthians were σύμμαχοι or allies of the Lacedæmonians,

but were ἔνσπονδοι of the Athenians. These words, however, are sometimes interchanged, as in I. 31. § 2, or rather ἔνσπονδοι, being the most comprehensive term, is used for the lesser and more special one. —— ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἑτέρων, *to the injury of others*, not *in alterius partis fraudem*, as some interpret it. —— ἐστίν, *extended, had reference to.* οὐ belongs to this verb. —— ὅστις = εἴ τις, and therefore takes μὴ instead of οὐ. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 743. 2. —— ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν, *withdrawing himself from another*, or perhaps here, *throwing off allegiance to another.* So Bauer (cited by Poppo) understands it. αὐτὸν is here to be considered as the accusative of the thing (K. § 280. R. 3. d). The more usual construction would have been ἄλλον αὐτοῦ. —— εἰ σωφρονοῦσι. I concur with Bloomf. and Arnold, that this parenthesis can be rendered intelligible, only by supposing an omitted clause: (and who will not admit them) *if they are wise;* or if reference is had to πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης, instead of τοῖς δεξαμένοις, (and war will not be thus brought) *if they are wise.* Goeller opposes εἰ σωφρονοῦσι to μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν (*unless you are persuaded by us.* S. § 225. 6), thus making it = εἰ πείθονται ἡμῖν, and remarks that it ought to have been εἰ δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσι (sive εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθονται ἡμῖν). But it is a general principle which is here laid down, and therefore cannot be referred directly to the persons addressed. Poppo would supply οἱ δεξάμενοι as the subject: *if those who receive them* (S. § 225. 5) *act with forbearance and moderation.* This interpretation, which is adopted also by Hier. Müller, is worthy of consideration, inasmuch as it makes the rectitude and pacific nature of the transaction, to depend upon both the parties to the alliance. —— ὅ, i. e. τὸ πόλεμον ἀντὶ εἰρήνης ὑμῖν ποιῆσθαι, which is easily suggested to the mind by the previous context.

3. γὰρ *confirmantis*, i. e. it serves to introduce a confirmation of what has just been said. —— μόνον, i. e. this alliance with the Corcyræans will not be the only feature in the transaction. This appears from the following ἀλλὰ....πολέμιοι. The juxtaposition of ἐνσπόνδων and πολέμιοι imparts great energy and vivacity to the expression. —— Supply ἡμῖν with ἀνάγκη, or ἡμᾶς with ἀμύνεσθαι. —— εἰ ἴτε μετ' αὐτῶν, i. e. if you side with them. —— μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν = *with you*, only a little softer. —— τούτους is the object of ἀμύνεσθαι.

4. δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ—στῆναι = δίκαιόν γ' ἐστὶ ὑμᾶς στῆναι. The Greeks were fond of changing the impersonal to the personal construction, the object being elevated into a subject, and the proposition made more compact thereby. Cf. K. §§ 307. R. 6; 310. 4. R. 3; Mt. § 297; S. § 225. 7. —— ἐκ ποδὼν (*away from the feet, out of the way*) is usually followed by the genitive, but here takes ἀμφοτέροις as the

Dat. incommodi. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 601. 2. —— εἰ δὲ μὴ (see N. on I. 35. § 5), i. e. if you determine to side with one of the parties. —— τοὐνάντιον to what the Corcyræans ask. —— ἰέναι. Repeat here δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ from the preceding context, and also with καθιστάναι infra. —— δι' ἀνακωχῆς, *at truce.* The genitive with διὰ is called by Kühner (§ 291. 1. 3. b) the possessive genitive, e. g. διὰ φόβου εἶναι, *to be in fear = to have fear;* δι' ἔχθρας γίγνεσθαί τινι, *to be hostile to some ne* = to have hostility, etc. διὰ gives intensity, as if one were passng *through* the idea represented by the substantive. —— καὶ τὸν νόμον κ. τ. λ. is to be connected with ἰέναι, the words Κορινθίοις....ἐγένεσθε being parenthetical. νόμον takes the article, because ὥστε....δέχεσθαι referring to it follows, *the rule that you should receive = the rule of receiving.* Bloomf. calls this the *anticipative* use of the article.

5. Σαμίων ἀποστάντων, *when the Samians revolted* (S. § 226). See N. on I. 39. § 3. An account of this revolt is given in I. 115–117. —— τῶν....ἐψηφισμένων, *when the rest of the Peloponnesians were divided in their votes.* In respect to this deliberation of the Peloponnesians, nothing is said elsewhere, except that an allusion is again made to it in the following chapter. The Samians doubtless applied to the Peloponnesians for assistance, which, as Krüg. (ad Dionys. p. 328) remarks, the Corinthians were unwilling to grant, from their inveterate enmity to the Samians. Cf. Herodot. III. 48. —— εἰ χρή, *whether it would be proper = whether they should.* S. § 153. a. In indirect interrogative sentences, the indicative is generally used, when the question has the same verbal form in which it was originally stated. —— ἀντείπομεν = "*we said no, maintaining that,* etc." Bloomf. —— τοὺς....κολάζειν, *each one should punish his own allies.* "In τινὰ proprie notio nostri *man* inesse, αὐτὸν autem *per se solum* videtur valere." Poppo.

6. γὰρ = δέ. Schol. A second reason is now introduced for what is said in τὸν νόμον....δέχεσθαι (§ 4 supra). —— δεχόμενοι, *by receiving.* See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— φανεῖται....πρόσεισι, *it will be found that equally as many* (literally, *not less*) *of yours* (i. e. deserters from you) *will come over to us.* Haack refers ἃ to χωρία. Goeller, however, puts it for οἵ, which seems preferable: *what of yours shall come over,* i. e. whatever deserters. —— ἐφ' ὑμῖν = καθ' ὑμῶν.

CHAPTER XLI.

The justice of the proposed alliance of the Corcyræans having been considered, the orator goes on to offer some advice, and to make a claim of favor, which in reversed order form the topics of this and the following chapter. He asks that the Athenians should remember the favor, which they had received at the hands of the Corinthians, and return like for like (§ 1); for in the war with the Æginetæ they had assisted the Athenians, and had prevailed on the Peloponnesians to render no assistance to the Samians (§ 2); the critical time in which these favors were granted enhanced their value, for in exigencies like those, assistance granted by an enemy even, were sufficient to entitle him to be received as a friend (§ 3).

1. *δικαιώματα, legal claims, grounds of right.* —— *τάδε*, i. e. such as have been descanted upon in the foregoing chapter. —— *παραίνεσιν* and *ἀξίωσιν* depend on *ἔχωμεν*, to be supplied from the preceding sentence. —— *οὐκ....ἐπιχρῆσθαι, since we are not enemies to injure you* (S. § 223. 1), *nor on the other hand friends to have much interchange of good offices*, q. d. we think that our request should be granted, for we are not enemies that you should refuse us, nor yet are we on such terms of friendship, as *to abuse* (*ἐπιχρῆσθαι, abuti.* Betant) the favor, by seeking to have such an interchange of kindnesses as shall be burdensome to you. We simply ask, therefore, that, in remembrance of our former kindness in the Æginetan and Samian war, you shall reject the suit of the Corcyræans. Goel. thinks that reference is had to the remark of the Corcyræan orator, *δεομένοις τε* (Corinthiis) *ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουργεῖν* (I. 34. § 3). Bloomf. makes the last clause concessive: *although we are not friends to much* (*ἐπι-*) *benefit you.* —— *φαμέν, we think.*

2. *νεῶν—μακρῶν, ships of war;* literally, *long ships*, in distinction from the round merchant-ships (*στρογγύλα πλοῖα*) adapted to carry freight rather than to quick sailing. —— *σπανίσαντες, when* (see N. on I. 13. § 6) *you were in want of*, agrees with the omitted subject of *ἐλάβετε*. —— *πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινητῶν—πόλεμον.* The immediate cause of this war was the refusal of the Æginetæ to restore, at the demand of the Athenians, two statues of the olive-tree wood, which they had stolen from the Epidamnians. Cf. Herodot. V. 85. —— *ὑπέρ, before, earlier than;* literally, *beyond.* —— *ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, and that* (service) *in respect to the Samians.* With this, *τὸ....βοηθῆσαι* which follows, is in epexegetical apposition (see N. on I. 32. § 4). —— *δι' ἡμᾶς*, i. e. through our influence. *αὐτοῖς* refers to the Samians. —— *ἐπικράτησιν, victory.*

3. *ἐν καιροῖς τοιούτοις, in such a critical time.* *οἱ καιροὶ* is almost always employed in a bad sense, *in times of imminent peril* (= *gra-*

vissima tempora. Cicero). —— τῶν πάντων....νικᾶν, *are regardless of every thing in comparison with* (παρά. See N. on I. 23. § 3) *victory*, i. e. neglecting every thing else through desire of victory. ἀπερίοπτοι, *not looking round about* = *careless of every thing round about*. Some render παρά, *on account of*. —— φίλον is the second, and τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα (= ἐκεῖνον ὃ ὑπουργεῖ) the first accusative after ἡγοῦνται. S. § 185. —— πολέμιον. Repeat ἡγοῦνται. —— ἢν καὶ....ὦν, *even though he chance to have been* (S. § 225. 8) *a friend*. —— ἐπεί, *since*, introduces a sentence climacteric to τῶν πάντων....νικᾶν, and confirmatory of the declaration just made, that no former acts of friendship would outweigh actual opposition, in a crisis like the one here referred to. —— καί, *even*. —— τὰ οἰκεῖα χείρον τίθενται, *they suffer their own affairs to go to ruin*; "*they mismanage their own affairs*." Arnold. —— The position of τῆς αὐτίκα gives great emphasis to the sentiment. Indeed the language of the whole chapter is compressed to the very highest degree, and the most forcible expressions are selected, as the medium of the vehement appeals made against the Corcyræans. Every word has its proper place, and not a useless epithet breaks the force, with which the passions are aroused and the judgment hurried on to the contemplated decision.

CHAPTER XLII.

This chapter is mainly taken up with the item of advice, which was announced in the preceding chapter. No one should think that acts which are just, conflict with those that are useful (§ 1); for unjust acts are never promotive of advantage, and the war alluded to (I. 88. § 3) is too uncertain, to be made the basis of a not doubtful enmity with the Corinthians, and moreover the ill-feeling, to which the Megarean war had given birth, ought for prudential reasons to be allayed (§ 2); a favorable opportunity to do this now presented itself (§ 3); as to the accession of naval strength, which the Corcyræans had offered, not to inflict wrong upon equals was a far surer road to power, than any advantage which ambition might prompt to secure (§ 4).

1. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες (cf. Mt. § 349; S. § 193). —— ἀξιούτω, which should properly have been constructed with ἐνθυμηθέντες, is taken with νεώτερός τις (= εἴ τίς ἐστι νεώτερος) included in ἐνθυμηθέντες, it being the last subject before the verb (K. § 242. R. 1. b). Emphasis is also imparted to νεώτερός τις by this construction. —— ἀμύνεσθαι, *to requite*, a sense which is easily derived from the more usual signification of the middle, *to ward off, to defend one's self*, which is often done by returning the blows, i. e. giving like for like. Cf. II. 67. § 4; IV. 68. § 2. —— δίκαια is the subject of λέγεσθαι, *that these just things*

are said = *that these things which are said are just.* —— πολεμήσαι (against the Lacedæmonians) is for πολεμήσετε, reference in the number being still had to νεώτερός τις, although all the auditors are referred to. In respect to the use of the indicative with εἰ, it shows that the speaker had a strong conviction of the reality of the thing spoken of, although he does not express it as an actual fact. —— δίκαια....λέγεσθαι, *that these things which we have spoken are just;* literally, *that these things are spoken just.* δίκαια is in the predicate. See N. on I. 124. § 2. —— ἄλλα is opposed to τάδε λέγεσθαι, as ξύμφορα is to δίκαια.

2. ἐλάχιστα ἁμαρτάνῃ by litotes for *does that which is the most just.* The idea is that *nothing is useful which is not just and honorable*, a noble sentiment, which ought to be engraven on every mind. —— τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πόλεμον, "*the eventual occurrence of the war*, i. e. whether there will be a war or not." Bloomf. Thucydides abounds in the use of the neuter participle for the corresponding abstract noun. Cf. S. § 158. 2. Reference is had in τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πόλεμου, to the intimation of an approaching war, thrown out in the speech of the Corcyræans, I. 36. § 1. —— ᾧ....κελεύουσιν, *with which terrifying you* (= by the fear of which) *the Corcyræans bid you.* —— ἀφανεῖ is opposed to φανερὰν which follows. —— οὐκ ἄξιον (sc. ἐστί), *is not worthy, is not of sufficient weight* = *ought not.* —— ἐπαρθέντας (1 aor. pass. part. of ἐπαίρω, *to rouse up, to excite*) belongs to ὑμᾶς, the omitted subject of κτήσασθαι. —— αὐτῷ, i. e. by the terror of the war which the Corcyræans predicted (cf. τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου supra). —— οὐ μέλλουσαν, "*non cunctantem*, i. e. *præsentem.*" Haack. φανερὰν....μέλλουσαν, Poppo says, responds in a manner to τὸν μέλλοντα....πόλεμον (against the Lacedæmonians), which was uttered by the orator of the opposite side (I. 36. § 1). —— ὑποψίας—ὑφελεῖν, *to take away something of the suspicion* (S. § 191. 1). ὑποψίας is here employed euphemistically for the *hatred, enmity*, which the Corinthians had conceived against the Athenians. Cf. I. 103. —— σῶφρον, sc. ἐστί.

3. ἡ—τελευταία χάρις is to be referred to ἦν—ἀντιδοθῆναι—ἐν τῷ παρόντι φαμὲν χρῆναι (I. 41. § 1), that the suit of the Corcyræans should be rejected. If the Corinthians were gratified in this, it would do much towards lessening the ill-will, to which the Megarean affair had given rise. The idea, however, is couched here under a general sentiment, that a present favor will efface the remembrance of a far greater ground of complaint.

4. μηδ' ὅτι....ἐφέλκεσθε. Cf. I. 35. § 5; 36. § 3. ἐφέλκειν, "*trahere post se.* Pass. *allici.*" Betant. —— ἐχυρωτέρα, *firmer, better established.* Cf. I. 32. § 2; III. 12. § 1; 33. § 2. —— τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ,

i. e. τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Κερκυραίων. The word αὐτίκα (= *quod est præsens*) is opposed to τὸ μέλλον (§ 2 supra). Cf. Steph. Notes on the Schol. This critic remarks: "τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ tacite opponi τὴν ἐκ θεῶν βοήθειαν quæ est κρυπτὴ καὶ ἀφανής. Quasi videlicet, dicentes διὰ κινδύνων, illud innuerent." —— ἐπαρθέντας, sc. τινάς, as the sentiment is general. —— διὰ κινδύνων belongs to τὸ πλέον ἔχειν (= πλεονεκτεῖν), which is opposed to the preceding τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους = τὸ μέτριον καὶ ἴσον εἶναι.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The peroration now follows, in which the orator, alluding to the friendly vote of the Corinthians in the Peloponnesian council, again asks that his state shall receive a suitable return for that act of friendship (§§ 1, 2); and exhorts them not to grant the Corcyræans their suit (§ 3); for thus they would consult both their duty and interest (§ 4).

1. περιπεπτωκότες οἷς (= ἐκείνοις ἅ), *having fallen into these circumstances*. The relative ἅ in the equivalent may be rendered, *in reference to which*, and is to be taken with προείπομεν. In respect to the transaction alluded to in the words, ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ προείπομεν, cf. I. 40. §5. —— ὠφεληθέντας—βλάψαι. The subject is here changed to the Athenians, as κομίζεσθαι refers to the Corinthians. —— τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ. Repeat ψήφῳ.

2. γνόντες—εἶναι. See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— Construct ἐκεῖνον with τὸν καιρόν. —— ἐν ᾧ....ἐχθρός. Cf. φίλον τε γὰρ....φίλος ὤν, I. 41. § 3.

3. δέχεσθε. Thiersch. (§ 295. 10) defends the reading δέχησθε. But cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. p. 139. —— βίᾳ ἡμῶν, *against our will, in defiance of us*. —— μήτε ἀμύνετε αὐτοῖς, *nor bring aid to them* (cf. I. 40. § 5; 50. § 5; 105. 3, et sæpe al.). The dative after this verb is the *dat. commodi*.

4. ποιοῦντες, see N. on I. 9. § 1 (init.). —— ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, *for yourselves*. *Dat. commodi*.

CHAPTERS XLIV.—LV.

In these chapters we are informed, how the Athenians became embroiled in the war between the Corinthians and Corcyræans, and the part which they took in it. The style is much the same as that of the orations, but less compressed and irregular. Although the narrative portions are characterized by great brevity, yet the prominent events are selected and arranged with such judgment, and related with such perspicuity, that a reasonable amount of study will lead to a clear understanding of almost every historical detail. No author furnishes so fine a model of a clear and vigorous style as does Thucydides, and hence his writings should be read with a continual reference to this trait of excellence.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Athenians at first are inclined to favor the suit of the Corinthians, but having extended their deliberations to a second meeting, resolve to make a defensive league with the Corcyræans (§ 1), in order to prevent the junction of the Corcyræan and Corinthian navies, and to weaken the power of the latter, before the commencement of the struggle with the Peloponnesians, which now seemed inevitable (§ 2); another reason for the league, was the commanding position of the island of Corcyra (§ 3).

1. *καὶ δίς.* This shows that a previous deliberation had taken place (cf. *τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ*). —— *οὐχ ἧσσον* (= *μᾶλλον* by litotes), *not less* than they were on the second thought inclined to the side of the Corcyræans. —— *ἀπεδέξαντο*, *approved*, not so decidedly, however, but that they came together the second time for deliberation. —— *μετέγνωσαν* is here used in a pregnant sense = *μετέγνωσαν καὶ ἔγνωσαν*, *they changed their mind and determined.* K. § 846. 3. This species of brachylogy is quite common among the Greek writers. Cf. Plat. Gorg. p. 498. C; Xen. Cyr. I. 1. § 8, et al. —— *ξυμμαχίαν.* This term, Bauer observes, denotes properly *a defensive alliance*, in opposition to *ἐπιμαχία*, *an offensive alliance.* But in use, the former came to denote the *genus*, embracing leagues and treaties of every sort both for offence and defence; the latter, the species or form (= *ἐπιβοήθεια*), the condition of which was that succors should be granted against an invading enemy, but not so as to involve the state, thus rendering aid, with the invaders. Here then *ξυμμαχία* is *an*

alliance offensive and defensive, and ἐπιμαχία (infra) is *a defensive alliance*. —— ὥστε....νομίζειν explains ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι. —— τοὺς αὐτοὺς (sc. αὐτοῖς), *the same with them*, or *the same as they have*. S. § 202. N. 1. —— εἰ γὰρ introduces the reason, why the Athenians came to this determination. —— σφίσιν is made by Mt. (§ 382. 1) to depend upon ἐκέλευον, and to refer to the Athenians. But Poppo and Goel. contend that ἐκέλευον σφίσιν for ἐκέλευον σφᾶς is not Thucydidean. As αὐτοῖς, referring to the Athenians, follows immediately in the next clause, they make σφίσιν (= αὐτοῖς) to depend on ξυμπλεῖν and refer to the Corcyræans. This interpretation, which seems on the whole to be preferable, and which Krüger adopts, implies an omitted subject of ξυμπλεῖν referring to the Athenians. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 589. 3. *Obs.* 3. —— τῇ, sc. γῇ. Cf. Mt. § 282. 2.

2. καὶ ὡς, *even thus*, i. e. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ δέξωνται τοὺς Κερκυραίους. —— προέσθαι = προδοῦναι. —— τοσοῦτον, i. e. so great. —— ξυγκρούειν ἀλλήλοις, *but as much as possible to wear them out one against the other*. —— Κορινθίοις belongs to ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται, *might put themselves in a position for war with the Corinthians* (dat. incommodi). —— ἄλλοις, i. e. the Peloponnesians. Poppo with Bekker prefers τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς. The article can hardly be dispensed with, and I am inclined to the suggestion of Bloomf., that the text may be emended by the transposition ἄλλοις τοῖς.

3. ἅμα δέ, *and together with this* = *and moreover*. These particles serve to introduce an additional inducement, for the course which the Athenians concluded to adopt. —— ἐν παράπλῳ. Cf. I. 36. § 2, where it is written παράπλου.

CHAPTER XLV.

An alliance being thus formed with the Corcyræans, the Athenians send ten ships to their aid (§ 1); charging them, however, to assist the Corcyræans only when acting on the defensive (§ 2); they arrive at Corcyra (§ 3).

1. γνώμῃ is the dative denoting circumstance. —— ὕστερον the departure of the Corinthians. —— δέκα ναῦς. The smallness of this force is attributed by Plutarch, to a design to show contempt for the Corinthians, but Bloomf. more naturally attributes it to the fact, that Pericles did not enter heartily into the cause.

2. ἐς....χωρίων *in any of the places belonging to them*. The αὐτὰ

cle belongs to *χωρίων*. Cf. Mt. § 279. *Obs.* 4. The Schol. thinks that Epidamnus is referred to.

3. *οὗτοι*, i. e. if the Corinthians invaded Corcyra or any of its dependencies. —— *κατὰ δύναμιν*, *according to their power* = as far as their power would admit. —— *τοῦ....σπονδάς*, *in order that they might not break the treaty*. K. § 308. 2. b; S. § 222. 2. The infinitive with the article is often found without *ἕνεκα*. —— *μὲν δή*, *so then*. This took place, A. C. 432. Olymp. 87. 1.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Corinthians and their allies sail against Corcyra with 150 ships under Xenoclides and others (§§ 1, 2); they came to anchor at the Chimerium of Thesprotis (§ 3); the geographical situation of Ephyra, the Acherusian lake, and the river Thyamis is described (§ 4); the Corinthians encamp (§ 5).

1. *δὲ* in *οἱ δὲ* refers to *μὲν* in the beginning of the preceding chapter. —— *αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο*. "The verb which should be referred to a subject is changed into the passive, and is used impersonally with the dative of the subject." Mt. § 227. *Obs.* 2; S. § 208. N. 2. —— *ἦσαν δὲ Ἠλείων κ. τ. λ.* In this list of auxiliaries it will be seen, that the Epidamnians, Hermionians, and Trœzenians, who in a former expedition (I. 27. § 2) contributed eight ships, now appear to have sent none. Bloomf. thinks that their ships are here included in the number of the Corinthian ships. The Megareans, Eleans, and Ambraciots increased upon their former number.

2. *πέμπτος αὐτὸς* = *he being general with four colleagues;* literally, *himself the fifth*. See K. § 303. R. 4; Crosby, § 511. 5. Cf. II. 13. § 1.

3. *προσέμιξαν*, *arrived at*. Cf. Liddell and Scott. —— *ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες* is to be construed before *προσέμιξαν*. —— *ὁρμίζονται*, *anchored, came to anchor*.

4. *ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*, *above it* in respect to situation. —— *ἀπό*, *removed from*. —— *Ἐφύρη*. Cf. Odyss. 1. 159. *Θεσπρωτίδος* is added, because there were other cities of the same name, especially one in Corinth. —— *παρ' αὐτήν*, *along by it* (i. e. Ephyra). —— *Ἀχερουσία λίμνη*. Cf. Æn. 6. 107. —— *ἐς αὐτήν*, i. e. the lake. —— *ἀφ' οὗ*, *from which* river. —— *ἔχει* refers to *λίμνη*. —— *Κεστρίνην*, *Cestrine*, is considered by Col. Leake (North. Greece, IV. p. 73) to be the same with the present district of Filiates. —— *ὧν ἐντός*, *between which*. Reference is had to the rivers Acheron and Thyamis, and not to Thesprotia and Cestrine

Haack, therefore, very properly puts a colon after Κεστρίνην. —— ἄκρα—τὸ Χειμέριον. This seems to be distinguished from the port of Chimerium, which was probably near it. Leake thinks that the promontory of Chimerium is the same as the modern *Cape Varlam*. This whole passage is encumbered with geographical difficulties, which, with my present helps, I feel unable to solve.

5. τῆς ἠπείρου depends on ἐνταῦθα (S. § 187. 3), *in this part of the continent*. —— στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. The construction of the ships in ancient times was such, that but a small stock of provisions could be carried in them, and their numerous crews, as Mitford observes, could hardly eat or sleep conveniently on board. Hence they were under the necessity of debarking to encamp, whenever the ships reached a suitable or convenient place.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Corcyræans man 110 ships, and accompanied by the Athenian ships (I. 45. § 1) station themselves at Sybota (§ 1); their land forces with the Zacynthian auxiliaries encamp on the promontory of Leucimne (§ 2); the Corinthians are assisted by large bodies of the Barbarians (§ 3).

1. ᾖσθοντο—προσπλέοντας. See N. on I. 26. § 3. —— αὐτούς, i. e. the Corinthians. —— ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. From what follows it would appear, that those who encamped in this place were sailors. See N. on I. 46. § 5. —— αἱ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα. Leake says that these islands, which still bear the ancient name, are five or six miles southward of the mouth of the Thyamis (North. Greece, I. p. 103), and that there is a sheltered bay, between the two principal Sybota, and another between the inner island and the main (ib. III. p. 2). They received the name Σύβοτα, from having been formerly used as hog-pastures.

2. Λευκίμνῃ. On this promontory the Corcyræans had erected a trophy, after their first engagement with the Corinthians (I. 30. § 1). —— Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται. As the Corcyræans were said (I. 31. § 2) to have formed no alliance with any Grecian state, they must either have formed a league with the Zacynthians, at the same time that they applied to the Athenians, or in this extremity, the Zacynthians came to their help without any formal treaty.

3. ἦσαν....παραβεβοηθηκότες. The order is: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ (ἄλλοι)

τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παραβεβοηθηκότες ἦσαν τοῖς Κορινθίοις. This seems to have been suggested by the mention of the Zacynthian auxiliaries, since its appropriate place would have been in the previous chapter. The Barbarians rendezvoused at Sybota, a desert port of Thesprotia (cf. I. 50. § 3), from which some think that the islands received their name. —— ταύτῃ, *here*, i. e. in this part of the continent. —— Müller remarks (Dor. I. p. 132) that the strong and continuous chain of Corinthian colonies along the coast, forced even the Barbarians of the interior, and especially the Epirots of Thesprotia, to maintain a perpetual connexion with Corinth.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Corinthians having sailed by night from Chimerium and put themselves in readiness for battle, at dawn of day descry the Corcyræan fleet making towards them (§ 1); as soon as the fleets are seen by each other, they form in line of battle (§§ 2, 3).

1. τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία, *provisions for three days.* Some think that a contrast with the Athenians is here intended, who made no such provision when on the point of engaging with the enemy. Dr. Bloomf. thinks that it was done here on the supposition, that the Corcyræans would retreat to Corcyra or Leucimne, in which case their provisions would be very serviceable. —— ἀνήγοντο, *put to sea.* With this verb, νυκτὸς is to be taken. —— ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, "*with full purpose of battle.*" Bloomf. See N. on I. 126. § 5. —— ἅμα ἕῳ belongs to καθορῶσι and not πλέοντες. —— μετεώρους, *on the high sea, out at sea*, is opposed to lying at anchor in the harbor.

2. τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας was the post of honor. —— τὸ δὲ ἄλλο, sc. μέρος. —— τέλη, *divisions, squadrons.* —— ὧν....εἷς, *each of which* (divisions) *one of the commanders led.*

3. ἐτάξαντο, *arranged themselves in order of battle.* —— Κορινθίοις. The dative is here employed for the adnominal genitive (S. § 20. 1. 5) after κέρας. In κέρας Κερκυραίων (§ 2 supra) the usual case was employed. —— ξύμμαχοι. Supply ἐτάξαντο from the preceding clause. —— ὡς ἕκαστοι. Some supply ἔτυχον, but it is better with Bloomf. to understand ἐτάξαντο, as more suitable to the context. —— εὐώνυμον —κέρας was in this instance the most honorable post, as being opposed to the Athenians.

CHAPTER XLIX.

At the given signal the fleets, with crowded decks, come to a fierce engagement, which resembles a land-fight rather than a sea-fight (§§ 1, 2); the chief reliance being placed on bravery, since the ships were so close together as to render them motionless (§ 3); the Athenians at first abstain from battle, but seeing the Corcyræans hard pressed, come to their assistance and keep the enemy in check (§ 4); the Corcyræans are victorious on their left wing (§ 5); but on their right, the Corinthians gain a decided advantage (§ 6); upon this the Athenians engage warmly in the battle (§ 7).

1. *ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἑκατέροις ἤρθη.* Arnold compares. I. 63; VII. 34; VIII. 95. —— *τῷ παρεσκευασμένοι, having even yet their ships fitted out very unskilfully, according to the ancient manner.* Some refer this to the equipments of the soldiers, but as *ἔχοντες* refers really to the ships, although grammatically to the *sailors*, *παρασκευασμένοι* must be made to conform to it in sense.

2. *καρτερά, fierce, obstinate.* This word is to be repeated with *οὐχ' ὁμοίως*, in the sense of *well-fought* or *well-maintained.* —— *τὸ πλέον, to a higher degree, more.*

3. *προσβάλλοιεν.* The optative is here employed to express indefinite frequency: *when*, or, *as often as they ran foul of one another.* K. § 337. 7; S. § 217. 2. —— *οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπελεύοντο, they were not easily separated.* —— *ὑπὸ* is causal, *on account of, by reason of.* —— *πιστεύοντες, because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *they trusted*, contains another reason why the ships were suffered to remain alongside. It will be seen how in *προσβάλλοιεν* and *ἀπελεύοντο*, things are attributed to the crews, which properly can be predicated only of the ships; but in *πιστεύοντες* is expressed what can only be said of sentient beings. —— *οἱ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο*, "*manebant a pugna stataria.*" Bloomf. —— *ἡσυχαζουσῶν, lying still* (Cf. II. 84. § 2), i. e. performing no nautical evolutions. So the Schol. interprets: *μὴ ναυμαχούντων.* —— *διέκπλοι.* "The *diecplus* was a breaking through the enemy's line, in order, by a rapid turn of the vessel, to strike the enemy's ship on the side or stern, where it was most defenceless, and so to sink it." See II. 83. 89; VII. 36. 70." Arnold. This naval manœuvre is remarked by Bloomf. as having been revived by Rodney, Nelson, and other naval commanders of Britain. The same critic, more correctly than Arnold, makes the design of this breaking through the enemy's line to separate one part from the other (as well as to attack it in the rear), and thus to cut it up in detail. —— *θυμῷ, with vehemence of spirit. ῥώμῃ* refers to *bodily strength.*

4. *οὖν*, i. e. in consequence of the decision of the fight depending

upon brute force, rather than upon nautical science. —— *ταραχώδης, disturbed, disordered.* —— *ἐν ᾗ, during which* engagement. —— *τοῖς Κερκυραίοις* depends upon *παραγιγνόμεναι.* —— *ἦρχον* has *αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες* (=*οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*) for its subject, *δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοί*, which is contained as a part under the principal subject (*αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες*), taking in the same verb (*ἦρχον*) in reality, although the participle is apparently put for the verb. Cf. K. § 313. R. 1; Butt. § 145. N. 6; Mt. § 562. N; C. § 333. 5. Poppo, in his notes on the Schol., refers with Duk. *στρατηγοὶ* immediately to *ἦρχον*. So also does Dindorf, in whose edition no punctuation mark is placed after *ἦρχον*. —— *τὴν πρόῤῥησιν.* Cf. I. 45. § 3.

5. *ἐπόνει, was pressed,* is here nearly equivalent to *ἐπιέζετο.* —— *σποράδας, scattered* in the fight, agrees with *αὐτοῖς* (i. e. the Corinthians), although it properly refers to the ships. —— *μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου* begins the apodosis, and therefore does not require, as some think, to be preceded by the connective *καί.* —— *ἐπεκβάντες, disembarking.* —— *ἐρήμους* (see N. on II. 4. § 4.) = *ἐπεὶ ἔρημοι ἦσαν.* K. § 245. 8. b. —— *τὰ χρήματα, the baggage.*

6. *ταύτῃ*, i. e. on the Corinthian right wing. —— *οὖν (then)* is not here illative, but denotes the result of what has just been said. —— *οἱ Κορίνθιοι—ἠσσῶντό τε*, i. e. *οἵ τε Κορίνθιοι—ἠσσῶντο καί.* "Transpositum est *τὲ* sicut sæpe." Poppo. —— *ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ* defines the preceding *ᾗ.* —— *τοῖς Κερκυραίοις* limits *παρουσῶν*, or perhaps may be put for the adnominal genitive after *νεῶν.* —— *τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν.* The article is employed, because reference is had to the ships spoken of in *οἱ γὰρ....τρεψάμενοι* (§ 5 suprà). —— *ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους, out of a lesser number.* The Corcyræans had only 110 ships (I. 47. § 1) besides the ten Athenian vessels, while the Corinthians had 150 ships (I. 46. § 1). —— *ἐκ τῆς διώξεως* is to be constructed after *παρουσῶν.*

7. *μᾶλλον* belongs to *ἀπροφασίστως, more openly.* —— *ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί, from charging any ships with the brazen beak;* literally, *so as not to charge,* etc. For *μὴ* with the infinitive, see N. on I. 10. § 1. *ἐμβάλλω* is employed of a ship, which falls upon another with its *ἔμβολος.* See Liddell and Scott, *sub voce.* —— *λαμπρῶς, clear, manifest.* —— *ἔργου πᾶς εἴχετο, every one laid hold of the work,* i. e. engaged heartily in the battle. —— *διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, there was no longer any distinction* between the Corcyræans and Athenians, i. e. it could not be determined from their zeal in battle, which had come to defend, and which to engage in the offensive. —— *ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης, to this degree of necessity.* K. § 264. R. 5. b; Mt. § 341. 4; S. § 187. 1.

CHAPTER L.

The Corcyræans being routed, the Corinthians slaughter all whom they can reach, and, without knowing it, kill some even of their own men (§ 1), inasmuch as in so extensive an engagement, it was not easy to discriminate between the victors and the vanquished (§ 2); and after pursuing them to the shore, succeeded in bringing into Sybota the greater part of the wrecks of their ships and their slain (§ 3); after which they sail out to meet the Corcyræans, who, together with their Athenian allies, were again advancing to give them battle (§ 4); as the battle was about to be commenced, a reinforcement of twenty Athenian ships heave in sight (§ 5).

1. *τὰ σκάφη....ἀναδούμενοι* (cf. II. 90. § 6), *did not take in tow the hulls;* literally, *haul off, lashing to them.* The two expressions may always be translated as one word. Notice the use of *τὰ σκάφη τῶν νεῶν*, literally, *the trough* or *tub of the ships*, i. e. *the hulls.* This shows their disabled condition. —— *ἃς καταδύσειαν, which they might happen to have disabled.* It is very evident that *καταδύω* does not here mean *to sink to the bottom*, for how could a ship in this condition be towed off? Nor is the interpretation, *which they might have sunk* if they had chosen (Mt. §§ 514. 2; 515. *Obs.*), apposite, for who would think of such an expression as, *they did not tow off the vessels which they could have sunk* if they pleased? I concur, therefore, with those commentators, who take *καταδύειν ναῦν* in the sense of *to make a ship water-logged*, so that it shall appear in part above water. In Herodot. VIII. 90, it appears, that the crew of a ship thus partially sunk, were able to throw their darts with such effect, as finally to capture the ship which had thus disabled them. Goeller refers to the battle of Arginusæ (Xen. Hellen. I. 6. § 36), where the Athenian commanders, after the action, propose *πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους.* We might have expected *ἂν* instead of *ἃς* (S. § 175. 1), but sometimes the Attics neglected this kind of attraction. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 822. *Obs.* 5. The optative generally dispenses with *ἂν* in relative sentences, where the antecedent is indefinite. Cf. S. § 217. 2; K. § 338. 4. —— *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κ. τ. λ.* Construct: *ἐτράποντο* (reflexive) *πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διεκπλέοντες φονεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν* sc. *αὐτούς.* The infinitives denote the purpose or object of *διεκπλέοντες*, as though they were preceded by *ὥστε* (S. § 223). Matthiæ (§ 532. *c*) makes them epexegetical of *πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο*, but in citing the passage, he has strangely omitted *διεκπλέοντες*, an error which Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 122) says he has now corrected. Goeller cites him approvingly, but the position of *διεκπλέοντες* clearly

marks it as the word, which the infinitives are designed to follow. The sense, however, is not materially changed by Matthiæ's interpretation. —— φίλους is the object of ἔκτεινον, and refers to the Megareans and Ambraciots on the right wing, who had been worsted by the Corcyræans, and who were now floating about in their disabled ships, or on fragments of such as had been shattered to pieces. —— ἀγνοοῦντες, *through ignorance.* S. § 225. 3.

2. γὰρ introduces the cause of the ignorance just spoken of. —— ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν. See N. on I. 23. § 3. —— οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο, *they made it not easy to decide;* literally, *made the deciding not easy.* —— γὰρ after ναυμαχία is γὰρ *confirmantis* = and no wonder, *for this sea-fight.* In such a use γὰρ may be rendered, *indeed, truly.* —— Ἕλλησι πρὸς Ἕλληνας, *for Greeks against Greeks.* In the war with the Persians, greater fleets had engaged, but never before in the internal wars of Greece. Ἕλλησι is to be referred to Mt. § 388. *a*, where it is said that the dative is often put, especially with ὡς, in order to show that a proposition is affirmed as true, not generally, but in respect to a certain person. Cf. K. § 284. 3. (10); S. § 201. 4. —— μεγίστη δή, *far the greatest, confessedly the most considerable.* —— τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτῆς. Afterwards there were larger sea-fights, especially in the Sicilian expedition.

3. τῶν πλείστων. The Schol. supplies σωμάτων, on the ground, that some of the bodies were driven by the wind to Corcyra (cf. I. 54. 1). But would not this apply also to ναυάγια? —— τὰ Σύβοτα. See N. on I. 47. § 3. It is worthy of note, that the port of this name always takes the article, while the islands mentioned in I. 47. § 1, are always found without it. Bloomf. conjectures from this, that the islands took their name from the port. —— οἷ, *whither.* —— ἔρημος, i. e. either it had no town, or if so, it was deserted of its inhabitants.

4. τοῦτο refers back to the collection of the ships and the bodies of the slain. —— ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαί. Poppo and others rightly refer this to the ten ships, which had not been brought into action, as they had 120 ships (cf. I. 25. § 4), but sailed out with only 110 of them (cf I. 47. § 1).

5. ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὀψὲ—καὶ (= ὅτε) οἱ Κορίνθιοι, *it was now getting late in the day—when the Corinthians.* καὶ....ἐκρούοντο is made here a co-ordinate sentence with the preceding one, although it is properly an adverbial sentence of time. Cf. K. §§ 319. R. 2; 337. 1. —— ἐπεπαιώνιστο. The Schol. remarks on this passage, that the Greeks sang two pæans, one before the battle to Mars, the other after it, to Apollo. Some make the pæan to have been only a shout, and cite 1 Sam. 17: 12, "and shouted for the battle." But in the time of Thucydides, this

war-song was something more than a battle-shout. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 8. §§ 17, 18, where the pæan was first sung, and then, as they rushed to battle, they raised the shout ἐλελεῦ. The triumphal pæan after victory is said to have arisen from the fact, that Apollo sang it after his victory over the Pythian dragon. —— ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, *in order for the onset.* —— καὶ before οἱ Κορίνθιοι, is to be translated like the preceding καί. —— πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, *rowed stern foremost*, i. e. without turning the prow away from the enemy, they pulled backwards. ἐπί, εἰς, or πρὸς is to be supplied with πρύμναν. —— ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν, *few to aid* = too few to render efficient assistance. For the construction, cf. K. §§ 306. c.; 341. 3. a; Mt. § 448. 1. b; S. § 222. 6.

CHAPTER LI.

The Corinthians at sight of the Athenian reinforcement slowly retreat (§ 1); the Corcyræans also retire as it was growing dark (§ 2); the battle being thus terminated, the Athenian fleet holds on its course to the Corcyræan station (§§ 3, 4); at which place it comes to anchor (§ 5).

1. προϊδόντες, *seeing first*, i. e. before the Corcyræans got sight of them. ὑποτοπήσαντες....πλείους, *suspecting that they were from Athens, and were more in number than they saw.* Two clauses are here combined in one: *suspecting that not as many as they saw, but more* (i. e. more than they saw) *were from Athens.*

2. Κερκυραίοις is the dative of the agent with ἐωρῶντο. S. § 206. 4. —— ἐπέπλεον....ἀφανοῦς, *for they sailed* (so as to be) *more concealed* from the Corcyræans. The Schol. says that this fleet came up behind their backs, but as both fleets had just left their respective ports, such an approach of the Athenian ships could not well take place. Mitford says that they were doubling a headland. I like the suggestion of Bloomf., that they were sailing up in flank of the Corinthians. —— ἐθαύμαζον....κρουομένους, *they wondered at the Corinthians pulling backwards* (see N. on I. 50. § 5); not, *they wondered that the Corinthians pulled backwards.* Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 496. *Obs.* 3. —— πρίν, *until.* —— νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσι, *there are ships yonder* (ἐκεῖναι. K. § 303. 2; S. § 163. N. 2) *sailing towards us.* ὅτι which precedes is not to be translated, as the words spoken are quoted without change. Cf. S. § 218 1. —— καί, *also*, i. e. in the same manner with the Corinthians. —— ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη. The main reason why the Corcyræans retired, was not because they thought that the

approaching fleet was a hostile one, but because it was growing dark (ξυνεσκόταζε used impersonally). This is represented by γὰρ *causal.* —— τὴν διάλυσιν to the battle; not to rowing stern foremost as some suppose.

8. ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα is by prægnans constructio for, *the fight ended, having lasted till night.* See N. on I. 18. § 2.

4. τοῖς Κερκυραίοις limits στρατόπεδον as an adnominal genitive. —— στρατοπεδευομένοις, *as they were encamping,* (see N. on I. 46. § 5). The participle denotes time. See N. on I. 18. § 6. —— Ἀνδοκίδης. *Andocides* was one of the ten Attic orators, whose works were contained in the Alexandrine canon. As Schmitz remarks (Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol. I. p. 168), he has no claim to the esteem of posterity, either as a man or as a citizen. —— τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων of the Corcyræans.

5. ἔγνωσαν that they were Athenian ships. —— ὡρμίσαντο (*came to anchor*) refers to the Athenian ships.

CHAPTER LII.

On the day following, the Corcyræans and Athenians sail to the Corinthian station and in turn offer battle (§ 1); but the Corinthians are unwilling to hazard another engagement (§ 2); and are solicitous to return home, through fear of being molested by the Athenians (§ 3).

1. πλώϊμοι, *sea-worthy.* Many of the ships were disabled in the preceding engagement. —— ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις. The Schol. adds τοῖς τῆς ἠπείρου, as though there were a port of the same name in the islands. This was an unnecessary explanation, inasmuch as the following clause, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν, sufficiently defines it.

2. μὲν in τὰς μὲν ναῦς does not refer, as some suppose, to δὲ in τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε (§ 3 infra), but is pure; as though it had been written τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἦραν, ἡσύχαζον δέ, or καίπερ τὰς ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. Bloomf. renders τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, *leaving the ships from the land,* i. e. launching the ships, which were usually drawn ashore. It is a matter of doubt, however, whether the ships, at the late hour at which they came to port, were drawn up on the land, and I therefore prefer the interpretation: *putting off from land, getting the fleet under sail* (cf. I. 29. § 1), ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς referring rather to the fact, that the ships were *near* shore, than *upon* the land. —— ναυμαχίας depends on ἄρχειν. —— ἑαυτῶν, *of their own accord.* —— ὁρῶντες (denoting cause see N. on I. 9 § 4) προσγεγενημένας . . ὡς

= *ὁρῶντες ὅτι τε νῆες προσεγεγένηντο*. The participle after certain verbs is to be rendered frequently by a finite verb preceded by *ὅτι*. Cf. K. § 310. 4. a; S. § 225. 2. —— *ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*. Haack adopts *Ἀθηναίων*, which is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Cf. Mt. § 429. 2. —— *πολλά*, in consequence of the position of the article (K. § 245. 3. b), is to be taken in the predicative sense with *ἄπορα*, *difficulties in great abundance*. K. § 246. 8. c. —— *αἰχμαλώτων* limits *φυλακῆς*, and is the antecedent of *οὗς*. —— *ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὖσαν* should have been *ἐπισκευῆς οὐκ οὔσης*, to correspond to the construction of the preceding clause, but by a varied syntax *ὁρῶντες* is repeated from the foregoing context. *ἐπισκευὴν* is *reficiendarum navium copiam*, *materials for repairing their ships*.

3. *τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ* depends on *διεσκόπουν*, as the object about which their thoughts were occupied (K. § 274. 1. b). This relation is often denoted by *περὶ* with the genitive. Cf. Mt. § 589. —— *ὅπῃ* (*in what way*) *κομισθήσονται* defines more particularly *τοῦ οἴκαδε πλοῦ*. —— *δεδιότες μὴ—οὐκ ἐῶσι*, *fearing lest—might not permit*. *δεδιότες* takes the time of *διεσκόπουν*, and hence should have been followed properly by the optative. But see N. on *κωλύσωνται*, I. 26. § 2. —— *ἐς χεῖρας*, *to blows*, *to a close engagement*.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Corinthians send persons to sound the intention of the Athenians (§ 1); the deputies accuse the Athenians of injustice in withstanding the Corinthians, and demand to be themselves treated as enemies, in case they intend to hinder the Corinthians from proceeding wherever they please (§ 2); upon this the Corcyræans cry out, that the messengers shall be put to death; but the Athenians reply, that they will hinder the Corinthians from proceeding nowhere except against the Corcyræans (§§ 3, 4).

1. *κελήτιον*, *a small boat*, *a skiff*, is a diminutive of *κέλης*, literally, *courser*, *a race-horse*, and secondly, *a fast-sailing boat*, *a yacht*. —— *ἄνευ κηρυκείου*, *without the herald's wand* (i. e. the caduceus). This was done, either to show that they did not consider themselves enemies, or the better to learn the intentions of the Athenians, by thus depriving themselves of heraldic protection, and relying for safety solely upon the good disposition of those to whom they were sent.

2. *ἀδικεῖτε—πολέμου ἄρχοντες*, *you do wrong in beginning* (see N. on I. 37. § 5) *war*. —— *σπονδάς*, although referring to the thirty years' truce, is often employed without the article. Cf. I. 67. § 1; 71.

§ 5; 78. § 4. —— γὰρ (*confirmantis*) introduces a sentence, confirmatory of the charge expressed in σπονδὰς λύοντες. —— ἡμῖν limits ἐμποδών, *in our way*. —— τιμωρουμένοις denotes time, *when we take vengeance upon* (see N. on I. 13. § 6). The whole clause may be briefly and idiomatically rendered, *for you stand in the way of our taking vengeance upon*. —— ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι, *by taking up* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *arms against us*. —— εἰ—ἐστί. The protasis takes the indicative, when the condition is considered by the speaker a reality or fact (K. § 339. I. a; S. § 215. 1). The apodosis begins at καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε. —— ἡμᾶς τούσδε, *we who are here*. Cf. Kr. § 50. 11. N. 22; S. § 163. N. 2. —— λαβόντες—χρήσασθε, *take and use*. Participles are to be rendered as verbs, when they are necessarily connected with, or presupposed by the following verb. Cf. Butt. § 144. N. 7; K. § 312. R. 10; Herm. ad Vig. N. 224, and also p. 343. This seemingly pleonastic use of the participle, gives life to the description, and is in conformity with our own usage.

3. τῶν δὲ....ἐπήκουσεν, *but on the Corcyræan side, as much of the fleet as was within hearing*. I have followed the suggestion of Arnold, in making τῶν Κερκυραίων a general term for all on the Corcyræan side, both Corcyræans and Athenians. τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον (referring to the Corcyræan division), and οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι (as constituting a part of the Corcyræan fleet), would thus be opposed to each other (τὸ μὲν —οἱ δέ). This is better than Dindorf's conjecture, that Κερκυραίων should be erased, or Fritzsch's reading, τῶν δέ, Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον. —— εὐθὺς belongs to the following verb.

4. τοῖσδε. See N. on τούσδε, § 2 supra. —— ξυμμάχοις οὖσι, *who are* (see N. on I. 8. § 1) *our auxiliaries*. —— οὐ περιοψόμεθα (see N. on περιορᾶν, I. 24. § 6) = *will prevent*, the opposite signification being given by οὐ. Cf. K. § 318. R. 1. —— κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, *pro viribus, to the utmost of our power*. Cf. II. 89. § 2; V. 23. § 1.

CHAPTER LIV.

Having received this answer from the Athenians, the Corinthians prepare to return home, but first set up a trophy on the continental Sybota, as do the Corcyræans also on the insular Sybota (§ 1); the grounds are given on which the two parties claim the victory (§ 2).

1. ἐπ' οἴκου. See N. on I. 30. § 2. —— ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ as opposed to the insular (ἐν τῇ νήσῳ) Sybota. —— τὰ in τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς refers in gender to ναυάγια, to which a prominence is thus given. Cf. Jelf's

Kühn. § 891. *Obs.* —— *γενόμενος τῆς νυκτός, rising in the night.* —— *ὡς νενικηκότες, as if they had been victorious.* The participle here denotes an assumed cause. Cf. S. § 225. 4.

2. *γνώμῃ....προσεποιήσαντο, now each party claimed the victory, for the following reasons.* —— *μέχρι νυκτός, until night.* Although the Corinthians had been defeated on their right with the loss of thirty ships, yet, as their left wing and centre were so decidedly victorious as to destroy seventy ships, the battle, as a whole, terminated decidedly in their favor. —— *ὥστε....προσκομίσασθαι* defines more fully *κρατήσαντες*. As it respects the collecting together of the wrecks, Bloomf. very justly remarks, that after a sea-fight, this, like the removal of the dead for burial in a land engagement, usually decided who had been victors. —— *οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων.* It appears from I. 56. § 1, that the Corcyræan captives amounted to one thousand and fifty. —— *καταδύσαντες, because they had disabled* (see N. on I. 50. § 1). Bloomf. thinks that all which is meant is, that this number of ships were more or less shattered, since if they had been sunk, it could hardly be said, that the Corcyræans made head with the remaining ships and those which were sea-worthy. But *καταδύσαντες* must certainly mean the sinking of a ship to such a degree as to render it unfit for immediate use; and if, in addition to the loss of seventy, ten others were so crippled as to be put *hors de combat*, there would still be thirty left. To these add ten (the number of their remaining ships, cf. I. 50. § 4), and the thirty Athenian ships, and there is a sum total of seventy ships, the Athenian division of which (at least the recent reinforcement) was fresh for the encounter. On the other hand, the Corinthians had suffered a total loss of thirty ships on their right wing, which left them one hundred and twenty (cf. I. 46. § 1). Of these we may suppose some were so disabled, as not to be fit to take their station in the line of battle, so that in round numbers, their fleet may be estimated at one hundred ships. It is easy to see, that the sound condition of the Athenian vessels would make the Corcyræan fleet, even with this disparity of numbers, more than a match for the Corinthian fleet. —— *μάλιστα* belongs to *τριάκοντα* in the sense of *about, in round numbers.* Cf. Butt. § 150. p. 437. —— *ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.* The reading here has caused some difficulty, from the apparent inappositeness of making *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* the subject of *ἦλθον*. Haack rejects *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* entirely. Poppo and Bloomf. enclose these words in brackets. Goeller concurs with Steph. that *Κερκυραῖοι* should be put in the place of *Ἀθηναῖοι*. Bloomf. refers *ἦλθον* to *αὐτοῖς* for its nominative, on the ground that this pronoun, in the natural order, is nearest to the verb. I am of the opinion, however,

that Bekker, Dindorf, and Arnold are right in receiving οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι as genuine, since the idea thus advanced, corresponds well with the facts of the case. When the Corinthians first descried the Athenian ships, they pulled astern (cf. I. 51. § 5) and thus gradually retired. On the next day, the principal reason why they declined the fight, was the appearance of the Athenian ships in the Corcyræan line (cf. ὁρῶντες....ἀκραιφνεῖς, I. 52. § 2). This is referred to in ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κ. τ. λ. —— διὰ ταῦτα refers back to the causal participles, διαφθείραντες, ἀνελόμενοι, and to ὅτε—ὑπεχώρησαν—ἀντέπλεον. Cf. K. § 304. 3.

CHAPTER LV.

The Corinthians, on their return homeward, take Anactorium and leave in it Corinthian colonists. They treat the better part of the Corcyræan captives with kindness, hoping thus to bring over Corcyra to the Peloponnesian confederacy (§ 1); the assistance thus furnished to the Corcyræans by the Athenians, was the cause of their war with the Corinthians (§ 2).

1. Ἀνακτόριον. Leake (North. Greece, III. p. 493) identifies the site of this city with ruins, which he found at the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf of Prévyza. Thucydides elsewhere says that Actium is situated at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf. In all the maps before me except Kiepert's, I find Anactorium placed nearest to the mouth of the gulf. The contrary is asserted by Strabo, and Bloomf. thinks that the Sinus Ambrac. has a double entrance, on the second of which Anactorium was situated. In this conjecture he is supported by Kiepert, on whose map of "Hellas zu Anfang des peloponnesischen Krieges," Anactorium is placed in the inner entrance a short distance east of Actium. —— ἀπάτῃ, *by artifice.* It is thought that, being received as friends they seized upon the place. —— κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων, *a common possession of the Corcyræans and of theirs.* That their sympathies were with the Corinthians appears from the fact, that they contributed one ship to the Corinthian fleet (I. 46. § 1). κοινὸς is more usually followed by the dative. S. § 187. 3. —— οἰκήτορας = ἐποικήτορας, *nonnullos novos colonos.* Perhaps Thucydides wished to show by a brief expression, that the Corcyræans living there were expelled, and their place supplied by new colonists. —— οἱ ἦσαν δοῦλοι. It appears from this, that the Corcyræan fleet was manned in no small degree by slaves. This practice of employing slaves in their navies, was common to all the Grecian

states. —— ἀπέδοντο (2 aor. mid. of ἀποδίδωμι), *they sold.* —— ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον = ἐθεράπευον. Krüg. —— ὅπως—προσποιήσειαν. Rost (§ 122. 9. N. 4) cites this passage in illustration of his remark, that the optative stands after intentional particles (such as ἵνα, ὅπως, ὄφρα, ὡς, etc.), when the writer expresses his own view of the intention of the agent, otherwise the use of the subjunctive is frequent and common. Cf. K. § 330. R. 2. b. —— αὐτοῖς refers to the Corinthians, and is the *dat. commodi* after προσποιήσειαν. The intrigues, tumults, and dreadful excesses, which followed on the return of these captives to Corcyra, are narrated in III. 70, et seq. —— ἐτύγχανον....πόλεως, *for it chanced, that the most of them were the first of the city in power;* or, *for the greater part* (οἱ πλείους), *happened to be among the most powerful of the city.* For the construction, cf. S. § 225. 8; 201. 4.

2. περιγίγνεται (see N. on II. 65. § 13) τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, *got the upper hand of the Corinthians in the war* (K. § 275. 1). The Corinthians had been foiled in the main object of their expedition (viz. the reduction of Corcyra), and therefore I have adopted the interpretation, which makes τῶν Κορινθίων depend on περιγίγνεται, in preference to that of Matthiæ (§ 402. *d*), who makes the verb to be followed by τῷ πολέμῳ, *emersit a bello* (Arnold: *outlived the war*). So Poppo and Goeller: "*Corinthios bello superat*, non *e bello Corinthiorum emergit.*" —— ἐξ αὐτῆς, i. e. Corcyra. —— τοῦ πολέμου depends on αἰτία. —— ἐν σπονδαῖς, *tempore fœderis, in time of peace.* —— μετά, *with, on the side of.*

CHAPTER LVI.

The historian now proceeds, in chaps. 56–66 (compare the general summary of chaps. 24–66), to narrate the second avowed cause of the war, viz. the affair of Potidæa (§ 1); the Athenians, fearing lest the Corinthians might revenge themselves by inducing the Potidæans to revolt, order that city to pull down the wall facing Pallene, to give hostages, and no longer to receive magistrates from the Corinthians (§ 2).

1. ταῦτα, i. e. the events of the Corcyræan war, which have just been related. —— καί, *also*, in addition to the Corcyræan affair. —— ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν, *tending to war.*

2. πρασσόντων ὅπως (= ὅτῳ τρόπῳ) τιμωρήσονται αὐτούς, *contriving how they might take vengeance upon them* (i. e. the Athenians). The future indicative here takes the place of the subjunctive after ὅπως, to express more definitely the realization of the proposed end. Cf. S.

§ 214. 1. b; K. § 330. 6. —— *ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ*. This isthmus was the entrance into the peninsula of Pallene (the ancient Phlegra), and is now called the Gate of Kassándhra (*ἡ Πόρτα τῆς Κασσάνδρας*). Cf. Leake's North. Greece, III. p. 152. —— *ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, allies paying tribute, tributary allies.* Some of the allies paid an equivalent in money, for the troops or ships which they were to furnish. —— *ἐς Παλλήνην*. The wall facing Pallene was ordered to be demolished, in order that they might not be able to defend themselves from the Athenians attacking them by sea. The other wall (*τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος*) was erected as a defence against the Barbarians, and therefore was suffered to remain undisturbed. —— *τούς τε ἐπιδημιουργούς*. Müller (Dorians, II. p. 144. N. h) says that these were *upper demiurgi*, as the *ἐπιστρατηγοὶ* in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies, were upper or superior *στρατηγοί*. Goeller (to whose opinion Bloomf. inclines) thinks that *ἐπι-* here means an additional or extra magistrate, sent out by the mother country, to act as a colleague to the demiurgi appointed by the colonists themselves. The Schol. says that Asclepiades (an ancient grammarian) thought *ἐπι-* to be superfluous. There is, however, no doubt as to the genuineness of the word as here compounded. These magistrates received this name, because their chief duty was to transact business for the people (= Athenian *demarchi* or the Latin *tribuni*). —— *Περδίκκου, Perdiccas II.*, the son and successor of Alexander I., and the eighth from the founder Perdiccas I. (cf. II. 100. § 2). In the Peloponnesian war, he acted a very dishonorable part, sometimes siding with the Athenians, and sometimes with the Lacedæmonians. For the line of the Macedonian kings, cf. Herodot. VIII. 139. —— *τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης*, "*the people Thrace-ward*, or lying in the direction of Thrace, a general term applied to the Greek states which lined the northern coast of the Ægean from Thessaly to the Hellespont." Arnold. For the genitive after *ἐπί*, cf. N. on I. 30. § 2. —— *ξυναποστήσωσι, cause to revolt*, or *draw into a revolt with them.* —— *ξυμμάχους* of the Athenians.

CHAPTER LVII.

The Athenians take these precautionary measures immediately after the Corcyræan war, for in addition to the hostility of the Corinthians, Perdiccas had now become their enemy, because they had formed an alliance with his brother Philip (§§ 1–3); and he was managing to set the Peloponnesians at variance with them (§ 4), and taking measures to organize against Athens a confederacy of the states adjacent to him (§ 5); and therefore it was that the Athenians demanded hostages from the Potidæans, and commanded the wall next to the sea to be demolished (§ 6).

1. *πρὸς τοὺς Ποτιδαιάτας, against the Potidæans.* Poppo, Haack, and Goeller read *περὶ τοὺς Ποτιδαιάτας, concerning the Potidæans*, as being more consistent with the fact, that the measures spoken of were not intended to be adverse to the Potidæans, but to the Corinthians. The expedition, however, was to all intents against the Potidæans, and if not, *πρὸς* could be translated, *in respect to, concerning.* Cf. K. § 298. III. 3. e.

2. *ἐπεπολέμωτο, had become inimical.* —— *πρότερον—ὤν, who had before been.* For the participial construction, see N. on I. 8. § 1.

3. *δὲ* here serves to introduce a cause, and is nearly equivalent to *γάρ.* —— *Φιλίππῳ....Δέρδᾳ.* Perdiccas was to have divided his kingdom with his brother Philip, and also with Derdas his cousin, but instead of doing this, he attempted to deprive them of their provinces. The Athenians seem to have taken part with these princes. —— *κοινῇ....ἐναντιουμένοις, "engaged in common hostilities against him."* Bloomfield.

4. *ἔπρασσεν (= exerted himself, plotted).* See IV. 89. § 2. —— *ὅπως—γένηται.* See N. on I. 55. § 1. —— *πέμπων, by sending.* Cf. N. on I. 9. § 1. —— *αὐτοῖς* refers to the Athenians. As this pronoun would be referred more naturally to the Lacedæmonians elicited from *Λακεδαίμονα*, some are very much disposed to substitute *Ἀθηναίους* for *Πελοποννησίους.* —— *προσεποιεῖτο, endeavored to win over to himself* (see N. on I. 38. § 6). The imperfect is here used *de conatu*, i. e. to denote an endeavor or purpose. Cf. Butt. § 137. N. 10; S. § 211. N. 12. Notice the transition from the construction of the participle (*πέμπων*) to that of the finite verb. A similar change of construction is found in IV. 4. § 2; VIII. 45. § 4. —— *ἕνεκα* denotes the end or purpose, *on account of = in order to bring about.*

5. *προσέφερε—λόγους, he was treating with, making proposals.* —— *Χαλκιδεῦσι.* The Chalcidians are said by Leake (North. Greece, III. p. 454) to have occupied, in the meridian period of Greek history,

the whole of the great peninsula lying southward of the ridge of Mount Khortiátzi, although the original Chalcidice was far more restricted in its limits. The Bottiæans, after Olynthus passed into the hands of the Chalcidians (through the instrumentality of Artabazus, who subjected it after Xerxes' retreat from Greece), became the humble allies of that people, and are found joined with them on this occasion, and the one spoken of, II. 79. § 1. —— *ὅμορα* to Macedon. —— *τὸν πόλεμον* against his brother Philip and the Athenians.

6. *βουλόμενοι....ἀποστάσεις*, i. e. wishing, by measures taken beforehand, to prevent the revolt of these cities. —— *ἔτυχον....στρατηγοῦντος* is a parenthesis, and is so marked in all the editions before me, except those of Dindorf, Krüg., and Goel. *ἔτυχον—ἀποστέλλοντες*, *they happened to be fitting out.* —— *αὐτοῦ*, i. e. Perdiccas. Cf. I. 59. § 2. —— *μετ' ἄλλων δέκα*. Eleven generals being so unusual and large a number to be sent with only 1000 men, the conjecture of Krüg. in Seebod. Bibl. Crit. a. 1828. p. 8 (cited by Poppo and Goeller), is worthy of consideration, viz. that we should read *μετ' ἄλλων δ'*, *with four others.* It is said by those who adhere to the reading *μετ' ἄλλων δέκα*, that Pericles departed to the Samian war with nine colleagues (I. 116. § 1), but as Poppo remarks, it does not say in that place, that Pericles departed to the war with nine colleagues, but that he the tenth general (i. e. one of the ten generals) commanded the armament. The idea of Schoemann (Antiq. p. 252) that extraordinary officers were created for this occasion is highly improbable. —— *ἐπιστέλλουσι*. The Schol. explains this by *ἐντέλλονται*, for the fleet had not yet set sail, as in that case it would have been *ἀποστείλαντες* instead of *ἀποστέλλοντες*. —— *πλησίον* to Potidæa. —— *φυλακὴν ἔχειν*, as we say, *to keep an eye upon, to be on the watch.*

CHAPTER LVIII.

The Potidæans send an embassy to induce the Athenians to change their policy, but meet with no success, whereupon being encouraged to hope for assistance from the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with the Chalcidians and the Bottiæans, they seize this opportunity to revolt (§ 1); at the advice of Perdiccas, the Chalcidians destroy their maritime cities and remove to Olynthus, a part of Mygdonia being assigned to them also for their habitation (§ 2).

1. *εἴ πως*. Supply *σκοπεῖν* or *πειρᾶσθαι*, (to see) *whether they could persuade.* Cf. K. § 844. R. 9; Mt. § 526; Rost, § 121. N. 8. —— *νεωτερίζειν μηδέν*, *to attempt no political change*, i. e. to make no

change in the polity of Potidæa. Cf. I. 115. § 2. —— ὅπως....δέῃ must depend on ἐλθόντες ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, just as εἴ πως....μηδὲν depends on πέμψαντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις. The verb ἔπρασσον, therefore, is with good reason bracketed in the best editions. —— ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες, *after negotiating a long time.* The participle here denotes time. See N. on I. 18. § 6. —— ηὕροντο. All the editions before me, except Bekker's and Dindorf's, have εὕροντο. —— αἱ νῆες : ἢ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν—ἔπλεον = αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν πλέουσαι ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἔπλεον. —— ὁμοίως, i. e. just as though the Potidæans had sent no embassy to Athens. —— τὰ τέλη, *the chief magistracy*, or as we say, *the government.* "τὰ τέλη sunt Ephori." Goeller. —— ὑπέσχετο is found in the plural in some MSS. Kühner (Jelf's edit. § 385. a) says that τὰ τέλη with a singular verb signifies *the magistrates*, with a plural verb *the cabinet.* The use of the plural or singular depends on the manner in which it lies in the speaker's mind (*animo loquentis*). So Mt. (§ 300) remarks that the verb is put in the plural, when the neuter plural signifies living persons. —— τότε....τοῦτον, *then indeed at that very time.* In order to avoid a redundancy, Bauer renders τότε δή, *his de causis.* But τότε is used of time (cf. II. 84. § 2), and the addition of κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον is by no means pleonastic, but gives emphasis = *without any delay, immediately.*

5. τὰς....ἐκλιπόντας. The Athenian supremacy at sea, enabled them to ravage the sea-coast of those countries with which they were at war. —— ἀνοικίσασθαι is here used of a removal from the sea-coast up into the interior. See I. 7. § 1; VIII. 31. § 2. —— Ὄλυνθον. This city gradually rose in importance, until it subsequently became one of the greatest cities in Greece, and carried on a successful war with Macedonia. It was, however, taken by Philip II., who gave it up to plunder, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, and razed its walls to the ground. Cf. Cramer's Greece, I. p. 252; Leake's North. Greece, III. p. 459. —— ταύτην is the object, and μίαν τε πόλιν ἰσχυρὰν the predicate of ποιήσασθαι. S. § 185. N. 1. —— τῆς γῆς depends upon περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην. Krüg. —— Cousin says that περὶ in περὶ....λίμνην does not here signify *circum*, but *prope.* Cf. K. § 295. III. 1. a. The waters of lake Bolbe, which lay E. of Thessalonica and N. of Apollonia, communicated with the Strymonicus Sinus. —— νέμεσθαι here denotes a temporary possession. —— ἕως, *as long as.* —— ἄν, which usually accompanies the subjunctive mood after ἕως (cf. S. § 217. 2), increases the notion of duration by making it more indefinite (= *however long it may be*).

CHAPTER LIX.

The Athenian fleet finding that the Potidæans have revolted (§ 1), turn their course to Macedonia to assist Philip and the brothers of Perdiccas (§ 2).

1. *ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης* (sc. *χώρια*). See N. on I. 30. § 2. The parts of Thrace here spoken of, embraced the three peninsulas, Pallene, Chalcidice, and Acte, and extended north as far as Amphipolis. In this region the Greeks had planted colonies and founded flourishing cities. —— *καταλαμβάνουσι....ἀφεστηκότα* (= *ὅτι ἀφεστήκασι*. See N. on I. 52. § 2), *find that Potidæa and the other places have already revolted.*

2. *ἀδύνατα....χωρία.* The order is: *εἶναι ἀδύνατα πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει τε πρὸς Περδίκκαν καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία.* —— *ἐφ' ὅπερ* refers to *τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν*, and therefore is = *ἐπὶ τὸ τρέπεσθαι*, or *ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖν*. In respect to the primary design of the Athenian fleet, cf. I. 57. § 6. —— *καταστάντες, stationing themselves, taking their position* in the place referred to, i. e. in upper Macedonia. This will show why *ἄνωθεν* is employed in the next member.

CHAPTER LX.

The Corinthians, apprehensive for the safety of Potidæa, send thither a body of 2000 volunteers and mercenaries (§ 1); these troops commanded by Aristeus, a warm friend of the Potidæans, reach the city forty days after its revolt (§§ 2, 3).

1. *ἐν τούτῳ* (sc. *χρόνῳ*), *in the meanwhile.* —— *τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας, when Potidæa had revolted* from the Athenians. S. § 226. —— *περὶ* before *τῷ χωρίῳ* has a causal signification, *on account of* = *for the safety of.* See N. on *ἕνεκα*, I. 57. § 4. —— *οἰκεῖον τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι, regarding the danger as their own.* —— *ἑαυτῶν* has here its exclusive signification, i. e. it denotes that the volunteers were confined wholly to their own city, while those of the Peloponnesians, who assisted them, were received on pay. —— *μισθῷ πείσαντες.* Wachsmuth (Antiq. Gr. I. 2. p. 310) thinks that these were not mercenary soldiers, but such as being sent from the confederated states, received stipends from the Corinthians, in reference to which opinion

Poppo says: "cui opinioni verbum *πείσαντες* aliquantum obstare videatur." —— *τοὺς πάντας*, *in all*, i. e. the Corinthians and Peloponnesians. Cf. Kr. § 50. 11. N. 13.

2. *κατὰ φιλίαν*, *on account of friendship.* —— *αὐτοῦ* is here employed objectively, *for him*, *towards him.* —— *οὐχ ἥκιστα* by lit tes for *mostly*, *chiefly.* —— *γὰρ* in *ἦν γὰρ* introduces the reason why so many volunteered under Aristeus, viz. because he was friendly (*ἐπιτήδειος*) to the Potidæans, which would be a sufficient reason why his admirers should feel a similar regard for them, and march for their defence.

3. *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, *to Thrace.* The genitive is frequently found in answer to the question 'whither' (cf. Mt. § 584. *β*; Butt. § 147. p. 412), although direction *towards* is most commonly denoted. See N. on I. 30. § 2. —— *ἤ*. In consequence of the harsh ellipsis of *ἀπὸ ἐκείνης* (sc. *ἡμέρας*) as the antecedent of *ἤ*, Poppo, Goeller, Arnold, and Bloomfield read *ὕστερον—ἤ*, *after that.* Bekker is said by Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 126) now to have adopted *ἤ*. His edition before me has *ἤ*. The Schol. defines *ἤ* by *ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ*, or *ἀφ' οὗ*.

CHAPTER LXI.

The Athenians hearing of the defection of Potidæa, and the assistance sent thither by the Corinthians, despatch Callias with 2000 hoplites and forty ships against the revolted provinces (§ 1); a junction is formed in Upper Macedonia between these forces and those previously sent out, who having taken Therme, were then besieging Pydna (§ 2); having made a composition with Perdiccas they depart from Macedonia (§ 3); on their march, they make an unsuccessful attack upon Berœa, after which they proceed on their way to Potidæa (§ 4), and on the third day they reach Gigonus (§ 5).

1. *ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι*, *the report of the defection of the cities*; literally, *the report concerning the cities, that they had revolted.* The subject of the subordinate clause is here attracted to the principal clause, and made to depend upon its substantive. This usually takes place, when the subordinate clause depends on the substantive of the principal clause. Cf. K. § 847. 3; Mt. § 296. 3. See N. on I. 72. § 1. —— *ἤσθοντο—ἐπιπαρόντας*. Cf. N. on I. 26. § 3 (init.). —— *πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν*. See N. on I. 46. § 2.

2. *τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους*. Cf. I. 57. § 6. *Θέρμην ἄρτι ἠρηκότας*, *had already captured Therme.* The construction will be understood by a reference to N. on *ὁρῶντες προσγεγενημένας*, I. 52. § 2. Therme

was subsequently called *Thessalonica*, in honor of Thessalonica the wife of Cassandra, and daughter of Philip. It was to the church here, that Paul wrote his two epistles to the Thessalonians. Its modern name is Saloniki. —— Πύδναν, *Pydna.* This place was situated on the western shore of the Thermaicus Sinus, S. W. of Therme, and was famous for the battle gained in its vicinity, by Paulus Æmilius over the Macedonian army under Perseus, which terminated the empire.

8. προσκαθεζόμενοι. Cf. N. on I. 26. § 5. —— καὶ αὐτοί, *they also* i. e. the reinforcement. —— ξύμβασιν, *an agreement, treaty.* ἀναγκαῖον. The position of their affairs was such, as to make a suspension of hostilities with Perdiccas highly necessary. —— κατήπειγεν, *urged on, compelled to hasten.* —— Ποτίδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθὼς (= *the coming of Aristeus*) is a form of expression, somewhat similar to Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία (I. 16. § 1). —— ἀπανίστανται, *departed from, evacuated.* Cf. I. 139. § 1.

4. ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κ. τ. λ. This passage has perplexed commentators not a little, and as is usual in such cases has received a great diversity of interpretations. Bauer would distinguish between Berœa and the district of the same name, and thinks that in passing through the district (ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν), they turned suddenly upon the city (τοῦ χωρίου) in order to take it by surprise. But it is very unnatural to make Berœa stand for the district, and χωρίον for the city. Reiske, Haack, and others would connect κἀκεῖθεν with ἐπορεύοντο, thus making ἐπιστρέψαντες....ἐλόντες parenthetic. In that case, however, the καὶ in κἀκεῖθεν would have to be cancelled, and the signification, which Reiske gives to ἐπιστρέψαντες, *turning their attention to*, is also very doubtful, since it hardly admits of a question that τὸν νοῦν would have been added, had this been the idea intended to be conveyed. Bloomf. in his recent edition, has rejected the view, which he formerly entertained of the passage, viz. that the army on their way from Berœa and at a short distance from it, either from a sudden thought, or a premeditated design and deep-laid plan, turned back upon the city, in order to carry it by a *coup de main.* This interpretation he has well abandoned, though for a different reason (the absence of πορευθέντες καὶ between κἀκεῖθεν and ἐπιστρέψαντες) than I would assign. For it is very singular that the Athenian army in their way to Potidæa by land, the natural route lying along the coast, should have turned off and made such a circuit to the west, as they must have done to pass through Berœa. I am inclined, therefore, to the interpretation of Poppo, Goeller, Arnold, and now Bloomf., which makes κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες, the turning off of the Athenians from

Berœa on their return to the sea-coast, which they had left for the purpose of attacking it. The passage might then be rendered: *having proceeded to Berœa, and having thence returned* (again to the sea), *for they had first attempted to take the place but were not able, they proceeded by land to Potidæa.* This interpretation makes καὶ πειράσαντες....ἐλόντες a parenthesis, interposed to inform us for what purpose the Athenian army had deviated so far from the direct route along the sea-shore. It is not to be supposed that the army struck the coast at the same point, where they left it to turn off to Berœa, but much higher up, and hence ἐπιστρέψαντες does not mean, *turning directly back*, but *turning off* towards the sea. —— πειράσαντες = ἀπόπειραν ποιησάμενοι. —— Παυσανίου. He was either the son or the brother of Derdas. —— παρέπλεον, *sailed along* the coast. —— κατ' ὀλίγον, *leisurely, by slow marches.* —— τριταῖοι. The first day's march probably brought them to Pella, the second to Therme, and the third to Gigonus, which was about an ordinary day's march, N. W. of Potidæa.

CHAPTER LXII.

The Potidæans and their allies encamp on the isthmus (§ 1); Aristeus is chosen general of the infantry, and Perdiccas of the horse (§ 2); the plan of the former, to place at Olynthus the Chalcidians and the allies from beyond the isthmus, and his own army on the isthmus to watch the motions of the enemy (§ 3), is disarranged by the forecast of Callias, who detaches the Macedonian horse and a party of the allies, to prevent any sally from Olynthus, and then marches towards Potidæa (§ 4); on arriving at the isthmus and finding the Potidæan and Corinthian forces arranging themselves for battle, the Athenians form in opposite array and the battle commences (§ 5); the wing commanded by Aristeus in person is victorious, but the other wing is compelled to retire before the Athenians into the city (§ 6).

1. πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ, *near to Olynthus.* This, however, appears to be so different from the position of the Corinthians, as given in §§ 3-5 infra (viz. under the walls of Potidæa on the side that looked towards Olynthus), that I am disposed to adopt πρὸς Ὀλύνθου (*on the side towards Olynthus*), the reading of Poppo, Goeller, Krüg., Arnold, and Bloomf. I am confirmed in this the more by the epexegetical ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, which strictly speaking could not have been added, if the army of Aristeus had been drawn up near to Olynthus. —— ἀγορὰν ἐπεποίηντο. This prevented the soldiers from straggling into the city, under the pretence of getting provisions. τῆς πόλεως, i. e. Potidæa, not Olynthus.

2. *ἀπέστη*, *had revolted*, is the aor. for the pluperf. Cf. Mt. § 497. *Obs.*; K. § 256. 8; S. § 211. N. 14. —— *ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς κ. τ. λ.* This sudden desertion of the Athenians and alliance with their enemies, may be referred to the fickleness of Perdiccas, or perhaps to the unjustifiable attack on Berœa. —— *ἀνθ' αὑτοῦ*, *in his stead*. Perdiccas was not himself present in the fight.

3. *ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστέως = τὸ Ἀριστεῖ ἔδοξε*, and hence *ἔχοντι* follows by the *constructio ad sensum*. Cf. K. § 318. 1. a; S. § 237. 2. —— *ἐπιτηρεῖν* (cf. III. 37. § 2; IV. 42. § 3)....*ἐπίωσι*, *to observe the Athenians if they should advance*. For the use of the subjunctive, see N. on I. 26. § 2. —— *ἔξω Ἰσθμοῦ*. The article is rarely omitted before this word, except when it refers to the isthmus of Corinth. —— The article *τὴν* belongs to *ἵππον* and not to *διακοσίαν*, since no mention has been made previously of any number. —— *ἵππον*, *cavalry*. In the same sense we employ the term *horse*. —— *ἐπὶ σφᾶς = ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν*. Schol. —— *κατὰ νώτου*, *in the rear*. —— *βοηθοῦντας* Aristeus and his troops. —— *ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν*, *to place between*. This manœuvre, had it been successful, would have compelled the Athenians to have fought with the Corinthians and Potidæans in front, while their rear was at the same time attacked by the Chalcidians, who were to sally forth from Olynthus. —— *τοὺς πολεμίους* refers to the Athenians.

4. *δ' αὖ*, *but on the other hand*. —— *Μακεδόνας* has the force of an adjective. —— *εἴργωσι—ἐπιβοηθεῖν*. The negation after verbs of hindering, denying, refusing, etc. is more usually strengthened by *μή* with the infinitive (see N. on I. 80. § 1). —— *τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν = τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐκεῖθεν*. Cf. Butt. § 151. 8. p. 446; Mtt. § 596. c (end); K. § 300. R. 8. See also VIII. 107. § 2. The clause may be translated, *that they might hinder those, who were there, from sallying forth to bring assistance*. —— *αὐτοὶ δ'*, i. e. Callias and his colleagues. —— *ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον*, *having caused the army to decamp = having broken up the encampment*. —— *ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν*. This shows that the Corinthian army had stationed themselves close to the walls of Potidæa. See N. on § 1 supra.

5. *πρὸς—ἐγένοντο*, *came to*. See N. on *διεκρίθησαν πρός*, I. 18. § 2. —— *ὡς ἐς μάχην*, *in order for battle*. *ὡς* here denotes purpose. —— *καὶ αὐτοί*, *they themselves also*. —— *οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον*, *not long after = very soon*. This battle was fought A. C. 432. Olymp. 87. 1, the same year ("ineunto quinto mense Attico." Poppo) in which the sea-fight at Corcyra took place.

6. *αὐτὸ* gives emphasis to *κέρας* (see N. on I. 38. § 2) = *the wing where lay the chief strength*, or, *the strength of the army* (viz.) *the*

wing commanded by Aristeus. Opposed to this is τὸ δ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον infra. —— καὶ ὅσοι....λογάδες, *both he and as many Corinthians as were with him, and of the rest, the picked men.* This sentence is epexegetical of κέρας. —— ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολύ, *advanced in pursuit a long distance.* The participle here contains the leading idea, *advanced pursuing = pursued.* Cf. K. § 310. 4. 1; S. § 225. 8 —— τεῖχος of Potidæa.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Aristeus having returned from the pursuit, forces his way with much difficulty into Potidæa (§ 1); at the commencement of the fight, the Potidæan auxiliaries in Olynthus issue forth to aid their friends, but perceiving them to be defeated retire within the walls (§ 2); the Athenians erect a trophy (§ 3).

1. ὡς ὁρᾷ, *when he sees.* Historical present. S. § 211. N. 4. —— ἠπόρησε....χωρήσας, *he was in doubt in which direction* (i. e. whether towards Potidæa or Olynthus) *he should run the hazard of proceeding.* Between him and Olynthus were the Macedonian cavalry and a detachment of the Athenian allies (I. 62. § 4), and investing Potidæa were the 3000 Athenian hoplites and the main body of their allies. Both directions were therefore full of danger. —— ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου. See N. on I. 30. § 2. —— δ' οὖν, *but however.* οὖν serves here as a particle of reference = *but as to that matter* (i. e. the danger of retreating in either direction). —— ξυναγαγόντι....χωρίον, *when* (see N. on I. 18. § 6) *he had contracted his forces into as small a compass as possible* (ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον for ἐς ὡς ἐλάχιστον), in order to cut their way in a dense body through the enemy. Some join ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον to δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι and render it *tamquam proximum locum et minimi intervalli.* But the notion of space or distance can hardly exist in χωρίον. For ὡς with the superlative, cf. K. § 239. R. 2; S. § 159. 5. —— δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι, *running to force their way* (= to make a rush). S. § 206. 1. —— παρὰ τὴν χηλήν, *along the breakwater;* literally, *the claw,* a name given from the form in which it stretched out. The Corinthians could not enter the gate on the side towards Olynthus, for then the Athenians would have rushed into the town with them; they, therefore, clambered along the projecting stone-work, which served to protect the walls next to the sea from the force of the waves, and thus entered by one of the gates on

the side towards Pellene. In doing this they were exposed to the enemy's missiles (cast probably from the blockading ships, cf. I. 61. § 5), and thus sustained some loss. See Arnold's note on this passage, and cf. Xen. Anab. VII. 1. § 17. Poppo suggests an entrance to the town on the side towards the water. —— *διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης*, i. e. through the water between the pier and the walls, which was doubtless quite shallow. It is strange that any one should connect these words with *βαλλόμενος* (*being shot at*), as though the missiles were thrown over the interval of water. Yet such is the exposition of Bened. cited by Haack. —— *ὀλίγους μέν τινας*, *some few*. *τινὰς* adds to the indefiniteness of the number. S. § 165. N. 2.

2. *οἱ δ'—βοηθοί*, i. e. the Macedonian horse and the Chalcidians, etc. Cf. I. 62. § 3. —— *ἀπέχει* refers to Olynthus. —— *δὲ* is causal (= *γάρ*). —— *καταφανές*, *in sight*, *visible*. "*ὑψηλὸν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὁ Ὄλυνθος.*" Schol. —— *σημεῖα ἤρθη*, *the standard was raised* as a signal to commence battle. The proper position of these words is, therefore, before *ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο*. —— *βραχὺ μέν τι*, *some little distance*. See N. on § 1 (end). —— *ἱππῆς* of Philip and Pausanias. Cf. I. 61. § 4. —— *Μακεδόνες*. See N. on I. 62. § 4. —— *διὰ τάχους* = *ταχέως*. Mt. § 309. *c*. An adverb in the predicate is frequently to be rendered as an adjective. Here it may be translated *speedy*, as though in agreement with *ἡ νίκη*. —— *ἐς τὸ τεῖχος* of Olynthus. —— *οὐδετέροις* (dative for the adnominal genitive), i. e. of neither party. —— *παρεγένοντο* in the battle.

3. *ὑποσπόνδους* (= *ὑπὸ σπονδαῖς*), *under a truce*. It was an acknowledgment of defeat, to demand a truce for burying the dead. For the idiom by which an adjective denotes the way or manner, cf. K. § 264. 3. c; S. § 158. 3. —— *ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων*, *a little less than three hundred*. The comparative is frequently attended by words denoting quantity, to show how much more or less of the quality expressed by the adjective is intended. Cf. K. § 239. R. 1. —— *Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν*. In the plain of the Academy near Athens, was found the inscription in honor of the Athenians who fell in this battle. It was brought to England by Lord Elgin, and is now in the British Museum. The first four lines have been lost, with the exception of a word or two at the beginning of each line, and the endings of the remaining eight are broken off, but have been restored conjecturally by Thiersch and Böckh. This epitaph may be found in the appendix of Sophocles's Greek Verbs, p. 289. In this battle and in the subsequent siege of Potidæa, Socrates greatly distinguished himself.

CHAPTER LXIV.

The Athenians invest Potidæa, and circumvallate the side facing the isthmus (§ 1); the Athenians at home, on the receipt of this intelligence, send out fresh troops, who complete the investment on the side towards Pallene, and thus surround the place on every side (§§ 2, 3).

1. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος, *the wall on the side of the isthmus.* ἐκ implies that the stand-point of observation was from the side towards Olynthus. So below, we have τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην (sc. τεῖχος), and in § 2 (end), τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος, the former of which refers to a point of observation within the city with the eye towards Pallene, the latter, to a position in which the eye was directed towards the city from Pallene, or from the side towards Pallene. Arnold says that "ἐκ corresponds with our *of*, and denotes *of* or *belonging to*," of which Poppo says "male interpretatur Arn. exempla diversissima miscens." —— ἀποτειχίσαντες, *walling off*, i. e. drawing a line of circumvallation. Cf. § 2. infra; III. 51. § 8; 94. § 2, et sæpe al. —— ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην, i. e. either a city by this name, or the peninsula itself. Probably the latter is meant, as Thucydides makes no mention of such a city. —— ἀτείχιστον = οὐκ ἀποτείχιστον. So in § 2, τειχίζειν = ἀποτειχίζειν. —— γιγνομένοις δίχα, *being divided.* Potidæa occupied this whole isthmus from sea to sea, so that between those investing it on the two sides, there could be no communication, except through the town or by water. Cf. Herodot. VIII. 129 (cited by Arnold), where it is said that "the Persians, when besieging the place on the side towards Olynthus, endeavored to get across into the peninsula of Pallene, by passing over the usual bed of the sea, which an extraordinary efflux of the water had left for some time dry."

2. πυνθανόμενοι—οὖσαν. Constructed with the participle, πυνθάνεσθαι implies an immediate perception, or if indirect, sure and well grounded; constructed with the infinitive, it implies a perception not immediate but derived by hearsay. Cf. K. § 311. 6; Rost, § 129. 4. c. —— ἐν τῇ πόλει, i. e. Athens. —— χρόνῳ ὕστερον, *in time afterwards* = *afterwards.* —— ἑαυτῶν has here its exclusive force, *of their own.* S. § 161. 1 (end). —— Φορμίωνα. This general, whose name is first mentioned here, was one of the most skilful and successful of the Athenian commanders, and shone no less by his eminent private virtues. Pausanias says that he saw the statue of this general, among others, in a sanctuary of Diana Brauronia (so called from the town of

Brauron). Cf. Leake's Athens, I. p. 146. —— ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος, i. e. he made Aphytis, a small town below Potidæa where he landed, the point from which he sallied forth to the seat of the war. —— κατὰ βραχύ, *by little and little, leisurely.* —— κείρων, *ravaging.* This word is usually applied to the cutting down of trees, and hence in general to the laying waste of a country.

3. οὕτως, i. e. in the manner just mentioned. —— κατὰ κράτος, *with all their force*, or perhaps here, *closely, acerrime* as Steph. interprets. —— ναυσὶν is the dative of the agent or instrument. S. § 206. 1. —— ἐφορμούσαις, *blockading.* ἐφορμεῖν, "*stationem adversam tenere.*" Betant.

CHAPTER LXV.

Aristeus advises that all but 500 men should sail away, in order that the provisions in the city may hold out the longer, but this advice being rejected, he himself, the better to subserve the Potidæan cause, eludes the vigilance of the besiegers and escapes by sea (§ 1); he performs several exploits, and with the Chalcidians lays a successful ambush at Sermyla, at the same time sending to Peloponnesus for aid (§ 2); meanwhile Phormio, having completed the investment of Potidæa, ravages the country of the Chalcidians and the Bottiæans (§ 3).

1. καὶ here connects a genitive absolute with the nominative. —— σωτηρίας of the Potidæans. —— ἄλλο (= ἄλλοθεν) gives this sense to the passage in which it stands: *unless some aid should arrive from Peloponnesus, or something unexpected* (παράλογον, *beyond calculation*) *from some other quarter.* Poppo, Goel., and Bloomf. edit παρὰ λόγον as a more primitive form. —— ἄνεμον τηρήσασι, *having watched for a favorable wind.* The participle takes the case of τοῖς ἄλλοις, which would have been properly in the accusative, but is put in the dative by apposition with αὐτοῖς, the omitted object of ξυνεβούλευε. —— ὅπως has here its telic (τελικῶς) signification, i. e. it denotes the final end or purpose; when the result or upshot is denoted, the sense is said to be *ecbatic* (ἐκβατικῶς). —— ἐπὶ πλέον (*the longer*) ὁ σῖτος ἀντισχῇ. See N. on ὅπως—προσποιήσειαν, I. 55. § 1. —— τῶν μενόντων εἶναι, *to be of the number of those remaining*, i. e. one of those who remained to defend the city. The genitive is employed, because the sense of εἶναι is limited to a part. K. § 278. 3. a; S. § 191. —— βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν, *wishing to effect that which seemed to be next in importance.* ἐπὶ τούτοις denotes a succession of things in time and space (K. § 296. II. 1. b). Hence it is used tropically of what is *next to*

be done, next in importance. —— ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἕξει ὡς ἄριστα, *in order that the affairs outside* (Potidæa) *may be in as good a condition as possible.* This sentence expresses the design of ἔκπλουν....Ἀθηναίων. For the future indicative, see N. on I. 56. § 2. —— λαθὼν τὴν φυλακήν, *unknown to the guard.*

2. τά τε ἄλλα ἐπολέμει, *he performed other* (i. e. other than the one here mentioned) *warlike exploits.* The construction is like that of πόλεμον πολεμεῖν. S. § 181. 2. —— Σερμυλίων limits τῇ πόλει, and πολλοὺς refers to its citizens, since it cannot well be referred to the Athenians, who have not been mentioned in the connection. Krüg. constructs Σερμυλίων with πολλούς. The sense remains unchanged by this construction. —— ἐς τε....ἔπρασσεν. "A condensed expression for ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον πέμψας ἔπρασσεν." Arnold. The construction is explained in Ns. on I. 18. § 2; 51. § 3.

3. μετὰ....ἀποτείχισιν, i. e. after the investment of the city had been completed. —— καὶ....εἶλε, *and some towns he also took.* On the phrase ἔστιν ἃ (*some*), cf. K. § 331. R. 4; Mt. 482; S. § 172. N. 2; C. § 523.

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Corinthians and Athenians mutually accuse each other in respect to the affair of Potidæa, the dispute not having yet led to open war (§ 1).

1. Ἀθηναίοις and Πελοποννησίοις limit προσγεγένηντο. —— αἰτίαι (see N. on I. 69. § 7) μὲν αὗται. The article is omitted, when the pronoun stands as the subject, and the substantive as the predicate of the sentence. Cf. K. § 246. R. 1. a. —— τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις. Repeat mentally προσγεγένηντο αἰτίαι ἐς Ἀθηναίους. —— ἑαυτῶν οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, *which was* (see N. on ὄντες, I. 8. § 1) *their colony.* —— ἐπολιόρκουν refers to the Athenians. —— τοῖς δ' responds to the preceding τοῖς μέν. —— πόλιν, i. e. Potidæa. —— ἀπέστησαν, *had caused to revolt.* In respect to the tense, see N. on I. 62. § 1. For the verb used causatively, cf. S. §§ 207. 2; 133 (ἵστημι), and see I. 81. § 3; 104. § 1; II. 80. § 1; III. 81. § 1, et sæpe al. —— σφίσιν follows ἐμάχοντο. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς = προφανῶς. —— οὐ....ξυνερρώγει (from συρ-ρήγνυμι), *nevertheless the war had not yet broken out,* i. e. the Peloponnesian war had not actually begun, these acts of hostility being only introductory to it. μέντοι—γε, *nevertheless indeed,* is used when in reference to what precedes, a thing could not have been expected,

but yet is so. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. §§ 780. a; 785. 6. —— *ἰδίᾳ*, i. e. in their private capacity, and not as members of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

CHAPTERS LXVII.—LXXXVII.

These chapters contain the debates in the congress of allies at Sparta, in respect to the complaints made against the Athenians, and are entitled *ξύλλογος τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι*, which Poppo would alter to *ξύλλογος τῶν Λακεδαιμονων περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τῶν ξυμμάχων*. After an introduction (chap. 67) the speech of the Corinthians is given (chaps. 67–72); after which the historian briefly accounts for the presence of the Athenian embassy at Sparta (chap. 73), and reports their speech (chaps. 74–78); the Lacedæmonians then deliberate by themselves (chap. 79), and are addressed by Archidamus (chaps. 80–85), and by the Ephor Sthenelaidas (chap. 86), after which, the vote is taken, and the treaty decided to have been broken (chap. 87). This portion contains some of the choicest specimens of a condensed and vigorous style, that are to be found in any language. The orations, although alike fervid, energetic, and pointed, are yet in perfect keeping with the position and design of those who uttered them, the Corinthian speech being full of burning invective and sarcasm, the Athenian, eminently soothing and pacific, while the oration of king Archidamus is replete with maxims of profound political sagacity and experience, and that of Sthenelaidas is blunt and laconic, almost beyond what might be expected even of a Spartan. These characteristics will be more particularly noticed, in the analysis and general divisions of the respective orations

CHAPTER LXVII.

The Corinthians, enraged at the blockade of Potidæa, exhort the allies to go to Lacedæmon, whither they also repair and criminate the Athenians as truce-breakers and unjust (§ 1); the Æginetæ also secretly foment the disturbance (§ 2); the Lacedæmonians, therefore, summon an assembly of the allies, and all who have any cause of complaint against the Athenians (§ 3); various accusations are made by the allies, and especially do the Megareans complain, because they have been excluded from the Athenian ports and market (§ 4); after which the Corinthians come forward and address the assembly (§ 5).

1. *πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας, but when Potidæa was besieged.* Cf. S. § 226. —— *ἀνδρῶν....ἐνδιόντες, their own men being in it, and*

they also fearing for the safety of the place = fearing for the safety of the place and of their countrymen in it. —— *παρεκάλουν = exhorted them to go.* The verb receives this fulness of signification from *ἐς*, the preposition of motion which follows. See N. on I. 18. § 2. —— *κατεβόων—Ἀθηναίων, clamored against the Athenians.* For the genitive after *κατὰ* in composition, cf. K. § 292. R.; S. § 194. N. 3. —— *λελυκότες εἶεν.* A participle with *εἰμὶ* (or its compounds), and *ἔχω*, *κυρέω*, etc. is sometimes used instead of the verb of the participle or the sake of emphasis. Cf. Vig. p. 117. IX.; S. § 89. 1. For the optative in the *oratio obliqua*, cf. S. § 213. 2.

2. *δεδιότες, because they feared.* See N. on I. 9. § 4. —— *κρύφα δέ.* Haack and Goel. place a comma after the words, and thus refer them to *πρεσβευόμενοι, sending ambassadors not openly but secretly.* So Krüg. also explains it. Hermann ad Soph. El. 1059 thinks that *μὲν—δὲ* in this place are employed, as though it had been written *οὐ μὲν φανερῶς ἐπρεσβεύοντο, κρύφα δὲ πρεσβευόμενοι ἐνῆγον.* Bauer refers *ἐνῆγον* to *πρεσβευόμενοι* and renders it: *suaserunt bellum non* [aperte] *per legatos sed occulte.* But, as Poppo remarks, in that case we should have expected the collocation, *οὐ μὲν φανερῶς πρεσβευόμενοι.* I prefer to make *κρύφα* qualify *ἐνῆγον*: *they did not openly send ambassadors, but secretly did much to urge on the war.* *μὲν* and *δὲ* are used to connect different sorts of words, as may be seen in the examples cited by Mt. § 622. 3. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 765. 2. —— *αὐτόνομοι* (*having their own laws independent*). See N. on *δοῦλοι*, I. 34. § 1. —— *κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς.* There is considerable doubt in the minds of interpreters, to what treaty reference is here made, or in what way the independence of the Æginetæ was guaranteed. The Schol., whom Bloomf. is inclined to follow, thinks that those states whose names were not subscribed to the treaty, were regarded as independent, and gives to *κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς* the sense, *according to the spirit of the treaty.* But it should be remembered, that Ægina was conquered by the Athenians six years before that treaty (viz. the thirty years' truce), and from this fact, together with the secrecy with which, through fear of the Athenians, they excited the Lacedæmonians to war, it is very evident, that they were included in the treaty as *ἔνσπονδοι* (see N. on I. 40. § 2) of the Athenians, and therefore were not *αὐτόνομοι.* Od. Müller (Ægin. p. 180) thinks that reference is had to a treaty of alliance, made through the influence of the Lacedæmonians, in which the liberty of the Grecian states was guaranteed by mutual stipulations. Goeller also seems to incline to the opinion, that reference is had to that mutual arrangement of previous jars and discords, which took place at the suggestion of Themistocles, before the second Persian invasion, and by which

independence would of course be secured to the Æginetæ. The best solution of the difficulty, which I have met with, is that of Krüg. in Stud. Hist. p. 192 (cited by Poppo, Suppl. Adnot. p. 127), "quum σπονδαί, nisi quid accedat, ubi de belli Pelop. causis agatur, semper sint fœdera tricennalia, horum lege aliqua Lacedæmonios Æginetarum αὐτονομίᾳ putat prospexisse." In this thirty years' peace, which I cannot doubt is referred to here, some provision, doubtless, had been made for the independence of Ægina, although in what manner it does not clearly appear.

3. προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων, *having summoned their allies.* S. § 191. 1. —— The τέ after ξυμμάχων is omitted by almost all the recent editors, which makes καὶ epexegetical (= *nempe, etiam*, Poppo), i. e. serving to introduce εἴ τις (*whoever*)....Ἀθηναίων, as explanatory of τῶν ξυμμάχων. If τέ is retained, then εἴ τις refers to other states than those in league with the Lacedæmonians. But waving the consideration, that the Lacedæmonians had nothing to do with the grievances of other states than those which belonged to the confederacy, the suggestion of Haack, that the presence of τέ would lead us to expect εἴ τί τις ἄλλος, or εἴ τις ἄλλος, makes me prefer its omission in the text. —— τὶ ἄλλο—ἠδικῆσθαι. In the active ἀδικέω governs two cases, the latter of which is retained in the passive. Cf. S. § 177. 3. —— ξύλλογον—τὸν εἰωθότα, *the ordinary assembly.* Sometimes a smaller and more select assembly (ἡ μικρὰ ἐκκλησία), Xen. Hellen. III. 3. § 8), consisting probably of the equals (οἱ ὅμοιοι, *peers*), was convened, and as Müller (Dor. II. p. 89) thinks, was chiefly occupied with the state of the constitution, and to distinguish it from that assembly, the one here spoken of has the epithet τὸν εἰωθότα. To this common or general assembly, all the citizens above thirty years of age were admitted. The place of meeting was west of the city of Sparta, between the brook Cracion (i. e. Saffron river) and the bridge Babyca, and the assembly was held in the open air. The Schol. on this passage says, that the regular time of meeting was each full moon. Extraordinary meetings might, however, be called at any time in cases of emergency. Cf. Müller's Dorians, II. p. 90.

4. ὡς ἕκαστοι, *severally* (see N. on I. 3. § 5), *each in succession.* —— καί, *and especially.* See Jelf's Kuhn. (§ 759. 4) on the incressive force of καί, when preceded by καὶ ἄλλοι τε, or similar words. —— οὐκ ὀλίγα = *many.* —— μάλιστα δέ, *and particularly.* —— λιμένων depends on εἴργεσθαι according to S. § 197. 2. Why the Megareans were excluded from all commercial intercourse with the Athenians, we are not informed. The words of the decree are found in the Schol. on Aristoph. Ran. 273. D.

CHAPTERS LXVIII.—LXXI.

These chapters comprise the speech of the Corinthians, at the congress of the allies in Sparta. The exordium extends to chap. 68. § 2; then follows the argumentative portion, which extends to chap. 71. § 4, at which place the peroration begins. In the argumentative part is, (1) a complaint of the systematic ambition of the Athenians (chap. 68), and (2) of the supineness of the Lacedæmonians, which suffered the evil to remain unchecked (chap. 69); (3) a comparison between the Athenian and Lacedæmonian character (chap. 70); (4) an urgent appeal to the Lacedæmonians to bestir themselves (chap. 71. § 3). This speech is spirited, pointed, abounding in the most bitter sarcasm, mingled with delicate strokes of flattery, and admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was delivered, viz. to exasperate the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

The Corinthians begin their oration, by a kind of complimentary complaint of the good faith (τὸ πιστὸν) of the Lacedæmonians towards one another, which rendered them blind to whatever might be said to the prejudice of others, and ignorant also of affairs abroad (§ 1); on which account, the previous complaints of the Corinthians had been disregarded, as though arising from selfish interests; and no council had been called until they themselves had suffered wrong, whereas none had been so deeply injured as the Corinthians (§ 2); a long exposition of the unjust acts and ambitious policy of the Athenians is unnecessary, since they make no concealment of their deeds, and there are present in the assembly those, who are either already enslaved by the Athenians, or threatened with the loss of their liberty (§ 3); Corcyra and Potidæa are alluded to, as examples in proof of the aggressive policy of the Athenians (§ 4).

1. τὸ πιστὸν....καθίστησι, *the good faith, which characterizes the management of your internal affairs, and your private intercourse, renders you more incredulous in respect to others* (i. e. the other Greeks), *whenever any thing is said* (to their prejudice); literally, *if we say any thing*, but as Bloomf. (cited approvingly by Poppo) remarks, ἤν τι λέγωμεν is nearly equivalent to *in whatever is said*, the change of person accommodating the *dictum generale* to the speakers themselves, and promoting brevity of expression. τὸ πιστὸν denotes an abstract idea, and is employed with the article for the substantive (K. § 263. γ; Mt. § 269; S. § 158. 2; C. § 449. a. See N. on I. 42. § 2). τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας is opposed to τὰ ἔξω πράγματα at the

close of the section. Poppo, Goeller, and Bloomf., with Kistem., place a comma after ἀπιστοτέρους, and connect ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους with the following words: *more incredulous in respect to what is said against others*. But the brevity of the construction, as well as the sentiment, is marred by such a method of punctuation, and the charge of indefiniteness, which is brought against the common pointing, is removed by supplying from the context κατ' αὐτῶν with λέγωμεν. —— αὐτοῦ refers to the characteristic of the Lacedæmonians just alluded to. —— σωφροσύνην, *moderation, wise caution*. Some interpret it here, *the demeanor of a just and upright character*. —— ἀμαθίᾳ....χρῆσθε, *but you are the more ignorant of affairs abroad* (i. e. out of Lacedæmon) = *you labor under greater ignorance in respect to the affairs of other states*.

2. ἃ....βλάπτεσθαι, *in what respect we were about to be injured by the Athenians* = *what injuries we were about to receive from the Athenians*. For the construction of ἃ—βλάπτεσθαι, cf. N. on τὶ ἄλλο—ἠδικῆσθαι, I. 67. § 3. —— περὶ ὧν = περὶ ἐκείνων ἅ. —— τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε = ἐμανθάνετε (Mt. § 421. *Obs.* 4) only a little stronger, *you did not make the improvement* (which you ought). —— ἀλλὰ....ὑπενοεῖτε, *but you rather suspected the speakers*. Poppo and Goeller make τῶν λεγόντων depend on the latter part of the sentence, the formula ὡς λέγουσι being the same as if it had been written ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων τὸ λέγειν ἕνεκεν τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων ὑπενοεῖτε, *you suspected that the speaking of the speakers arose from private interests*, or, as our idiom would demand, *you suspected the speakers, that they spake from private interest*. But there is no difficulty in constructing τῶν λεγόντων with ὑπενοεῖτε. Cf. K. § 273. 5. f; Mt. §§ 342. 3; 296. 3. —— ἕνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων, *on account of those things, which are advantageous to them apart from others* (= *for their private advantage*). ἰδίᾳ is used adverbially and may be translated by an adjective. —— πάσχειν, sc. ἡμᾶς. —— ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμὲν = "ἐπειδὴ ἤδη τῷ ὄντι πάσχομεν, *quo tempore jam injuriam accipimus*." Poppo. ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ = *in ipso articulo perpessionis*. —— προσήκει....ἔχομεν, *we have the greater right* (οὐχ ἥκιστα = μάλιστα) *to speak, by as much as we have the greater charges to make*. When two superlatives in two different propositions, are compared with each other by means of τοσούτῳ—ὅσῳ, the former of these words is sometimes omitted, especially when the proposition with ὅσῳ follows. Cf. Mt. § 462; Jelf's Kühn. § 870. *Obs.* 1.

3. ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες, *being in anywise concealed from view* = *in a clandestine manner*. —— ἄν belongs to προσέδει, *there would be need of*. —— ὡς (= *utpote*) οὐκ εἰδόσι (sc. ὑμῖν), *for you who did not know it*. Cf. S. § 201. N. 4. —— ὧν refers to τούτους or ἡμᾶς the omitted

subject of *μακρηγορεῖν*. —— Reference appears to be had in *δεδουλωμένους* to the Æginetæ, and in *τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς* (a varied construction for *τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλευομένους*), to the Potidæans and Megareans. —— *αὐτοὺς* refers to the Athenians. —— *οὐκ ἥκιστα*. See N. on § 2 supra. —— *ξυμμάχοις* is in apposition with *τοῖς δέ*. —— *ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρεσκευασμένους* (sc. *ὁρᾶτε* from the context) · *ὡς συνειδότας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτίας, καὶ γιγνώσκοντας ὡς πάντως, οὐκ ἀνεξόμεθα, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσομεν*. Schol. —— *εἴ ποτε πολεμήσονται* (= future passive. Cf. Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 37), *if ever they should be warred upon.*

4. *οὐ γὰρ....εἶχον*, *for otherwise* (i. e. had not their systematic design been to enslave Greece), *they would not have withdrawn Corcyra* (from us) *and held it in spite of us*. Steph. and Duker think that *ὑπο-* here denotes, *in a secret*, or *underhand manner*. For *ὑπολαβόντες—εἶχον*, see N. on 1. 58. § 2 (end). *βίᾳ ἡμῶν*. Cf. N. on 1. 43. § 3. —— *ὧν τὸ μέν*, *the one of which*, i. e. Potidæa. *ἔστε* is to be supplied in this sentence. —— *πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι* = *πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης* (see N. on I. 30. § 2) *ὥστε ἀποχρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης*, *ut plenum fructum percipiatis ex terris vestris ad Thraciam sitis*. Goeller. Thus also Arnold: *so as to give you the full benefit of your dominion in the neighborhood of Thrace*. —— *ἡ δέ*, i. e Corcyra —— *ἂν παρέσχε*, *would furnish*.

CHAPTER LXIX.

The Lacedæmonians are blamed, for having suffered the Athenians to fortify their city and build the Long Walls, thus enabling them to enslave even the allies of the Peloponnesian confederacy (§ 1); their tardiness in convoking an assembly of the allies, and their want of a definite plan are also reproved (§ 2); the crafty and stealthful movements of the Athenians will become more open and decided, if they perceive that the Lacedæmonians know their designs, and yet make no effort to frustrate them (§ 3); the Lacedæmonians are sarcastically told that they conquer by delay, and seek to fight the enemy when their strength is doubled (§ 4); that the same sluggishness which they manifested in the Persian war, characterizes their movements in relation to the aggressive policy of the Athenians, to whose blunders the Corinthians have been indebted more for success, than to any assistance from the Lacedæmonians (§ 5); an apology is made for the apparent severity of these charges against the Lacedæmonians (§ 6).

1. *τῶνδε* refers to the aggressive movements of the Athenians, which have been referred to in the preceding chapter. —— *καὶ ὕστερον* responds to *τό τε πρῶτον* in the previous proposition. —— *τὰ μακρὰ—τείχη*, *the long walls*. By these walls a fortified way was open from

Athens to her three ports, Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerus, of which the former was by far the largest and most celebrated, being capable of containing 300 ships. The southern wall was built by Themistocles, and was 35 stadia long and 40 cubits high. The northern wall was built by Pericles, and was 40 stadia long, and of the same height as the other. Such was the breadth of these walls, that two wagons could pass each other on the top without coming in contact. Besides these two walls, there seems to have been a third or Phaleric wall, concerning which, see N. on II. 13. § 6. —— ἐς τόδε τε ἀεί, *up to this time continually.* —— τοὺς ὑμετέρους—ξυμμάχους, i. e. the Æginetæ, Megareans, and Potidæans. —— οὐ γὰρ.... δρᾷ, *for not the one who enslaves* (is the principal offender), *but he who, having the power to prevent, looks on* (and permits it), *is more really the agent of the transaction = to him, who does not exert the power which he possesses, in preventing one from being enslaved, more truly belongs the guilt of the transaction, than to him, who actually performs the deed.* This sentence confirms the charge made in the preceding τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, and is therefore introduced by γὰρ *confirmantis.* See N. on I. 53. § 2. αὐτό, i. e. τὸ δουλοῦσθαι. —— εἴπερ.... φέρεται, *if he also* (καὶ) *claims for himself the reputation* (τὴν ἀξίωσιν) *for virtue, as the deliverer of Greece.* Arnold quotes Hermann ad Viger, N. 310: "εἴπερ δοκεῖ σοι dicimus ei de quo non certo scimus quid ei placeat, aut de quo id nescire simulamus. εἴγε δοκεῖ σοι dicimus ei de quo scimus quid ei placeat," and remarks that the sense is: if he makes a pretension to the merit of being the deliverer of Greece, we cannot say whether he does make it, but *if* he does, then, etc. ἐλευθερόω, *I am a liberator,* as φεύγω signifies among other things, *I am an exile,* and νικάω, *I am a conqueror.*

2. μόλις, *tardily.* —— τέ (for which Poppo would read γέ) refers to καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν, *both—and also now* (that we are met together) *not for any evident purpose* (ἐπὶ φανεροῖς). The Schol. explains ἐπὶ φανεροῖς by καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἀμφιβάλλεται, εἰ ἀδικούμεθα, doubtless from the following context, which is indeed epexegetical, yet not so as to give the sense to ἐπὶ φανεροῖς, assigned it by this Schol. —— γὰρ in the next clause implies an ellipsis, *for* (if we had met together for any definite purpose) *there would be no need to inquire, whether we have been injured or not* (the proof of it being so clear and abundant), *but in what manner* (καθ' ὅτι, i. e. καθ' ὅ,τι) *we may avenge ourselves.* On the matter here complained of by the Corinthians, Poppo remarks: "Etenim conventus sociorum non a Lacedæmoniis hoc ipso concilio, ut bellum decernerent, indictus erat, sed Corinthiis auctoribus multi legati Spartam venerant." Cf. I. 67. § 1. —— οἱ γὰρ.... ἐπήρχοντο, *for these*

(i. e. the Athenians) *acting from plans already formed, are now attacking, and not about to attack those, who have come to no decision.* After examining with care all the interpretations, which this difficult passage has received, I have convinced myself, that the above is the true translation, although others will perhaps think differently. Bloomf. quotes Goeller's interpretation, by which δρῶντες is made to denote the cause of βεβουλευμένοι = "*decided because up and doing.*" But it seems to me more natural to make βεβουλευμένοι the cause or ground of the action expressed in δρῶντες. Such a translation also meets more fully the antithesis, which exists between βεβουλευμένοι and οὐ διεγνωκότας. I concur with Poppo in regarding οἱ as put for the demonstrative pronoun, instead of the article belonging to δρῶντες, since in that case we should suppose that ἄδικα would have been added, or that it would have been οἱ γὰρ ἀδικοῦντες. The reader will easily perceive an antithesis between ἤδη—ἐπέρχονται and οὐ μέλλοντας (sc. ἐπέρχεσθαι).

3. καί, *yes, indeed.* —— κατ' ὀλίγον....πέλας = *by little and little they encroach upon their neighbors.* —— λανθάνειν....ὑμῶν, *when they think* (see N. on I. 13. § 6) *they escape detection through your inattention.* Betant explains τὸ ἀναίσθητον (see N. on τὸ πιστόν, I. 68. § 1), *stupor, negligentia.* The expression is intended to be somewhat severe, yet should not be translated *stupidity*, a term far too offensive to have suited the purpose of the Corinthians, which was to sting, but not to provoke to anger their powerful auxiliaries, the Lacedæmonians. That the word denotes simply *unobservance, want of attention*, is also seen from its antithesis with εἰδότας in the next sentence. The general sentiment is this: as long as the inactivity of the Lacedæmonians, in respect to the unjust acts here complained of, was found to result from inattention or want of knowledge, the Athenians adopted a cautious and timid policy; but now, when they know (as they must hereafter) that it arises from a disregard and negligence, which the most certain intelligence cannot affect, they will press on more vigorously and courageously in the work of enslaving their neighbors.

4. γὰρ may refer to ἰσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται, the ellipsis being: (and no wonder) *for you alone of the Greeks*, etc.; or it may introduce the proof of the foregoing proposition = your indifference and inattention is plainly seen, *for you alone*, etc. I prefer the former interpretation, as being more simple and natural. —— τῇ μελλήσει, "*by threatening demonstrations.* μέλλησις implies the holding the stick constantly lifted up, but never striking." Arnold. "Proxime sequentia docent, *cunctationem* Lacedæmoniorum argui, quippe qui putarent, cunctando rem posse restitui; quare eos desides potius, quam cautos et providos (ἀσφαλεῖς) perhibent Corinthii." Haack. —— μόνοι. Repeat Ἑλλήν-

νων. —— ἀρχομένην τὴν αὔξησιν, "*the incipient increase.*" Bloomf. —— διπλασιουμένην belongs to τὴν αὔξησιν in the modified sense of *strength.* It is not easy to find a specimen of more bitter sarcasm, than is contained in this section. Its effect on the Lacedæmonians must have been highly exasperating.

5. καίτοι....ἐκράτει, *and yet* (notwithstanding your remissness) *you were spoken of as being sure* (i. e. firm and trusty friends), *but then the report of this* (ὧν = τοῦ ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι) *exceeds the thing itself,* i. e. the fact as it really is. "ἄρα is used to denote something which has come suddenly and unexpectedly upon the mind, so as to produce surprise and wonder thereat." Jelf's Kühn. § 789. 4. Bauer and Poppo, however, take ἄρα in the sense of *ut nunc apparet,* and ὧν (i. e. περὶ ὧν. Mt. § 342. 1) ὁ λόγος, they render, *fama de vobis.* Goeller also refers it to the Lacedæmonians. But cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 820. *Obs.;* Mt. § 439, where examples are cited to show, that ὧν is a neuter relative referring to a previous sentence. τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. Kühner (§ 275. c) ranks this with the causal genitive, inasmuch as a ruler necessarily supposes a subject, and a subject a ruler. But I prefer with Matthiæ (§ 359. Obs. 1) to take κρατεῖν in the sense of κρείσσω εἶναι, and thus to refer the genitive to the idea of comparison contained in the verb. S. § 198. 2. —— γὰρ introduces two examples of the procrastinating spirit of the Lacedæmonians. It is therefore γὰρ *confirmantis.* Cf. N. on I. 53. § 2. —— τὸν—Μῆδον, *the king of the Persians,* just as ὁ Ἀρμένιος and ὁ Ἀσσύριος in Xen. Cyrop. are put for *the Armenian king,* and *the Assyrian king.* That Xerxes instead of Darius Hystaspis is referred to, is evident from ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, which could not be applied to the first Persian invasion, as that was directed against Athens. —— ἐκ περάτων γῆς, *from the extremities of the earth.* A similar hyperbole is found in Matt. 12 : 42. —— ἀξίως is added, because of the inadequacy in numbers of the forces first raised and sent out under Leonidas to Thermopylæ. —— προαπαντῆσαι is put after πρότερον—ἦ. S. § 223. 3. —— ἐκεῖνον refers to the Persian king. —— περιορᾶτε. See N. on I. 24. § 6. —— ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοί, *instead of you yourselves invading.* K. § 308. 2. b. For the nominative with the infinitive, cf. Mt. § 536. —— ἐπιόντας depends on ἀμύνεσθαι. —— ἐς τύχας....καταστῆναι, *to expose yourselves to fortune* (= the chances of war) *by contending with them, when they are much stronger* (than they were at first). For the construction of ἀγωνιζόμενοι, see N. on I. 9. § 4. —— ἐπιστάμενοι (see N. on ὄντες, I. 7. § 1)—σφαλέντα. When followed by the participle ἐπίστασθαι and εἰδέναι signify *to know,* by the infinitive, *to know how to do something, to be able.* Cf. K. § 311. 2. —— περὶ αὑτῷ, *by himself,* i. e. by his own fault. The Schol.

refers this particularly to the battle at Salamis. —— τὰ πλείω, *for the most part.* —— πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους = ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. —— πολλὰ = πολλάκις. —— ἡμᾶς, i. e. the Corinthians and their allies. —— τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, *by their errors, blunders.* —— περιγεγενημένους depends on ἐπιστάμενοι. —— ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Bekker, Poppo, Goeller, and Arnold edit ἀφ' ὑμῶν, referring it to the Lacedæmonians, who were not included in the preceding ἡμᾶς. —— ἐπεί. See N. on I. 12. § 1. —— αἵ γε ὑμετέραι ἐλπίδες, *the hopes placed in you.* On these words Haack remarks: brevius et obscurius dictum pro αἱ ἐλπίδες τιμορίας τινὸς ἀφ' ὑμῶν. The possessive pronoun stands here for the objective genitive. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 652. *Obs.* 6; S. § 162. —— τινὰς "fortasse ad Eubœenses, I. 114. spectat, saltem ad Potidæatas, I. 58. Idem postea accidit Mytilenæis, III. 2, et seq." Poppo. —— διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι is to be taken with ἀπαρασκεύους.

6. μηδεὶς ὑμῶν = νομίσῃ, *let no one of you think.* S. § 218. 3. —— ἐπ' ἔχθρᾳ, *from enmity.* —— τὸ πλέον ἢ αἰτίᾳ = *and not rather in the way of remonstrance.* —— αἰτία in the sense of *reprehension, blame,* is here opposed to κατηγορία, *accusation, criminal charge.* —— φίλων ἀνδρῶν. The Schol. supplies κατά, but there is no necessity, as it is the objective genitive after αἰτία. —— ἁμαρτανόντων, *who have erred* (see N. on I. 8. § 1), is opposed to ἀδικησάντων.

CHAPTER LXX.

The orator, after slightly apologizing for the tone of rebuke in which the Corinthians indulged, on the ground that they had been the greatest sufferers, charges the Lacedæmonians with being ignorant of what sort of people the Athenians are, and how widely different from themselves (§ 1); the Athenians are fond of innovations, quick to invent and execute, the Lacedæmonians are content with present things, slow to plan, and accomplish only what is absolutely necessary (§ 2); those are bold and confident, these cautious and distrustful (§ 3); those are restless and continually roaming abroad in order to gain something more, these are procrastinators and timid in respect to the enlargement of their possessions; they pursue their advantages to the utmost, and maintain their confidence even in defeat (§ 4); their bodies are employed in the service of the state, as if they belonged wholly to others, but their minds they use as most peculiarly their own, to promote her welfare (§ 5); while they regard themselves as deprived of what is their own, by failing to secure the object of their aim, their ambition to acquire is never satisfied with present gain, and every loss is repaired by the confident expectation of something else in its place (§ 6); of all men, they have the least enjoyment in what they possess, and deem it a great evil to be inactive (§ 7); in short, they neither enjoy rest themselves, nor suffer others to enjoy it (§ 8).

1. καὶ ἅμα, *moreover, besides.* —— εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, *if any others = if any body else.* —— Benedic., in order to rid the Corinthi

... marck. But such an anticipati
to be brought forward in so natural and easy
unlike what might be expected from such
And besides, we should have expected διαφόρ
των, and also the explanatory adjunct ὑμῶν
ἡμῖν γε, *to us at least* (however you may hav
Notice this restrictive use of γέ. —— οὐδ'....ἔ
considered what sort of persons the Athenians a
will have to contend, and how much, yes (καί), *h*
from you. οἵους—Ἀθηναίους ὄντας = οἷοί εἰσιν
attraction of the relative. K. § 332. 7; S. § 175.
structed with ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται.

2. γὲ in οἱ μέν γε denotes the reason of what
Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 735. 4. The comparison bet
and Lacedæmonians, which now follows, has ever
masterpiece of its kind, and has been often imi
writers. The antitheses are all pointed and well
parisons are bold and striking, and the delineation
is so accurate and well drawn, that it needs only t
to be forever impressed upon the mind. —— νεωτ
of novelty." Bloomf.; "*revolutionary.*" Liddell an
Dorians, II. p. 4. ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς, *quick to devise*
See N. on I. 50. § 5 (end). —— ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ, *t*
= *to carry into execution.* —— ὃ = ἐκεῖνο ὅ. —
ἱκανοί, or some such adjective from the preceding
μηδέν, *to devise nothing*

verb. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 486. *Obs.* 1. —— τῆς τε.....πρᾶξαι, "*not to act up to your powers.*" Liddell and Scott. Poppo thinks that the idea of comparison lies in ἐνδεᾶ, so that it may be translated, *to achieve less than you have the ability to do.* —— τῆς τε γνώμης—τοῖς βεβαίοις = τῇ βεβαίᾳ γνώμῃ. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 442. *a.* —— τῶν τε δεινῶν depends on ἀπολυθήσεσθαι (sc. ὑμᾶς), *you will be released from.* This clause answers to ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες supra.

4. καὶ μὴν καί, *and furthermore, and indeed also*, is often used when some new point in the discourse is taken up. —— πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλητάς, *in comparison with you lingerers.* Cf. I. 69. § 4. —— ἀποδηματαί, *roamers, peregrinators.* To this ἐνδημοτάτους is opposed. —— τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἄν τι κτᾶσθαι, *that by their absence they may acquire something.* Absence on military expeditions is here referred to, inasmuch as τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ is opposed to τῷ ἐπελθεῖν, *by invading* (others). —— ὑμεῖς. Supply οἴεσθε from the context. —— τὰ ἑτοῖμα (= τὰ ὑπάρχοντα) refers to that which is ready at hand (see N. on I. 20. § 3), and hence is easily applied to possessions already acquired. —— τῶν ἐχθρῶν depends on κρατοῦντες. —— ἐξέρχονται. Abresch supplies τὸ κρατεῖν, *longissime victoriam persequuntur*, or αὐτούς, *hostes ulciscuntur.* Bauer, whom Poppo follows, more correctly takes ἐξέρχονται in a neuter sense, *longissime progrediuntur*, i. e. they push forward and occupy much territory, and thus enjoy the fruit of victory. —— ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον (= οὐδὲ ἐλάχιστον. Schol.) belongs to ἀναπίπτουσιν. This verb signifies *to be dispirited, dejected*, the metaphor being taken from the motion of a rower, who inclines backwards as he pulls the oar (Xen. Œconom. VIII. § 8), or from a man falling backward from a chariot (Soph. Elect. 729), and hence by an easy transition it is applied to mental depression. Some, however, take the verb here in the sense of *recedunt.*

5. ἔτι δέ, *and moreover, and besides.* —— ἀλλοτριωτάτοις, *as if belonging wholly to others*, so insensible to pain do they seem, and so regardless of hardship. ἀλλοτριωτάτοις = ὥστε εἶναι ἀλλοτριώτατα, or ὥσπερ οὖσιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις. The commentators cite Greg. Naz. p. 41, where he says, that the martyrs bore with cheerfulness their sufferings, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις σώμασιν; and Isocrat. ap. Plut. de Glor. Athen. τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύοντας, ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίαις ψύχαις φήσας ἐναγωνίσασθαι. To which citations Bloomf. adds Joseph. 1253. 10. καὶ τὰς ψύχας χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ἀμφοτέροις ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις ἔχρωντο. By the force of the antithesis τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ has this sense, *but they use their mind as most especially their own*, i. e. they employ their mind with the most perfect independence, in projecting new plans for the aggrandizement of their state. The general argument is, that although the Athenians yielded up their bodies

to the service of their country, as freely as if they did not belong to them, yet in the exercise of their judgment, they were free and independent, and invented each for himself new modes of advancing the interests of their city.

6. ἃ μὲν ἄν, *whatever*. ἄν with the relative and subjunctive belongs to the relative, to which it gives indefiniteness. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 828. 2. For the construction of the relative, cf. Mt. § 481. *Obs.* 1. εἰς ἐκεῖνα is omitted after ἐξέλθωσιν, and is the antecedent of ἃ. —— οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι. Some editions have οἰκείων. But στηρεῖν often takes two accusatives. Cf. K. 280. R. 3; Mt. § 418; S. § 184. N. 2. —— ὀλίγα....πράξαντες, *they think* (ἡγοῦνται, to be supplied from the preceding context) *that what they have chanced to perform is small, compared with what they are about to achieve* (πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα). Construct τυχεῖν with πράξαντες (S. § 225. 8), and consider the omitted object of πράξαντες as the antecedent of ἃ. Some take πράξαντες as an infinitive after ἡγοῦνται, and make τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν (or ἐκεῖνα ἃ μέλλουσι τυχεῖν) equivalent to τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι or ξυμβαίνειν. But ἡγεῖσθαι is not among the verbs which are followed by a participle in place of the infinitive (cf. Mt. § 534. b; K. § 310); and besides, neither of these equivalents can be put for τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν. —— καί, *even*. —— τοῦ, i. e. τινός. —— πείρᾳ limits σφαλῶσιν. —— ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα, *by hoping* (see N. on I. 9. § 1) *other things in its stead*, i. e. as a compensation for their misfortune. —— ἐπλήρωσαν has the sense of the present to express customary action. Cf. K. § 256. 4. b; S. § 211. N. 2. —— ἔχουσι....ἐπινοήσωσι, *they have and hope for whatever they are planning in like manner*, i. e. they possess as soon as they wish; they have and wish at the same time, so rapid are they in the execution of what they have determined upon (διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν κ. τ. λ.). The Schol. notices, as the order of the states of mind and acts here spoken of, *plan, expectation, action, possession*. ἃ = ἐκεῖνα ἃ. So ἄν (in the next clause) = ἐκείνων ἃ, the antecedent depending on ἐπιχείρησιν.

7. καὶ....μοχθοῦσι, *and through all their lives, they toil at all these things with labor and danger*. μοχθοῦσι is here followed by ταῦτα as its cognate accusative. See N. on I. 5. § 2. —— διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι furnishes the reason, why the Athenians have little enjoyment in their possessions, viz. *because they are continually busy in acquiring more*. —— καὶ....πρᾶξαι, *and they consider nothing else a festive day, than to do something necessary*; or more freely, *they regard no day as a festive one, but that in which they are engaged in some necessary business*, i. e. they make it their highest amusement, to be occupied in the business which they have on hand. The Schol. says that allusion is had to the opposite conduct of the Spartans, who

in the time of their festivals (e. g. at the Hyacinthia and Carnea), abstained from active war. Cf. Müller's Dorians, II. p. 259. —— *ἡσυχίαν.* Repeat mentally *ἡγεῖσθαι*, which here and in the preceding section is followed by two accusatives. Cf. K. § 280. 4; S. § 185.

8. *εἴ τις—ξυνελὼν φαίη, if one should speak briefly = to speak briefly, to say in a word.* —— *αὐτοὺς* is the subject of *πεφυκέναι*. The subject of *ἔχειν* is the *αὐτοὺς* immediately preceding it. —— *ἐᾶν* Repeat *ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν.*

CHAPTER LXXI.

The Lacedæmonians are charged with hesitation, although opposed by such a state, and with the erroneous notion that safety consists not in promptness to avenge an injury, but in doing no harm to others, and in receiving no injury in self-defence (§ 1); such a policy was unsuited to the present times, and useful only in states enjoying tranquillity under the influence of unchanged institutions, whereas the Athenian customs were formed on a model entirely new (§§ 2, 3); the Lacedæmonians are therefore exhorted to succor the Potidæans, by an immediate irruption into Attica, unless they wished the Corinthians and their other confederates to seek some other alliance (§ 4), which in such circumstances they could do without the guilt of perfidy (§ 5); but to which course they would by no means resort if they were aided (§ 6); wherefore they should deliberate well, in order that the Peloponnesian confederacy may suffer no diminution from their hands (§ 7).

1. *ταύτης....πόλεως, yet although* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *such a state is arrayed against you.* —— *ταύτης—τοιαύτης, this—of such a sort = this, so formidable.* —— *καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν κ. τ. λ.* In this passage there is some obscurity from the position of *οὐ*, and the want of conformity to the preceding structure in the closing words, *τὸ ἴσον νέμειν*, which, as Haack and Goeller observe, should have been *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνοις—οἳ ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν—τὸ ἴσον νέμωσι*, as though the sentence had commenced with *καὶ οὐκ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν τούτοις—ἀρκεῖν.* The irregularity of construction, however, renders the sentence more emphatic, by avoiding the construction with the relative (*ἐκείνοις—οἳ ἂν—νέμωσι*). In respect to the words in detail, *τούτοις* limits *ἀρκεῖν* (*suppetere, permanere.* Betant). —— *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* is the genitive denoting the whole after *τούτοις, to those of men = to those men.* —— *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* is not, as Reisk. translates, *quam maxime*, but *longissime.* So Arnold: *they enjoy the longest peace.* —— *τῇ παρασκευῇ*, as opposed to *τῇ γνώμῃ*, is to be taken nearly in the sense of *τῷ ἔργῳ.* So Levesqu. renders it: *dans les entreprises.* The word is used, doubtless, to denote the *apparatus* of war, sufficiently great to

repel any aggression of rights, and yet not employed in the prosecution of unjust enterprises. Bloomf. adheres to the translation given in his first edition, *in* [vitæ] *institutione*. Arnold paraphrases the passage, and pays no special attention to the word, which has received different shades of translation from almost every annotator. —— ἣν ἀδικῶνται is to be taken with ἐπιτρέψοντες, and not with δῆλοι ὅσοι as Gottl. supposes. For the personal instead of the impersonal construction of δῆλοι, see N. on I. 93. § 2. In respect to the use of the future participle ἐπιτρέψοντες, to express the existing fact of something about to happen, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 681. *Obs.* —— ἐπὶ....νέμετε, *you deal justly* (i. e. practise what is just) *on this principle* (ἐπὶ) *not to injure others, and to receive no injury yourselves in self-defence.* The sense of μὴ—τε and καὶ—μὴ is here, *not only not—but also not*, which gives emphasis to the second member, in which lies the reproach. Bloomf., after Bredow, Müll. and Goell., gives to ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν—τὸ ἴσον νέμετε the sense: *ye make justice consist in the not doing injury.* But this, as Bloomf. himself acknowledges, is not supported by the *usus loquendi*, and how could the Corinthians blame them for entertaining such an idea of justice? ἐπὶ here denotes a principle or condition of action. Cf. K. § 296. II. 3. b. —— ἀμυνόμενοι belongs to μὴ βλάπτεσθαι as a participle of means (see N. on I. 9. § 1). The idea is, that the Lacedæmonians never suffered themselves to be harmed in self-defence, and were unwilling to run any hazard in repelling aggressions. It is singular that Bloomf. should translate this clause: *in repelling injury so as not to be harmed*, inasmuch as promptness in repelling injury was the very thing to which the Corinthians were inciting the Lacedæmonians, and no fault could surely be found with them in doing this in such a way as to receive little or no harm. This translation also makes the antithesis to lie in μὴ λυπεῖν and ἀμυνόμενοι μή, whereas it evidently is to be found in μὴ λυπεῖν and μὴ βλάπτεσθαι. In few places is more difficult Greek to be found than in this section.

2. ὁμοίᾳ, i. e. of like peaceful institutions and character. A Scholiast explains this: ὁμογνώμονι. Poppo and Bloomf. prefer the explanation of another Scholiast: τὰ ἴσα ζηλούσῃ, sc. ἐπιτηδεύματα. —— ἄρτι ἐνδηλώσαμεν. Cf. ὑμεῖς....μηδέν, I. 70. § 2. —— ἀρχαιότροπα, *obsolete, antiquated.* —— πρὸς αὐτούς (i. e. πρὸς τὰ αὐτῶν), *in comparison with their institutions.* Cf. Mt. § 453; S. § 202. 2. N. 1. Steph. very justly elicits from the preceding proposition and adds to this, the clause πῶς ἂν τούτου τυγχάνοιτε. —— ἀνάγκη....κρατεῖν is a brief expression, says Poppo, for ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀεὶ (καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι) τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν, ὥσπερ τέχνης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα (*those things which are latest*) κρατεῖ. The genitive τέχνης (= ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ)

depends on τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα to be supplied from the context, and not on διὰ or περί, as Bloomf. supposes.

8. ἡσυχαζούσῃ μὲν πόλει (*to a city indeed in a state of rest*) limits ἄριστα, the copula ἔστιν being omitted. S. § 150. 4. —— πρὸς πολλὰ —ἰέναι, "*multis negotiis implicare.*" Poppo. —— ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν = ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ὑμῶν, or ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τὰ ὑμῶν, since τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων precedes. Goeller.

4. μέχρι....βραδυτής, *thus far* (and no further) *let your sluggishness go;* "*let your sluggishness have reached its full limits.*" Crosby, § 577. Arnold puts μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῖδε ὡρίσθω for μέχρι τοῦδε προελθοῦσα ἐνθαῦτα ὡρίσθω. —— The Chalcidians, Bottiæans, etc. are referred to in τοῖς τε ἄλλοις. —— κατὰ τάχος ἐσβάλοντες, *by making a speedy irruption.* See N. on I. 9. § 1. Krüg. constructs κατὰ τάχος with βοηθήσατε. —— ἵνα has here its telic sense. See N. on I. 65. § 1. —— ξυγγενεῖς. The Potidæans were a colony of Corinthians, and, as belonging to the great Doric family, were also kinsmen of the Lacedæmonians. —— πρὸς ἑτέραν τινα ξυμμαχίαν, i. e. the alliance of the Argives, who were hostile to the Lacedæmonians.

5. δρῷμεν δ' ἄν. The optative with ἄν is used *per modestiam.* So in English, *we should do* (in case we performed the act) is a less offensive mode of expression, than *we shall do*, assuming that the thing is to be certainly done (cf. K. § 260. 4. a; S. § 215. 3). The protasis is here contained in the adverb οὕτως, which may be mentally supplied from the context. Cf. K. § 340. 1. —— πρὸς θεῶν, *in the estimation of the gods.* Cf. Xen. Anab. II. 5. § 20. —— τῶν ὁρκίων = *who preside over oaths.* So we find *the god of war, the god of eloquence*, meaning the deities who preside over war and eloquence. —— αἰσθανομένων is generally taken in the sense of αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων = φρονίμων (*who are capable of feeling and observing.* Arnold), inasmuch as it would be very harsh to supply a pronoun referring to oaths, which have only been incidentally alluded to in θεῶν τῶν ὁρκίων. —— λύουσι has its subject in οἱ—προσίοντες = ἐκεῖνοι οἳ προσίασιν. S. § 225. 1. —— δι' ἐρημίαν, *through desertion, by reason of their abandoned estate.* —— οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες. Repeat λύουσι. —— οἷς = ἐκείνοις οἷς.

6. βουλόμενων (*if you are willing*) contains the protasis, as does also μεταβαλλόμενοι in the next clause. The protasis is often thus found in the participial clause. Cf. S. § 225. 6. —— μενοῦμεν in your alliance. —— ὅσια. "This word, like *sacer*, in Latin, has two apparently opposite significations: τὸ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, *what is pious towards heaven and just towards men*, and again, ὅσια καὶ ἱερά, *things profane and things sacred.* The first is the original sense of the word; and its second signification arises from this, that those things which

may piously be touched or used, are those which are not sacred; i. e. which are profane." Arnold. —— *ξυνηθεστέρους*, *more congenial* (to us) *in habits.*

7. *Πελοπόννησον....παρέδοσαν*, "*studete Peloponneso ita præesse, ut ea non minor sit quam*, etc." Poppo. Keil. thinks that *ἑλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι* is briefly spoken for *ἑλάσσω καταστῆσαι ἐξηγουμένους.* Müller (Dorians, I. p. 198. N.) translates *ἐξηγεῖσθαι*, *ad finem (ἐξ-) vræsitis*, i. e. (as Goeller thinks) *porro facite, ut præsitis.* To Haack the sense appears to be, "*expedire Peloponnesum ex eo discrimine, quo nunc implicata est, sociis quibusdam propter metum ad aliam societatem defecere conantibus.*" But it does not appear that any of the confederated states were attempting to revolt at this time, and Thucydides has nowhere, to my knowledge, employed *ἐξηγεῖσθαι* in this sense. I prefer, therefore, Poppo's explanation, as best answering the verbal demands, as well as those of the context. The general guidance and direction was not exercised, as Duk. supposes, over all Greece, but only over Peloponnesus.

CHAPTER LXXII.

An Athenian embassy happening to be at Sparta, and hearing the charges brought against their state by the Corinthians, judge it proper to respond a few things concerning the power and resources of their city, that thus the Peloponnesians might be less inclined to war (§ 1); presenting themselves, therefore, to the Lacedæmonians for this purpose, and leave being granted, they commence their oration (§§ 2, 3).

1. *τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία.* The construction is somewhat irregular, there being no governing word of *τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, which stands first for the sake of emphasis. The word, therefore, is thrown for dependence on the explanatory clause, or rather, as Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 786. *Obs.* 5) remarks, the two clauses are so compressed together, that the subject of the former is placed in the latter, and even follows the government thereof. The regular construction, according to Goeller, would be: *τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, ἔτυχε γὰρ (= as) πρεσβεία (αὐτῶν)—παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς—ἔδοξε παριτητέα*; or as Arnold constructs and explains: *τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πρέσβεσι παρατύχουσι τότε παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τῶν λύγων αἰσθομένοις, ἔδοξε παριτητέα εἶναι*, in English running thus: *but the Athenians happening at that time to have an embassy at Lacedæmon, and hearing what was said, resolved to address themselves to the Lacedæmonian government.* Examples of a similar construction may be found in I. 115. § 3; VIII. 30. § 1. The principle, according to Goeller, is, that the subject of a proposition is always put

by the Greeks, as near the beginning of the sentence as possible, when a transition is made from one subject to another. The new subject being thus placed first, the reason of the predicate immediately follows, before the predicate itself, and the subject is made to depend grammatically upon this reason, rather than on the predicate. See Arnold's note, from which this rule of Goel. is cited. See also Mt. § 615. The confusion of the present passage is increased by the presence of *καί*, in *καὶ ὡς ᾔσθετο τῶν λόγων*, which connects the principal sentence to the explanatory or subordinate one, and thus carries on its construction. Cf. Mt. § 631. 2. Krüg. makes *Ἀθηναίων* depend on *πρεσβεία*, and compares I. 115. § 4; VIII. 30. § 1. —— *ἔτυχε—παροῦσα*, *chanced to be present*. —— *ἄλλων* than the business of replying to the Corinthians. —— *περιτηρέα* is followed by *ἀπολογησομένους* in the accusative, because it is equivalent to *παριέναι δεῖν* (S. § 178. 2), *they must go*. Cf. Mt. § 447. 4; Butt. § 134. 10. N. 4. It will be seen, that the construction changes from the future participle into the infinitive, at *δηλῶσαι δὲ* (cf. Mt. § 532. *c*). The incorporation of the dependent with the participial clause by the infinitive, is less close than by the participle. Cf. Crosby, § 614. δ. —— *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους* refers probably to the Ephori, as it is opposed to *τὸ πλῆθος* in § 2 infra. —— *ὧν* follows *ἐνεκάλουν* as a genitive of the crime. S. § 194. 4. —— *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, *in a general way*. —— *ὡς—εἴη*. The indicative in this substantival sentence after *δηλῶσαι*, would have communicated absolute certainty, instead of probability, to the thing spoken of. Cf. K. § 329. According to Mt. § 529. 2, the optative is employed because the time of the action is future. —— *ἐν πλείονι*. Supply *χρόνῳ*, since *πλείονι* is opposed to *ταχέως*. —— *καὶ ἅμα* introduces another reason why the Athenians made no reply to the charges of the Corinthians, viz. because they preferred to employ the occasion in descanting upon the great power of their city, in order thus to dampen the ardor of those who might otherwise be fierce for war. —— *πόλιν* is properly the subject of *εἴη*, but is transferred for the sake of emphasis into the principal clause, and made the object of *σημῆναι*. So the Latins say: *nosti Marcellum quam tardus sit = quam tardus sit Marcellus*. See N. on I. 61. § 1. —— *δύναμιν* is the accusative synecdochical. —— *ὧν = ἐκείνων ἃ*, of which equivalent, the antecedent limits *ὑπόμνησιν*. So the next *ὧν = ἐκείνων ὧν*, the relative taking the genitive after *ἄπειροι*. Mt. § 346. a; S. § 187. 2. —— *ἐκ τῶν λόγων*, *from these representations*.

2. *τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*. See N. on § 1 supra. —— *ἐς τὸ πλῆθος*, *to the assembly*, i. e. the same which the Corinthians had addressed. —— *εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύοι*, *unless there should be some hinderance*. Poppo from several MSS. edits *ἀποκωλύει*.

3. *οἱ δ'*, i. e. the Ephori. —— *παρελθόντες*, *coming forward* as an orator to speak. No difference in sense should here be sought between *ἐπιέναι* and *παρελθόντες*.

CHAPTERS LXXIII.—LXXVIII.

In these chapters we have the speech of the Athenians. The exordium is brief, being contained in chap. 73. § 1. The argumentative part is comprised in chap. 73. § 2—chap. 77, and is divided into, 1, an enumeration of the great services of the Athenian state, especially in the Persian wars (chap. 73. § 2 to chap. 74); 2, a defence against the charge of ambition and unlawful means to increase their power, which was brought against them by the Corinthians (chaps. 75–77). The remaining chapter (78) contains the peroration, in which the Lacedæmonians are urged not to engage precipitately in war, but to obtain a redress of grievances by negotiation. This speech is admirably adapted to remove the impression made by the grave charges of the Corinthians, being a calm vindication of the conduct and policy of the Athenians, interspersed with sundry references to their general patriotism, and remarks upon their good treatment of the allies. There is, however, throughout the whole oration a tone of firmness, indicative of the unalterable determination of the Athenians to adhere to the policy, upon which they had hitherto acted, and to make no concession, which would abridge their authority, or hinder the enlargement of their power and dominion.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Athenians commence by stating that they came to Sparta on other business, but feel constrained, in view of the outcry raised against their state, to come forward, not to reply to the charges of the Corinthians, inasmuch as the tribunal was not competent to try the Athenians, but to show that their power was lawfully possessed, and that their services entitled them to praise and honor (§ 1); without referring to things more remote, they would recur to the Persian war, a reference which, however unpleasant to make so frequently, they deemed necessary, because they, if any, ought to be entitled to whatever good might result from a recapitulation of their services in this war (§ 2); this they should do, not in the way of deprecation, but to show against what a city war was now in contemplation (§ 3); at Marathon they engaged singly with the Persians, and in the battle of Salamis were present with all their forces, and thus helped to save the Peloponnesian cities from being destroyed in detail (§ 4); of which the strongest proof was furnished by the Persian king, who hastily retreated, after the battle, with the greater part of his army (§ 5).

1. *ἀντιλογίαν* here takes the dative *τοῖς ὑμετέροις*, because allied in signification to *ἀντιλέγειν τινι*. Cf. Mt. § 390; Jelf's Kühn. § 602. *Obs.*

2. The reading ἡμετέροις, found in some editions, is evidently erroneous, for the Athenians were never the allies of the Corinthians, but were only at peace with them. —— περὶ ὧν = περὶ ἐκείνων περὶ ὧν, or περὶ ἐκείνων ἅ, of which the relative is used synecdochically. —— αἰσθόμενοι—οὖσαν. See N. on I. 26. § 3. —— καταβοὴν is also a verbal noun (like ἀντιλογίαν), and, after the analogy of its verb, takes ἡμῶν in the genitive. See N. on I. 67. § 1. —— παρήλθομεν is followed by the subjunctive (βουλεύσησθε), because the act, although past in its performance, is present in its purpose = *we have come forward and now address you in order that*, etc. Cf. Rost, § 122. 9. N. 4; S. § 214. N. 1. —— οὐ—ἀντεροῦντες (*not to answer to*. S. § 225. 5) is to be taken with ἀλλ' ὅπως κ. τ. λ., the intervening words being parenthetical. —— οὔτε ἡμῶν λόγοι is briefly put for οὔτε ἡμῶν πρὸς τούτους, οὔτε τούτων πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ λόγοι. For illustrations of this sort of brachylogy, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 876. Bloomf. makes ἡμῶν and τούτων depend on δικασταῖς, with which he supplies οὖσιν. —— ἂν γίγνοιντο. The protasis is to be supplied from the context. See N. on I. 71. § 5. —— ὅπως—βουλεύσησθε is referred to by several grammarians, to show that Dawes's canon is erroneous, viz. that ὅπως is never followed by the subj. aor. 1, act. or mid. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 812. 1; Mt. § 519. 7. p. 885. See N. on I. 82. § 5. —— μὴ ῥᾳδίως belongs to χεῖρον βουλεύσησθε, in the sense of *may not rashly* (literally, *easily*, *readily*) *adopt bad counsels*. —— πειθόμενοι denotes the means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— καὶ ἅμα introduces another reason why the Athenians came forward to address the Lacedæmonians. Hence βουλόμενοι may be rendered, *because we wished*. See N. on I. 9. § 4 (end). —— οὔτε ἀπεικότως, *not unreasonably, not without cause*. —— ἀξία λόγου = ἀξιέπαινος. Schol.

2. πάνυ παλαιὰ is referred by the Schol. to the Amazons, Thracians, and Heraclidæ. —— τί δεῖ = *there is no necessity*. —— ὧν (i. e. τὰ παλαιὰ) depends on μάρτυρες, and ἀκοαὶ—λόγων, may be rendered *hearsay* (λόγοι ἀκουσθέντες. Goel.), as Hier. Müll. interprets. Duk. takes λόγων in the sense of ἱστοριῶν, and makes ἀκοαὶ λόγων = ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παράδοσις. —— τῶν ἀκουσομένων = *of our auditors*. —— εἰ καὶ προβαλλομένοις, "*although it be rather irksome to us, to be forever bringing this subject forward*." Arnold. This is essentially the interpretation of Haack, Poppo, and Goeller. Some respectable critics, however, place a comma after ἔσται, which gives the sense, *although it is rather irksome to you*, (yet) *we must bring these things*, etc. But besides the objection advanced by Poppo, that perspicuity in that case would have demanded προβαλλομένους, we have another more decisive one, viz. that it would have been a needless utterance of a sentiment highly offensive to the Lacedæmonians, whereas if ἡμῖν be supplied

after δι' ὅχλου—ἔσται, as it must be according to the pointing of Dindorf, it becomes a modest disavowal of any other reason than necessity, for the utterance of that which had become stale with the Athenians themselves. —— καὶ γάρ, *and truly*. Bloomf. supplies the ellipsis: *and* (reason is there that we should) *for when*, etc. —— ἐκινδυνεύετο, *they were hazarded*, i. e. they were achieved with danger. —— ἧς....μετέσχετε, *a substantial part of which* (ἧς referring to ὠφελείᾳ) *you have shared*. This is far preferable to the sense given by some annotators, *the actual doing of which you have shared* (i. e. you have shared in the labors and perils, which attended the achievement of Grecian liberty), for the object of the speaker was to show that Greece was mainly indebted to the Athenians for its liberty. The argument then is: if the Lacedæmonians shared in the liberty, which the devotion and heroism of the Athenians had secured, they ought surely to leave to the Athenians their share of the glory of the transaction. In this way the antithesis is clear: you share in the result, let us share in the glory of the achievement. But I cannot understand why it should be brought forward as a reason for the meed of glory claimed by the Athenians, and made the basis of their demand upon the gratitude of the Peloponnesians, that the Lacedæmonians had a principal share in the dangers and labors of the war. It was true in itself, yet such a prominence given to the Lacedæmonian services, would not only have been foreign to the design of the speaker, but would have rendered the argument perfectly worthless. For the construction of ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, cf. S. § 191. N.

3. ῥηθήσεται, sc. ὁ λόγος from the preceding context. —— πρὸς οἵαν —πόλιν, *against what sort* (in respect to its services and power) *of a city*. —— μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις, *unless you adopt prudent counsels*. See N. on I. 71. § 6 (init.).

4. γὰρ in φαμὲν γὰρ (*for we affirm*) introduces a more expanded account of the services of the Athenians in the Persian war. See N. on γὰρ in I. 53. § 2. —— μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ, *that we alone ventured to commence the contest with the Barbarian* Some prefer, *that we alone braved the Barbarian in behalf*. Cf. Liddell and Scott, sub voce προκινδυνεύω. As it respects the employment of μόνοι, the Platæan auxiliaries were so few in comparison with the Athenians, that, by a very pardonable hyperbole, the orator entirely overlooked them. The adjective is here put in the nominative to agree with the subject, as it has already appeared, the subject of the infinitive being omitted. In respect to the dative after προκινδυνεῦσαι, it is to be referred to the construction πολεμεῖν τινι. —— ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἦλθεν refers to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. —— οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες, *inasmuch*

as we were not able. See N. on I. 9. § 4 (end). —— *παυδημεί.* A few were left in Athens, who were slain by Xerxes, when he got possession of the city. Cf. Herodot. VIII. 51, 52. ——*ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ—πορθεῖν, which restrained him from laying waste.* For *μὴ* with the infinitive, see N. on I. 10. § 1. —— *κατὰ πόλεις, by cities, city by city.* —— *ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων* (sc. *ὑμῶν* from *τὴν Πελοπόννησον*), *for you would have been unable.* "The participle with *ἄν* frequently has the sense of the future, and is equivalent to *μέλλων* with the infinitive." Jelf's Kühn. § 429. 3. Cf. S. § 215. 5. The protasis *εἰ ἐπέπλει* is to be mentally supplied. See N. on I. 71. § 5.

5. *αὐτὸς* refers to Xerxes. —— *ὡς....δυνάμεως, thinking that his forces was no longer equal* (to what it had been before), i. e. perceiving that his strength was broken. So Goel. and Arnold interpret, but Bloomf. renders, *inasmuch as the force he had was no longer of equal match* with the enemy. In respect to the construction, "a participle with *ὡς* signifies the same thing, as a participle of a verb denoting *to think*, or *to say*, followed by an infinitive or an accusative with an infinitive." K. § 312. 6; S. § 225. 4. —— *τῷ πλέονι* is a masculine, and is the dative of accompaniment. Mt. § 405. N. 2; S. § 206. 5.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

The orator proceeds to say, that the Athenians contributed to the naval fight at Salamis three things, viz. the largest number of ships, a most skilful commander, and the most untiring zeal (§§ 1, 2); the Lacedæmonians, when alarmed for their own safety, came to their aid from cities inhabited and designed to be in future inhabited, whereas they, sallying forth from a city having no longer an existence, and encountering danger in behalf of what they had but faint hopes of saving, preserved both the Lacedæmonians and themselves (§ 3); had the Athenians gone over to the Persians, or had they feared to embark on board their ships, the Lacedæmonians would not have ventured upon a title, and the issue of the Persian invasion would have been far different (§ 4).

1. *τοιούτου—τούτου, such an event as this.* —— *σαφῶς δηλωθέντος, it clearly appearing.* The subject is *ὅτι....ἐγένετο.* The participle frequently stands alone, when the subject is readily supplied from the context, or is indefinite, a pronoun or some general word like *πράγματα, χρήματα, ἄνθρωποι*, etc. being understood. Cf. Mt. § 563; K. § 312. R. 4; S. § 226. b. —— *ἐν—ἐγένετο, consisted in, were suspended upon.* —— *ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον.* Themistocles is called by Herodot. (VIII. 124), *ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος.* Our historian

in I. 138, says many things concerning his energy and eminent abilities. —— *ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας*, *to the four hundred*, depends on *παρεσχόμεθα*, and therefore Matthiæ (§ 578. f) is wrong in citing this passage in proof that *ἐς* signifies *about*. In respect to the number of ships said to be furnished by the Athenians, if *δύο μοιρῶν* signifies *two-thirds*, as is the opinion of most of the commentators, it must have been 266. Yet, according to Herodotus, their quota of ships was 180, to which, as Bloomf. suggests, may be added the twenty ships furnished by Athens, and manned by the Chalcidians, thus making 200, the number set down to them by Demosthenes, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Nepos. This then may be considered the true number of ships furnished on that occasion by the Athenians. But how are we to reconcile with this, the number given here by Thucydides? As usual there have been almost as many conjectures as commentators, but none of them in all respects satisfactory. All the MSS. except four (or according to Arnold, three) read *τετρακοσίας*. Bloomf. is disposed to follow those four MSS., in which is found the reading *τριακοσίους*, which would remove the difficulty as far as the number of Athenian ships is concerned. But then another difficulty arises, for Herodotus reckons the whole number of ships at 378. Here then, on the supposition that *τριακοσίους* is the true reading, is a discrepancy of seventy-eight, or if the twelve Æginetan ships, which were guarding the island of Ægina in the time of the action, are subtracted, there is still a difference of sixty-six. In order to avoid the difficulty, Bloomf. supposes that only 300 took part in the engagement. Arnold conjectures that the *two-thirds* of the fleet here claimed by the Athenian orator, was an overestimate, perfectly consistent with oratorical exaggeration, and that when Demosthenes gives, as he does, the real number of the ships, and calls it two-thirds of the whole, he states the number to be 300. Didot takes *δύο μοιρῶν* in the sense of *one-half*, and this opinion Goeller adopts in his last edition. The reading of Demosthenes, which is *τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν τριήρεων τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο*, they would change from *τριακοσίων* into *τετρακοσίων*, and thus harmonize the conflicting passages. But would it not have been more natural for Thucydides to have written *τὰς ἡμισείας* or *τὸ ἥμισυ*? I know of no way to remove the difficulty, except by the change of reading proposed by Bloomf. and Poppo, for the statement is too disproportionate to the truth to be attributed to the exaggeration natural to orators, who, before so grave and discriminating an audience as the one here addressed, would find it necessary to adhere in some degree to the statement of things as they really were. Col. Leake (Athens, II. p. 251) I find comes also to the conclusion, that *τριακοσίας* is the

true reading in the passage before us. —— *ναυμαχῆσαι* depends on *αἰτιώτατος—ἐγένετο, was the most instrumental in causing the sea-fight to take place in the narrows.* Cf. K. § 306. 1. c; Mt. § 542. *Obs.* 1. *β*; S. § 222. 6. —— *ὅπερ* refers to *ἐν τῷ στενῷ* (= *ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι*) *ναυμαχῆσαι.* —— *διὰ....ἐτιμήσατε.* Cf. Plut. in Themist. ch. 17, where it is said that the Lacedæmonians presented Themistocles with an olive branch and a chariot, the best in the city, besides bestowing upon him many other marks of honor. —— *τῶν—ἑλθόντων* is to be constructed after *μάλιστα.* —— *ὡς, to.* See N. on I. 31. § 2.

2. *οἵ γε—ἠξιώσαμεν, inasmuch as we determined.* The relative here introduces the ground or reason of what has just been said, respecting the boldness and alacrity of the Athenians. Cf. K. § 334. 2. —— *τῶν ἄλλων* is referred by the Schol. to the Macedonians, Thessalians, Locrians, Bœotians, and Phocians. —— *μέχρι ἡμῶν = μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν.* —— *ἐκλιπόντες.* See N. on *ὄντες*, I. 7. § 1. —— *τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείραντες.* A Schol. says that the Athenians destroyed with their own hands all the goods which could not be removed, and the cattle which could not be driven away. Another Schol. says that they destroyed the city, in order that it might not be used by the Barbarians as a military station against Greece. —— *μηδ' ὡς (= οὕτως), not even thus*, i. e. in so distressed a condition. —— *προλιπεῖν* depends on *ἠξιώσαμεν.* —— *σκεδασθέντες* into other countries. —— *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. *τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.* —— *ἀλλ'* responds to *μηδ' ὡς.*

3. *οὐχ ἧσσον.* Bloomf. is doubtless correct in considering this as put by Attic urbanity for *μᾶλλον.* —— *τούτου*, i. e. *τοῦ ὠφελεῖσθαι* or *τῆς ὠφελείας.* —— *γὰρ* in *ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ* introduces the proof of what immediately precedes. —— *ἐπὶ τῷ—νέμεσθαι* is taken by Didot in the sense of *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ νέμεσθαι*, in consequence of the antithetic *ὑπὲρ οὔσης* which follows. The common rendering is *ut in posterum incoleretur.* —— *καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον.* Mt. (§ 455. *Obs.* 3. b) says, "a comparison with '*more*' implies an opposition, and two modes of speech are therefore combined." Here we have *not for us* and *rather than for us* conjoined, so as to read literally, *and not rather than for us*, a fulness of expression employed evidently for the sake of emphasis. —— *τῆς οὐκ οὔσης*, "sc. *ἡμῖν, quæ nobis jam nulla esset*, non, *quæ esse desiisset.*" "Hoc potius indicat sequentibus verbis: *ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης.*" Haack. But inasmuch as *τῆς οὐκ οὔσης* is opposed to the preceding *ἀπὸ οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων*, I prefer the interpretation of Gottl., *quæ jam nulla est*, i. e. *ἐφθαρμένης.* —— Didot refers *ὑπὲρ τῆς....οὔσης* to *τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος*, i. e. the fleet, the only safeguard after the destruction of their city, in which the hopes of the Athenians rested, and this too being in circumstances of great peril. This

conjecture is worthy of consideration, although I think reference is had to the commonwealth, rather than to the ships or personal safety of the citizens. —— τὸ μέρος, *in some measure.* Bloomf. "*quantum in nobis esset.*" Goel. It appears to me, that Arnold has hit upon the true exposition: *we bore our full share in the deliverance both of ourselves and of you.*

4. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν—οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι ἔδει ὑμᾶς, *if we had gone over—you would no longer have been under the necessity*, etc. For the indicative in the protasis, see N. on I. 53. § 2. ἄν in the apodosis weakens the assertion, and makes it a little less offensive to the Lacedæmonian ears, than a positive assertion would have been. Cf. S. § 215. 1. For the translation of ἔδει by the pluperfect, cf. Mt. § 508. b; K. § 260. 2 (2); S. § 215. 2. Notice that the aorist is employed in the protasis, because the act spoken of is regarded as momentarily completed, but in the apodosis the imperfect is used, because the necessity spoken of is to be represented as having a continued existence. —— καθ' ἡσυχίαν, *at his leisure* (as far as fighting was concerned) = *without opposition.* —— ἂν αὐτῷ προεχώρησε, *would have gone on for him* (see N. on I. 109. § 3). αὐτῷ is the *dat. commodi.*

CHAPTER LXXV.

Having performed such signal services, the Athenians ought not to be envied on account of their dominion (§ 1); for this had come to them, because they had been left by the Lacedæmonians to finish the Barbarian war (§ 2); the sway which they held had been increased, first through the natural influence of fear, and then for the sake of honor and interest (§ 3); being hated by many and suspected by the Lacedæmonians, it seemed unsafe to relax their authority, and give opportunity for the disaffected states to revolt (4), and for this regard to their own interests no one could justly blame them (§ 5).

1. ἆρ' ἄξιοί ἐσμεν. To these words belongs the μὴ before οὕτως, so that the order is: ἆρα μὴ ἄξιοί ἐσμεν—οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι, *is it just then—that we should lie under such a load of envy?* οὐ is joined with ἆρα when an affirmative, and μὴ when a negative answer is expected (cf. K. § 344. 5. d; S. § 219. 4). Thus ἆρα οὐκ ἄξιοί ἐσμεν would signify, *do we not deserve?* —— τότε, i. e. in the Persian war. —— γνώμης ξυνέσεως, *the wisdom of our counsel;* "*our good sense in counsel.*" Arnold. Reference is had to what is said of Themistocles in I. 74. § 1. —— ἀρχῆς depends on ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι = φθονεῖσθαι, which in the active voice is followed by the dative of the person and genitive of the thing. Cf. K. § 274. e. —— γε is here

limitive, *at least on account of the rule.* —— ἧς is put in the genitive by attraction with ἀρχῆς, the accusative being properly demanded after ἔχομεν.

2. αὐτὴν refers to ἀρχῆς. —— βιασάμενοι, *by force.* See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, i. e. the termination of the war with the Barbarians. The supineness of the Lacedæmonians was most undoubtedly a principal cause of the ascendency of the Athenians in maritime affairs. Their continuance in the war would have placed them at the head of the confederacy, as their withdrawal elevated the Athenians to that station. —— αὐτῶν....καταστῆναι, *themselves entreating us to become their leaders.*

3. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου, *from the nature of the thing itself.* So the Schol. explains ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς τοῦ πράγματος. The thing referred to, is the dominion enjoyed by the Athenians, and on the principle laid down by the Schol., that *the ruler is always hated* (ὁ ἄρχων ἀεὶ μισεῖται), it would be necessary for them, by strengthening their power, to protect themselves against the effect of this hatred. —— ἐς τόδε, i. e. to what it now is; to its present height of power. —— δέους, not of the Barbarians, as Haack supposes, but as a Schol. remarks, δέους τῶν κακῶς παθόντων ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπηκόων, for this seems evident from οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι—κινδυνεύειν which follows.

4. ἐδόκει has for its subject ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν with which ἀσφαλὲς agrees. —— ἀπηχθημένους (see N. on I. 76. § 1) belongs to ἡμᾶς, the omitted subject of κινδυνεύειν. —— τίνων....κατεστραμμένων, *some even who had already revolted having been subdued.* Cf. I. 98, et seq. —— ὁμοίως as before. —— ἀνέντας (*by relaxing* our authority) belongs to κινδυνεύειν as the participle of means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— γὰρ....ἐγίγνοντο, *for* (if we had let go the reins) *the desertions would have been to you* = (by constructio prægnans. See N. on I. 18. § 2) *the deserters would have gone over and remained with you,* i. e. been on your side.

5. πᾶσι depends on ἀνεπίφθονον (sc. ἐστι), as the *dat. incommodi.* Render, *it is not a matter of censure to any* = *none can be censured.* The subject is εὖ τίθεσθαι. —— τῶν μεγίστων περὶ κινδύνων = ἵνα μὴ ἐμπέσῃ εἰς μεγίστους κινδύνους. Schol. περὶ is put by anastrophe for περί. S. § 231. N. 2 (a).

CHAPTER LXXVI

The speaker now retorts upon the Lacedæmonians, that they are doing the same things in Peloponnesus which they charge upon the Athenians, and the superiority, which would have been theirs had they remained until the close of the war (see N. on I. 75. § 2), must in like manner have been maintained by a strong and vigorous government (§ 1); in accepting and maintaining the dominion voluntarily bestowed upon them, they had done nothing strange or discordant with established customs, and so the Lacedæmonians thought, until swayed by motives of self-interest they began to talk of justice (§ 2); in ruling so just and equitably, the Athenians deemed themselves worthy of commendation (§ 3); and the mildness of their rule, for which they were now the subject of obloquy, would be manifest if their power should pass to other hands (§ 4).

1. *τὰς—πόλεις* depends on *καταστησάμενοι*, and *αὐτῶν* is to be supplied after *ἐξηγεῖσθε*. Haack erroneously makes the accusative to depend on this verb. —— *ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον* is referred by the Schol. to the utility resulting from the oligarchical form of government. —— *τότε*, i. e. after the battle of Mycale. —— *διὰ παντός*, i. e. through the whole war. —— *ἀπήχθησθε*, *had become odious*. On this word, as on *ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου*, the Schol. remarks, *οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες μισοῦνται· φιλελεύθερον γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον*. —— *ἴσμεν ἂν—ὑμᾶς—γενομένους*, *we know that you would be*. *ἄν* belongs to the participle (see N. on I. 73. § 4). For the construction of *εἰδέναι* with the participle, see N. on I. 69. § 5. —— *ἧσσον* than we.

2. *οὕτως*, *so that*, *wherefore*. —— *ἀπό*, *out of*, *away from*. —— *εἰ ... ἐδεξάμεθα*. Cf. I. 75. § 2. The vulgar reading for *διδομένην* is *διαδιδομένην*, *per manus traditum*, which is inapplicable here. —— *ἀνεῖμεν* (see N. on *ἀνέντας*, I. 75. § 4) is opposed to *ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς*, § 1 supra. —— *τιμῆς....ὠφελείας*. Cf. I. 75. § 3. —— *οὐδ' αὖ.... ὑπάρξαντες* introduces another circumstance, viz. established usage, to justify the acceptance and vigorous maintenance of power by the Athenians. *τοιούτου* refers to the supremacy just spoken of, and therefore takes the article. —— *καθεστῶτος* = *νομίμου ὄντος*, *νομιζομένου*. Schol. The subject is properly *τὸν....κατείργεσθαι*. —— *ἄξιοί τε ἅμα κ. τ. λ.* Their acknowledged fitness to rule, is here brought forward as an additional (*ἅμα*) reason why the Athenians were not deserving of censure in receiving and exercising their authority as they had done. The participles *νομίζοντες* and *δοκοῦντες* denote cause. See N. on I. 9. § 4 (end). With *ἄξιοι*, the words *τοῦ ἄρχειν* or *τῆς ἀρχῆς* may be mentally supplied. —— *ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες*. Cf. I. 95. § 7. —— *μέχρι....χρῆσθε*, *until the present time* (*νῦν*), *when*, *thinking it conducive to your interest*, *you make use of the argument of justice*. "*τὸ δικαίῳ λόγῳ*, intellige *τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων*."

Goel. —— *παρατυχόν, it being in his power = whilst it was in his power.* The accusative absolute is employed, when time parallel to or coincident with another action is to be designated. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 700. 2; S. § 226. b. —— *προθείς, preferring.* The object is *ὄν*, referring to the idea of justice or a just policy, implied in *τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ.* —— *μὴ—ἔχειν.* See N. on I. 10. § 1 (end).

3. *ἐπαινείσθαί τε ἄξιοι οἵτινες, they also are worthy to be praised who.* Cf. S. § 172. 4. —— *τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει, human nature = the dictate of nature, the natural desire of man.* —— Arnold translates *δικαιότεροι....δύναμιν, less careless of justice than our actual power enabled us to be.* I prefer Bloomfield's translation: *have been more observant of justice than according to their power* (to commit injustice). *κατὰ* here denotes conformity, and may be rendered, *in accordance with*, and implies that their moderation was greater than might have been expected from the extent of their power.

4. *γ' ἂν—ἄν.* We frequently find one of these particles joined to the principal verb, to denote the conditional nature of the whole sentence, and also to that part of the sentence which it immediately modifies. Sometimes the repetition results from an intervening clause. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 432. a; Mt. § 600; S. § 215. N. 5. —— *δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα* by the severity of their government. —— *ἡμῖν δὲ—περιέστη* is nearly equivalent to *ἡμῖν δὲ ἐγένετο (has happened to us)*, the verb *περιέστη, has come around to us*, being a more lively form of expression. For the dative, cf. Mt. § 402. *d.* —— *τὸ πλέον ἤ, more than.*

CHAPTER LXXVII.

The orator proceeds to prove what he has just affirmed (I. 76. § 4), by showing that the Athenians are called litigious, when instead of compelling their allies to redress any real or supposed wrong, they are willing to have the points in dispute fairly tried and determined by civil tribunals, from which reproach those who exercise arbitrary power in respect to these things are exempt (§§ 1, 2): this leniency is made, however, a ground of complaint by their allies, whenever they feel aggrieved by a judicial sentence, or by any decision of the state, even more so than though they had been stripped by the hand of violence of all their possessions (§ 3); for men more highly resent acts of injustice than acts of violence, as is seen from a comparison of the patience with which these states bore the Median yoke, with their restiveness under the Athenian rule (§§ 4, 5); the same feelings of hostility would be entertained towards the Lacedæmonians, if they took the dominion, especially as their customs were so different from those of the other states (§ 6).

1. *καὶ* is to be referred to the *καὶ* below, *γὰρ* being here the general connective. —— *ἐλασσούμενοι, = although* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *we*

illi vero (socii nostri) *quum sint assueti.* The usual interpretation is, *but they who are accustomed.* But if this were the meaning, we should suppose that ἄλλους, or some other general word, would have been employed instead of ἡμᾶς. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, *on equal footing, on terms of equality.* —— μὴ accompanies οἴεσθαι, because παρὰ has a negative sense (see N. on I. 10. § 1), *beyond what* (=*otherwise than*) *they think is right.* With χρῆναι supply from the main clause ἐλασσωθῆναι. Goel. constructs: παρὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι μὴ χρῆναι. —— γνώμῃ refers to a judicial decision, δυνάμει to power exercised irrespective of a legal trial. —— καὶ ὁπωσοῦν, *even in the least* = *in ever so slight a degree.* With this meaning, which is easily derived from the more common signification of the word, *in any way whatever* (cf. Liddell and Scott sub voce), ὁπωσοῦν may be connected with ἤν τι. Its position after ἢ—ἢ is no serious objection to this, inasmuch as it is placed beside the verb whose meaning is limited by τί. Its connection with the words immediately preceding would have been expressed by ἢ ὁπωσοῦν, *or in any other way whatever.* But what other way was there to effect the thing complained of, than the two modes spoken of in ἡ γνώμῃ ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν? —— ἐλασσωθῶσιν, *are worsted.* This meaning, which is inevitable here, shows that Arnold is mistaken in the sense, which he assigns to ἐλασσούμενοι in § 1 supra. —— οὐ....ἔχουσιν, *they feel no gratitude that they are not deprived of the greater part.* For the use of the article with πλέονος, cf. K. § 246. 8. c. στερισκόμενοι denotes the cause. See N. on I. 9. § 4. —— τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς (=τοῦ ἐλάσσονος), *the part lacking,* in opposition to the part which remained. For the article, see the reference on τοῦ πλέονος supra. —— χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν, *they are more indignant.* In this combination, the signification of the adjective predominates, and hence takes the genitive. Cf. Mt. § 368. 5. *a.* —— ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον, *putting aside the law* = *paying no regard to law.* —— ἐκείνως, "*illo modo.*" Betant. —— δὲ = γάρ. —— ἀντέλεγον implies negation, and hence is followed by ὡς οὐ with χρεών (sc. ἐστι). See N. on I. 10. § 1. Cf. also S. § 230. 8; Mt. § 534. *Obs.* 4 2; K. § 318. 9. Render the passage, *not even they themselves* (i. e. the persons aggrieved) *can deny that the weaker must yield to the stronger.*

4. ἀδικούμενοι, *when treated unjustly.* See N. on I. 13. § 6. —— τὸ μὲν referring to ἀδικούμενοι, and τὸ δ' to βιαζόμενοι, are both the subjects of the propositions in which they stand, the other words composing the predicates. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου Bloomf. regards as a neuter, and translates, *on a footing of equal justice.* Others interpret it, *pro equali conditione.* I prefer, as the most natural mode of interpretation, to take ἀπὸ in the sense of ὑπὸ (K. § 288. 8. c), and

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2. αὐτῶν refers to the persons, who charged the Athenians with oppression and injustice in their treatment of the allies. —— τοῖς—ἔχουσι depends on ὀνειδίζεται. The Schol. says that reference is had to the Persians and Scythians. —— διότι, *why, for what reason.* —— τοῦτο refers back to ἧσσον....ἔχουσι. —— γὰρ in this place has furnished some difficulty to interpreters. Poppo calls it γὰρ *declarativum* (Lat. *scilicet*). Haack refers it to τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται quæ sine διότι, tamquam peculiaris sententia, cogitatione repetenda sunt: οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζεται τοῦτο· βιάζεσθαι γάρ, etc. Goel. supplies the ellipsis οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται, ὅτι βιάζονται· βιάζεσθαι γάρ, etc., which I think is the correct explanation, inasmuch as it best meets the demands of the context. —— προσδέονται, sc. οὗτοι, the antecedent of οἷς in the preceding clause.

3. Poppo correctly disjoins οἱ δὲ from εἰθισμένοι, and interprets

illi vero (socii nostri) *quum sint assueti.* The usual interpretation is, *but they who are accustomed.* But if this were the meaning, we should suppose that ἄλλους, or some other general word, would have been employed instead of ἡμᾶς. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, *on equal footing, on terms of equality.* —— μὴ accompanies οἴεσθαι, because παρὰ has a negative sense (see N. on I. 10. § 1), *beyond what* (=*otherwise than*) *they think is right.* With χρῆναι supply from the main clause ἐλασσωθῆναι. Goel. constructs: παρὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι μὴ χρῆναι. —— γνώμῃ refers to a judicial decision, δυνάμει to power exercised irrespective of a legal trial. —— καὶ ὁπωσοῦν, *even in the least* = *in ever so slight a degree.* With this meaning, which is easily derived from the more common signification of the word, *in any way whatever* (cf. Liddell and Scott sub voce), ὁπωσοῦν may be connected with ἤν τι. Its position after ἢ—ἢ is no serious objection to this, inasmuch as it is placed beside the verb whose meaning is limited by τί. Its connection with the words immediately preceding would have been expressed by ἢ ὁπωσοῦν, *or in any other way whatever.* But what other way was there to effect the thing complained of, than the two modes spoken of in ἡ γνώμῃ ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν? —— ἐλασσωθῶσιν, *are worsted.* This meaning, which is inevitable here, shows that Arnold is mistaken in the sense, which he assigns to ἐλασσούμενοι in § 1 supra. —— οὐ....ἔχουσιν, *they feel no gratitude that they are not deprived of the greater part.* For the use of the article with πλέονος, cf. K. § 246. 8. c. στερισκόμενοι denotes the cause. See N. on I. 9. § 4. —— τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς (=τοῦ ἐλάσσονος), *the part lacking*, in opposition to the part which remained. For the article, see the reference on τοῦ πλέονος supra. —— χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν, *they are more indignant.* In this combination, the signification of the adjective predominates, and hence takes the genitive. Cf. Mt. § 368. 5. *a.* —— ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον, *putting aside the law* = *paying no regard to law.* —— ἐκείνως, "*illo modo.*" Betant. —— δὲ = γάρ. —— ἀντέλεγον implies negation, and hence is followed by ὡς οὐ with χρεών (sc. ἐστι). See N. on I. 10. § 1. Cf. also S. § 280. 8; Mt. § 534. *Obs.* 4 2; K. § 318. 9. Render the passage, *not even they themselves* (i. e. the persons aggrieved) *can deny that the weaker must yield to the stronger.*

4. ἀδικούμενοι, *when treated unjustly.* See N. on I. 18. § 6. —— τὸ μὲν referring to ἀδικούμενοι, and τὸ δ' to βιαζόμενοι, are both the subjects of the propositions in which they stand, the other words composing the predicates. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου Bloomf. regards as a neuter, and translates, *on a footing of equal justice.* Others interpret it, *pro equali conditione.* I prefer, as the most natural mode of interpretation, to take ἀπὸ in the sense of ὑπὸ (K. § 288. 8. c), and

ἴσου as a masculine, *by one who is an equal*. In this way, it harmonizes with ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, which is varied from ἀπὸ τοῦ. In respect to the sentiment, commentators cite many kindred examples. Among others, the one quoted by Goel. from Plut. Vit. Timol., is very much in point: οὕτως ὑπὸ λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ πράξεων πονηρῶν ἀνιᾶσθαι πεφύκασιν οἱ πολλοί· χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ὕβριν ἢ βλάβην φέρουσι. See also οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὀργίζεται τοῖς πολὺ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τῇ δυνάμει, Aristot. Rhet. I. 11, cited by Arnold.

5. γοῦν introduces an example confirmatory of the assertion just made. —— πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο, *they endured suffering*. S. § 225. 8. —— εἰκότως, *as might be expected, naturally enough*. The next clause illustrates this, and is therefore introduced by γάρ. —— τὸ παρόν, *the present*, i. e. their present lot. Supply δοκεῖ from the preceding context. Bloomf. aptly remarks on the misery of those who live under a system of *unequal confederation*, cheated as they often are by the shadow of liberty, while the substance ever eludes their grasp.

6. γε in ὑμεῖς γ' gives emphasis to the pronoun, as though it were spoken in an elevated tone of voice, or written in italics. S. § 68. n. 3. —— οὖν is here a particle of reference, *as to this matter*. —— καθελόντες. The Schol. adds προμαντεύεται· καθεῖλον γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. —— ἡμέτερον δέος, *your fear of us*. See N. on αἵ γε ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες, I. 69. § 5. —— οἷα καὶ τότε—ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν, *such as then—now also*. The καὶ before τότε serves to connect more closely, but is unsusceptible of translation into English. —— ἡγησάμενοι, *when* (see N. on I. 13. § 6) *you had the lead*, defines τότε. —— ὑπεδείξατε, *you gave indications of*. This reading, adopted by all the recent commentators for ἀπεδείξατε, gives a better sense, since, as Arnold remarks, the Lacedæmonians had not fully manifested (ἀπέδειξαν) their tyrannical spirit, but had shown symptoms (ὑπέδειξαν) of it, during the command of Pausanias. —— ὁμοῖα—γνώσεσθε = ὁμοίαις γνώμαις χρήσεσθε. —— καθ', *amongst*. —— τοῖς ἄλλοις (Greeks) limits ἄμικτα, which adjective forcibly expresses the unsocial (or as Bloomf. says, the anti-social) spirit of the Lacedæmonian institutions, in permitting no foreigners to reside among them, and in adopting customs, unique, and in many respects quite offensive to the neighboring states. Cf. Müll. Dor. II. p. 194. —— ἐξιών, sc. ἐς πόλεμον. The more general sense of going into foreign parts on business of any sort, is perhaps the true one. —— οἷς = ἐκείνοις οἷς, of which the antecedent depends on νομίζει = χρῆσθαι νομίζει (Kr. § 55. 4. N. 11), *is in the habit of using*. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 591. *Obs.*; K. § 285. 1. (2). —— ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλας, *the rest of Greece*.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

The Lacedæmonians are exhorted, finally, not to engage precipitously in war, on the charges brought by others against the Athenians (§ 1), and are admonished of the uncertainty and the calamities of war (§ 2), in which men oftentimes engage thoughtlessly, and are only brought to reason by some calamity (§ 3); and in conclusion, they are solemnly charged not to violate the treaty, but to submit the differences to a judicial investigation, and are reminded, that if they resort to arms, the Athenians will repel their attacks with the utmost vigor and resolution (§ 4).

1. *βραδέως—βραχέων.* There is here a slight paronomasia = *deliberate long* (i. e. come to no hasty decision) *since you are not deliberating* (sc. *βουλευόμενοι* from *βουλεύεσθε*) *about short matters* (i. e. matters of trifling importance). *οὐ* belongs to the omitted participle, and hence is placed before *περί*. —— *ἀλλοτρίαις* refers to the Corinthians. —— *τὸν παράλογον, the uncertainty.* This word literally signifies *that which is beyond calculation*, and is here applied to the issue of the war, which was eminently involved in uncertainty.

2. *μηκυνόμενος....περίστασθαι, for when protracted, it usually* (*φιλεῖ, is wont*) *brings most things to depend upon chance;* or as Arnold interprets, *brings in the end to hazard = ends by bringing to hazard.* Most of the commentators explain *τύχας*, as referring to uncertain events which are adverse. But it is better to take it in a more unlimited sense, as referring to fortune either good or bad, and continuing the idea expressed in *τὸν παράλογον*. The sentiment is, that in a long-continued war, no one is so far-sighted as to be able to see how things will take place, or what will be the issue of the contest. This is true of all wars, and a most fearful realization did it have in the long and desolating contest, which is the subject of this history. —— *ὧν*, i. e. *τύχων*. —— *ἀπέχομεν* refers to both the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. These states were equally removed from the elevation or prostration of power, which hung upon the uncertain issue of the war. —— *ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται, is exposed to great uncertainty;* literally, *is periled in the dark.*

3. *τῶν ἔργων—ἔχονται* (*engage in*). S. § 192. 1. Steph. supplies *τῶν λόγων* after *πρότερον*. But perhaps this is unnecessary, as it evidently stands opposed to *ὕστερον*, and may therefore be taken absolutely. —— *ἃ* refers to *ἔργων*. —— *κακοπαθοῦντες* denotes time (see N. on I. 13. § 6), and contains the protasis of *τῶν λόγων ἅπτονται, they betake themselves to counsels* (literally, *to words*). For the genitive, cf. S. § 192. 1. The variety of uses in which the Attics employed ἅπτω,

especially in the middle voice, may be seen in almost any good lexicon. —— ἤδη belongs to κακοπαθοῦντες.

4. ἐν....αὐτοί, *who* (see N. on I. 8. § 1) *are not yet ourselves in such an error*, as to engage in war without due deliberation. So the Schol. explains ἁμαρτίᾳ by τῇ προλεχθείσῃ ἀβουλίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου. —— ὁρῶντες, sc. ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντας. —— ἕως, *while*. ——αὐθαίρετος, *in the power of, depending on the will*, is in the predicate. —— λύειν depends on λέγομεν ὑμῖν. There is a play on λύειν—λύεσθαι, the former being taken in the sense of *to break, violate*, the latter, *to be terminated, adjusted*. Cf. Xen. Anab. III. 1. § 21. —— κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην, *according to compact = in conformity with the terms of the treaty*. "Etenim in fœderibus tricennalibus (I. 115. § 1) scriptum erat, ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν, ἢν δίκας θέλωσι διδόναι, VII. 18. § 2." Poppo. ἤ, *or otherwise*. —— θεοὺς τοὺς ὁρκίους. See N. on I. 71. § 5. The oaths here referred to, were those with which the treaty was ratified. —— ἄρχοντας (sc. ὑμᾶς) follows ἀμύνεσθαι. —— ταύτῃ....ὑφηγῆσθε, *the way in which you may lead us = according to the example which you may set us*. "ὑφηγῆσθε idem quod προηγῆσθε." Goel. "They both express the same idea, but not exactly the same part of it: προηγεῖσθαι expresses the precedence, ὑφηγεῖσθαι the nearness of the leader." Arnold.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Having heard the speeches on both sides, the Lacedæmonians deliberate by themselves on the present state of things (§ 1); the majority are for immediate war, when Archidamus their king addresses them in opposition to such precipitous measures (§ 2).

1. τῶν Ἀθηναίων depends on ἤκουσαν (S. § 192), and not as some think on ἃ ἔλεξαν (= τοὺς λόγους). —— μεταστησάμενοι πάντας, *having caused all* (i. e. both their allies and the Athenians) *to withdraw*. S. § 209. 2. Cf. Xen. Anab. II. 3. § 8. —— κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς, *among themselves*.

2. ἐπὶ....ἔφερον, *the opinions inclined to the same point*. The metaphor is taken from roads meeting in a common centre. —— ἀδικεῖν....τάχει explains τὸ αὐτό. —— πολεμητέα εἶναι, *they should go to war*. See N. on περιτητέα, I. 72. § 1. —— Ἀρχίδαμος. Archidamus II. succeeded his grandfather (A. C. 469), his father Zeuxidamus having died some time previous. A brief but judicious estimate of his moral worth, and the eminent services which he rendered to his state,

may be found in Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol. I. p. 267. The Peloponnesian war for the first ten years, is frequently called the Archidamian war. —— δοκῶν εἶναι does not imply doubt, but that which was a matter of general repute.

CHAPTERS LXXX.—LXXXV.

The speech of king Archidamus, comprised in these chapters, has for its main object, the postponement of hostilities until negotiation has been tried, and the Lacedæmonians have increased their resources. He urges the wealth, the high state of preparation for war, and the naval supremacy of the Athenians, as a reason why, with their present resources, the Lacedæmonians could not hope to be victorious (chaps. 80, 81). He does not oppose the war, if the Athenians refuse to listen to their terms, but advises that they should first set forth calmly and with firmness their grounds of complaint, at the same time making all preparations for war (chap. 82). He cautions his auditors against regarding this advice as puaillanimous, or being influenced by the charges of tardiness and dilatoriness which may be brought against them, for to such a wise and deliberate policy the Lacedæmonians had been indebted for their glory and independence (chaps. 82, 83). In conclusion, he urges them not to hazard their institutions by a precipitous declaration of war, which must cost many lives, much treasure, and much honor, but to submit the matter, as the Athenians profess their willingness to do, to a judicial investigation (chap. 85). The speech is grave, dignified, full of sound wisdom and statesman-like views, and worthy of the man who pronounced it, and the occasion which called it forth.

CHAPTER LXXX.

The speaker commences with a modest reference to his military experience, and that of many around him, which rendered them free from the desire of war entertained by the inexperienced (§ 1); as to the war in respect to which they were consulting, it would be very momentous (§ 2), for against the Peloponnesians war could be waged on equal terms, and with dispatch, but should not lightly be declared against a people of such power, resources, and naval experience as the Athenians (§ 3), especially as the Lacedæmonians in wealth and maritime resources were so much inferior (§ 4).

1. πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων. Archidamus must have been at this time quite an old man, as he is supposed to have died in the fifth year of

the war, in the forty-second year of his reign (see N. on III. 89. § 1). —— *τούς*, sc. *ἐμπείρους* from the preceding context. —— *μήτε—ἐπισυμῆσαι—μήτε—νομίσαντα*. The change to the participial construction is somewhat harsh. Cf. Mt. § 397. 3. Both clauses denote the end or effect of the skill and experience, which the speaker claims for himself and many of his auditors.

2. *τόνδε*, sc. *τὸν πόλεμον*. —— *οὐκ—ἐλάχιστον* is a litotes for *greatest, most momentous*. The Schol. refers *ἐλάχιστον* to time, but that, as Bloomf. remarks, is judging by the event. Archidamus might easily predict the severity of the struggle between two such states as Sparta and Athens, and yet be profoundly ignorant of the length of time, in which it would be carried on. —— *εἴ τις—ἐκλογίζοιτο* = *εἰ ἐκλογίζοισθε*. So we frequently use *one, some one*, etc. for the personal pronouns. Cf. S. § 165. b; Mt. § 487. 3; K. § 303. R. 6.

3. *γὰρ* introduces an explanation of *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον*. —— *καὶ* before *ἀστυγείτονας* is epexegetical, *especially, even*. Poppo refers *ἀστυγείτονας* to the Argives, and some of the Arcadians with whom the Lacedæmonians waged frequent and bloody wars. —— *παρόμοιος, of the same description*, i. e. military rather than naval. So Arnold explains with the Schol. Didot takes *ἀλκὴ* in the sense of *ἐρωή*, on the ground that the common explanation (*vires, strength*) conflicts with the beginning of the next chapter, where superiority in strength and numbers over the Athenians is claimed. But if *παρόμοιος* refers to the *kind* rather than the *degree of power*, that objection will be of no force. —— *οἷόν τε* refers to *ἐλθεῖν*, and is therefore in the neuter. Literally, *to proceed against each one is possible*. When spoken of persons, *οἷός τε* means *able*. —— *ἐφ' ἕκαστα*. Duk. supplies *τὰ χωρία* with the Schol. —— *ἑκὰς* Peloponnesus. —— *ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ, private and public*. Notice the distinctness and emphasis given to the nouns in this sentence by the frequent use of the conjunction. —— *ἐνί γε χωρίῳ, at least in any one place*. Athens, in the height of her prosperity, contained at least 200,000 inhabitants. Cf. Leake's Athens, I. p. 440; Appendix XXIII. —— *φόρου ὑποτελεῖς*. See N. on I. 19 § 1. —— *πρὸς τούτους* refers to *ἄνδρας*, which is repeated by the pronoun, in consequence of the words which intervene between it and the verb *ἄρασθαι*. S. § 160. N. 5. —— *πιστεύσαντας* agrees with *ἡμᾶς* the omitted subject of *ἐπεὶ χθῆναι*. Repeat *χρὴ* from the preceding clause.

4. *ναυσὶν* depends on *πιστεύσαντας* to be mentally supplied from the preceding context. —— *ἥσσους* in ships. —— *χρόνος ἐνέσται, time will intervene*, i. e. before the thing spoken of can be done, time will be required. —— *χρήμασιν* is joined in construction with *ναυσίν*. ——

πολλῷ....ἐλλείπομεν, *in this* (i. e. wealth) *we are still more deficient.* The comparative is here strengthened by πολλῷ ἔτι. Cf. K. § 289. R. 1; S. § 159. 4. For the construction of τούτου, cf. S. § 200. 8. The singular is employed although referring to a plural noun, because the noun is regarded in the abstract as a thing. Cf. Mt. § 439. —— ἐν κοινῷ (sc. ταμιείῳ. Cf. Bos. Gr. Ellip. p. 127), *in the common treasury.* —— ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, *from our private resources.* The Lacedæmonians were poor, as is remarked by the Schol. on this passage. —— φέρομεν is employed here in the sense to contribute.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

It would be of little avail to invade and plunder the Athenian territory, since from other states they could import whatever was wanted (§§ 1, 2); any attempt also to induce their allies to revolt would require a fleet, on account of their insular position (§ 3); unless they overcame the Athenians by sea, or cut off the revenues by which their navy was supported, they themselves would sustain the greatest injury in the war (§ 4); and to abandon the contest at such a time, would be dishonorable to them, especially if they should be regarded as the authors of the war (§ 5); no one should think that the war would be brought to a speedy close, by an inroad into the enemy's country, for the Athenians were not the men to succumb, merely because their territory was invaded (§ 6).

1. τοῖς ὅπλοις = τοῖς ὁπλίταις. But Bloomf. thinks that the word refers to the *use* of arms, in which the Lacedæmonians particularly excelled. —— αὐτῶν depends on ὑπερφέρομεν. S. § 189. —— τῷ πλήθει is spoken with reference to ὅχλος in I. 80. § 3, and signifies able-bodied men, who are fit to be soldiers. Bloomf. understands by it what we call *population*, in which the Peloponnesians exceeded the Athenians.

2. τοῖς = τούτοις. S. § 166. —— ἄλλη γῇ. Cf. I. 143. § 4, where Pericles says the same thing. The following note from Goeller's edition, will give the reader some view of the extent of the Athenian dominion, and the number of their allies. "ἄλλην γῆν Schol. interpretatur Thraciam et Ioniam. Adde Eubœæ magnam partem, Cycladas pæne omnes et ceteras insulas inter Peloponnesum, Cretam et Asiam, Dores maritimos, Samios, multos ex Hellespontiis, multas urbes Græcas in oris Thraciæ et Macedoniæ, Oropum in confiniis in Bœotiæ. Adde Atheniensium colonias, Scyrum, Lemnum, Imbrum, Æginetas, qui tum Æginam tenebant, Hestiæenses in Eubœa, Naxios, Andrios, fortasse etiam Tenios et Ceos, partim Amphipolitanos, itemque partim Thurinos. Adde fœderatos cum Atheniensibus Barbaros, Sitalcen, regem Odrysarum, Odomantos, populum Thraciæ, Philippum et Derdam, principes Macedonum, Pelasgos ad Athon habitantes, Edones, in Italia

Messapios, in Sicilia Segestanos, Siculos, etc." —— ἐκ = διά. —— ὧν = ἐκεῖνα ὧν. —— ἐπάξονται. Krüg. conjectures ἐσάξονται.

3. ἀφιστάναι, *to cause to revolt.* —— δεήσει....νησιώταις, *it will be necessary to assist these with a fleet, because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *for the most part they are islanders.*

4. τίς....ὁ πολέμος, *what sort of a war then will this be of ours? = how disastrous will be this war of ours! τίς οὖν ἔσται = κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον.* Schol. γὰρ *illustrantis* follows in the next sentence. —— ἀφ' ὧν, *from which.* ἀπὸ here denotes the material (cf. K. § 288. 3. e). Perhaps it is better, however, to regard it as designating the mediate instrument. —— βλαψόμεθα has here the passive signification. Cf. Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 106.

5. τούτῳ, *in this situation.* —— καταλύεσθαι, *to come to terms, to treat for peace*, is the subject of the sentence. —— ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ, *especially if also*, introduces a circumstance, which heightens the dishonor of treating for peace, at a time when the party making the overtures is worsted in the war.

6. μὴ—ἐπαιρώμεθα, *let us not be excited* (see N. on I. 42. § 2). Cf. S. § 218. 2. —— ἐκείνῃ γε τῇ ἐλπίδι, *with that hope at least*, i. e. whatever other hopes we may entertain, let us not expect that so formidable a power as Athens will be crushed by merely laying waste her territories. γε is therefore highly restrictive here. —— ὡς (*how that*) ταχὺ παυθήσεται κ. τ. λ. is epexegetical of ἐλπίδι. —— δέδοικα....ὑπολίπωμεν (S. § 214. b). An almost prophetic foreboding, upon which the Schol. remarks, that Thucydides seems to have had in mind μήδ' ἡμῖν τεκέεσσί τ' ὀπίσσω πῆμα λίποιτο. Hom. Il. 3. 160. δὲ is here strongly adversative = *but* (so far from the war being speedily terminated) *I fear rather*, etc. —— οὕτως εἰκὸς—μήτε, *so unlikely is it.* —— The dative φρονήματι (*with their high spirit*) may be ranked with datives designating the mode or manner, and so Jelf in his Index of Authors (Gram. Vol. I. p. 452) regards it. Steph. makes it stand for ὑπὸ φρονήματος. —— τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι, "i. e. τῆς γῆς ἕνεκα δουλεῦσαι, metu ne ab hostibus vastetur, se subjicere cuilibet conditioni." Haack. This expression is similar to those which we so often use: *he is a slave to money, to ambition, to pleasure*, etc., by which we mean, an attachment to these things so inordinate, that every thing else is sacrificed for their attainment. Thus if the Athenians yielded as soon as they saw their country plundered, they would evince a spirit of slavery to their soil, by the preference given to that, over the enjoyment of true liberty. —— καταπλαγῆναι. In the simple verb it is πληγῆναι. Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 228.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

The Lacedæmonians should not overlook the wrongs of their allies, but make them the ground of expostulation, in the meantime raising auxiliary forces both of Greeks and Barbarians, and getting their affairs in a state of readiness for war (§ 1); if the Athenians listened to their expostulations, the result would be most happy, but if they did not, then after due preparations, it would be advisable to march against them (§ 2); perhaps, in view of the preparations of the Lacedæmonians, they would prefer coming to terms, in order to preserve their territory from devastation (§ 3); which territory the Lacedæmonians held as a surety, and it should therefore be spared as long as possible (§ 4); as things now are, its devastation would bring disgrace and difficulty upon the Peloponnesians, since accusations may be cleared away, but a war undertaken to redress private grievances cannot easily be brought with honor to a close (§§ 5, 6).

1. *οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ—κελεύω, but yet I do not bid you.* The two negatives in this formula serve to strengthen the negation, and are to be taken together, and not separately, as Hoog. (Gr. Part. p. 152. XII.) supposes, the former denying simply and generally, the other particularly. Cf. S. 230. 1. —— *ἀναισθήτως, as if without perception = as though you were indifferent.* Reference is had to the expression, *τὸ ἀναίσθητον*, uttered by the Corinthians (I. 69. § 3). —— *μήπω, not yet*, i. e. not immediately. —— *κινεῖν, πέμπειν* and the other infinitives which follow, depend on *κελεύω*. —— *μήτε....ἐπιτρέψομεν.* "The sense is, neither to threaten war too plainly, and yet to let them see, that we shall not allow them to go on as they are going on." Arnold. *μήθ' ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν = καὶ (τὲ* in *μήτε) μὴ δηλοῦντας, ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν*, or *καὶ δηλοῦντας ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν*, where for *ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν* some such word as *ἀμέλιαν* should stand. —— *ἂν* in *καὶν* (i. e. *καὶ ἂν*) belongs to *ἐξαρτύεσθαι*. —— *τούτῳ* (sc. *χρόνῳ*), *in the meantime.* —— *προσαγωγῇ, by a bringing over, by an accession.* —— *εἴ ποθεν, if from any quarter, from whatever quarter.* —— In respect to the punctuation of this passage, I am inclined to follow that which is adopted by Haack, and partially by Arnold, i. e. to place a comma after *προσληψόμεθα* and *ἐκποριζώμεθα*, inclosing *ἀνεπίφθονον....διασωθῆναι* in the marks of a parenthesis. In this way *καὶ* in *καὶ....ἐκποριζώμεθα* responds to *τὲ* before *προσαγωγῇ*, the two propositions containing the mode of effecting the object, expressed in *τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι*. —— *ἀνεπίφθονον* (see N. on I. 75. § 5) belongs to *διασωθῆναι*, which is the subject of the sentence. S. § 153. —— *δὲ = γαρ.* —— *ὅσοι ὥσπερ ἐπιβουλευόμεθα = ἐκείνους* (the subject of *διασωθῆναι*) *ὅσοι ἐπιβουλεύονται ὥσπερ κ. τ. λ.* Cf. Jelf's Kühn. §§ 817. 4; 895. 3. See N. on III. 67. § 7. —— *τὰ αὐτῶν = τὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν.* The reflexive pronouns of the third person are often used as general reflexives without refer-

ence to person. —— *ἐκποριζώμεθα* to have corresponded with *προσαγωγῇ*, should have been, as Poppo remarks, [*ἐκ*] *πορισμῷ*. This clause refers to the second mode of obtaining supplies, viz. from their own resources.

2. *ταῦτα ἄριστα* (sc. *εἴη*) = *this will be the best issue of the affair.* A truly noble sentiment, worthy of the experience and high station of the speaker. —— *διελθόντων....τριῶν*, *when* (see N. on I. 13. § 6) *two or three years have elapsed;* literally, *two and three years.* Cf. *τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων*, I. 22. § 4. —— *ἄμεινον* is to be constructed with *πεφραγμένοι* (perf. part. pass. of *φράσσω*), *being better prepared for defence.* —— *ἣν δοκῇ* is to be taken with *ἴμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς.*

3. *αὐτῇ* (referring to *παρασκευήν*) *ὁμοῖα ὑποσημαίνοντας*, *signifying the same things as our actions.* Bloomf. says that *ὑποσημαίνω* signifies, to give a private *σῆμα* or intimation of any thing, *subindico*, *to intimate.* —— *μᾶλλον* belongs to *ἂν εἴκοιεν.* —— *ἔχοντες* and *ὁρῶντες* (supra) denote time. See N. on I. 13. § 6. —— *ἐφθαρμένων* by a hostile irruption. Archidamus afterwards acted on the principle which he here recommended. Cf. II. 18.

4. *ὅμηρον*, *pledge*, *surety.* Suidas explains it, *ἐνέχυρον*, *τὸ εἰς εἰρήνην διδόμενον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις.* —— Bauer takes *ἔχειν* in the sense of *παρέχειν*, *they furnish to you.* Bloomf. makes it stand for *κατέχειν.* Livy, V. 42, is cited in illustration of this passage: "non omnia concremare tecta ut pignus, ad flectendos hostium animos haberent." —— *οὐχ ἧσσον ὅσῳ = τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ.* —— *ἧς*, i. e. their territory. For the genitive, cf. S. § 197. 2. —— *ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντας*, *by bringing them into desperation.*

5. *ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες*, *being incited by the accusations.* Some translate: *hastening on account of the accusations* (Mt. § 398. *b*), but this is less suited to the context, for here Archidamus refers not so much to haste, as to an excited state of mind which begets hasty and ill-concerted measures. —— *αὐτὴν* refers to *τὴν γῆν* supra. —— *ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μή*, *beware lest*, or more literally, *see to it that—not.* —— *αἴσχιον* and *ἀπορώτερον* are here used for the positive with *μᾶλλον.* The other member of the comparison may be mentally supplied thus: *more of disgrace* (than of honor), which is better than with Gail. to attach the notion of *nimis* to the comparative. —— *πράξομεν.* The canon of Dawes, that the subjunctive of the first aorist (except in the passive voice) cannot follow *ὅπως μή*, is now beginning to be doubted by many of the best scholars and critics. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 821. 1. See. N. on I. 73. § 1. The reading of Dindorf is that of Bekker, to whose tact in respect to the use or rejection of the indicative, Arnold expresses himself disposed to defer and therefore follows him here in the employ-

ment of the indicative. Poppo, Goeller, Haack, and Bloomf. edit *πράξωμεν*, to which reading I am inclined.

6. *οἷόν τε*. See N. on I. 80. § 3. —— *τῶν ἰδίων*. The Schol. refers this to the Corinthians, but there were others who complained of the Athenians, as the Megareans (I. 67. § 4), and in § 5 supra, we have *τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες*. There is no doubt, however, that the Corinthians are more especially referred to. —— *οὐχ ὑπάρχει*, *it is not possible*. —— *καθ' ὅτι χωρήσει*, "*what issue it will have*." Bloomf.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

It should not be deemed the result of cowardice, that so many states did not immediately attack a single state (§ 1), for the Athenians have many allies and much tribute, and war demands treasures no less than arms (§ 2); means therefore for carrying on the war should be provided, and as the greatest share of responsibility would fall to the Lacedæmonians in the war, they ought to deliberate well as to what would be its most probable issue (§ 3).

1. *ἀνανδρία* is the predicate, and *πολλοὺς....ἐπελθεῖν* the subject of the proposition.

2. *γὰρ* introduces a reason why pusillanimity should not be charged upon the allies for not declaring war immediately. —— *καί*, *also*. —— *ἐλάσσους* refers only to *ξύμμαχοι*: *allies not less in number* (than our own), *and who bring them tribute*. The allies of the Lacedæmonians were exempt from paying tribute. —— *ἔστιν....δαπάνης*, literally, *war is not of arms the more but of treasures* = *war does not require arms so much as treasure*. The full construction would be *τὸ πλέον* (sc. *ἢ δαπάνης*), *ἀλλὰ δαπάνης* (sc. *τὸ πλέον ἢ ὅπλων*). Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 774. Obs. 5. The genitives may be referred to Mt. § 316; S. § 190. —— *δι' ἣν*, *by means of which* (i. e. of treasure), not *on account of which*. —— *ἄλλως....θαλασσίους*, *especially in the case of inlanders at war with a maritime power*. This use of the dative is quite unusual. Bloomf. finds another example in *τοῖς πρώτοις—χειροτέχναις*, VI. 72. § 2.

3. *πορισώμεθα*. S. § 218. 2. —— *οἵπερ δὲ καὶ κ. τ. λ.* The order is: *οἵπερ δὲ ἕξομεν τὸ πλέον τῆς αἰτίας τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα* (i. e. whether the result be prosperous or the contrary). The words *τὸ πλέον τῆς αἰτίας* may be rendered, *the greater share of responsibility*. Betant classes *αἰτίας* with I. 39. § 3; II. 18. § 3; 60. § 7; III. 18. § 7, in which places it must be rendered *blame*. But as *τῶν ἀποβαινόν-*

των ἐκ ἀμφότερα looks to the alternative of a successful as well as a disastrous issue, in which case no blame would accrue to the Lacedæmonians, it is better to take *αἰτίας* in the more general sense of *cause* whether of good or evil. —— *οὗτοι* is the antecedent of *οἵπερ*. —— *αὐτῶν*, sc. *τῶν ἀποβαινόντων*. —— Notice the change of person in *προϊδωμεν*, by which an application of the general sentiment is made to the case in hand.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

It should cause no shame to be reproached with delay, since haste would in the end procrastinate the war (§ 1); their moderation was prudence, which neither prosperity nor adversity, praise or reproach could disturb (§ 2); this rendered them both brave and wise, because a sedate and orderly temper inspired them with a keen sense of shame, and also a due regard to the laws, and they had been so educated as not to be sagacious in useless matters, nor to utter eloquent censures on the measures of the enemy, to which their deeds did not correspond; but to regard the plans of others as very similar to their own, and beyond the power of eloquence to unfold (§ 3); presuming the measures of the enemy to be wisely taken, they should place no dependence upon their blunders, but upon their own courage and wisdom, not imagining any great difference to be among men, but that he is best, who has been trained up in what is most needful (§ 4).

1. *τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μελλον*. See N. on *τὸ πιστόν*, I. 68. § 1. Respecting the charge of tardiness and dilatoriness to which Archidamus here replies, cf. I. 69. § 4; 70. §§ 2–4. Indeed no small portion of the Corinthian speech consisted in upbraiding the Lacedæmonians for their slow and procrastinating temper. —— *ὃ....ἡμῶν, which most especially they blame in us. μάλιστα* is to be taken with *ὃ = which more than any other thing*. In respect to *ἡμῶν*, which Kühner (§ 273. 5. f) ranks with the genitive of material, I prefer with Crosby (§ 391. *β*) to regard it as a possessive genitive, in dependence upon the neuter pronoun, which in connection with verbs of praise, blame, or wonder, takes such a genitive. Cf. Mt. § 317. —— *σπεύδοντες, if you were to hasten* (to the war). S. § 225. 6. The apodosis is *ἂν παύσαισθε*. Bloomf. regards this as a sort of adage like our 'to make more haste than good speed,' and 'the furthest way round is the surest way home.' Compare the Latin proverb, *festina lente*. —— *καὶ ἅμα* introduces another reason why the Lacedæmonians should not be ashamed of the charge here responded to. There is no need with Bloomf. of supplying *διὰ τοῦτο*, since, as Haack observes, the speaker employs the *argumentum ab effectu*. The fact that the Lacedæmonians had always enjoyed a free city, is adduced as proof that their habits were not deemed worthy of reprehension.

2. *δύναται—τοῦτ' εἶναι*, "*in this consists.*" Bloomf. Perhaps the expression = *can be regarded as.* *τοῦτο* refers to *τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον* (§ 1 supra), as does also *αὐτὸ* in the next clause. —— *εὐπραγίαις*, *on account of success* (Mt. § 398. b), or *in prosperity* (K. § 283. 3). It is well remarked by Bloomf., that Archidamus now proceeds to give a sort of sketch of the Lacedæmonian character, in opposition to that given of the Athenians by the Corinthians. —— *τῶν—ἐξοτρυνόντων* depends on *ἡδονῇ*, in the sense of *ἡδονῇ ἣν παρέχουσιν οἱ ἐξοτρύνοντες.* —— *οὐδὲν* belongs to both the participle and the verb. Cf. I. 12. § 1; 85. § 1. —— Betant interprets *ἀνεπείσθημεν*, *we would be persuaded*, as though it were the simple *ἐπείσθημεν*. Poppo also (Proleg. I. p. 203) considers *ἀνα-* as pleonastic. But Bloomfield more correctly makes it stand for *μετεπείσθημεν*, *we would be persuaded to change* (our determination). The aorist here denotes customary action. See N. on I. 70. § 6.

3. *τὸ εὔκοσμον* (*good order*) = *τὴν σωφροσύνην*, which for the sake of variety is substituted for it in the next sentence. —— *τὸ μὲν.... εὐψυχία, the one, because a sense of shame is the main element of an orderly temper, and from a sense of shame arises a manly spirit.* The reasoning is syllogistical: a sense of shame is always attendant upon moderation and discretion; but a sense of shame begets a manly spirit; therefore a manly spirit is the result of moderation and discretion. *τὸ μὲν* refers to *πολεμικοί*, which is repeated in *εὐψυχία* as *αἰδῶς* is in *αἰσχύνης*. The difficulty in interpreting this passage, has resulted from overlooking the synonymous words. —— *σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, shares most largely in moderation of temper.* S. § 191. N. —— *εὔβουλοι δὲ* responds to *τὸ μὲν* (cf. Vig. p. 2. IV.) and refers back to *εὔβουλοι—γιγνόμεθα*. —— *ἀμαθέστερον....παιδευόμενοι* (a varied construction for *ὅτι ἀμαθέστερον παιδευόμεθα*), *because we are too unlearned* (spoken sarcastically) *to despise the laws.* *ἀμαθέστερον* is taken adverbially with *παιδευόμενοι*. The genitive *τῆς ὑπεροψίας* depends on *ἀμαθέστερον* (S. § 195. 1) in the sense of *ἢ ὥστε τοὺς νόμους ὑπερορᾶν*. Cf. Mt. § 451; S. 223. 1. This passage refers to the reproaches cast upon the Lacedæmonians in the speech of the Corinthians (I. 68). —— *σωφρονέστερον*. Repeat *παιδευόμενοι*. —— *τὰ ἀχρεῖα* limits *ξυνετοὶ* as the accusative synecdochical, and refers to the eloquence studied and practised by the Athenians, but deemed by the Lacedæmonians of trifling importance and therefore neglected by them. —— The words *λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι* are opposed to *ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι*, and hence *μεμφόμενοι* may be rendered into English by an infinitive, in order to correspond to *ἐπεξιέναι*, or by the indicative with an adverb of time, *while we blame* (see N. on I. 18. § 6). ——

ἀνομοίως to our harangues. —— ἐπεξιέναι depends grammatically on παιδευόμενοι, although in a manner epexegetical of the clause immediately preceding. —— νομίζειν. Supply again παιδευόμενοι —— παραπλησίους, sc. ταῖς ἡμετέραις. So Haack and Poppo. Arnold after Goel. gives as the sense of παραπλησίους....τύχας, *like to the chances of war*, which cannot be distinctly made out in words beforehand (οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς). This may be the true sense of this obscure passage, and yet the objection made by Goel. to Haack's interpretation, that Thucydides could not have been ignorant of the almost infinite diversity of the thoughts of men, is not very weighty, since διανοίας refers here to *purpose* or *intention* in respect to the carrying on of war, which a skilful general will oftentimes divine, by considering what he himself would do, if placed in the situation of his enemy.

4. ἀεὶ δὲ—ἔργῳ is opposed to οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς, the construction being changed from the infinitive to the finite verb παρασκευαζόμεθα. —— ὡς....ἐναντίους is put for πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὡς πρὸς εὖ βουλευομένους. The preposition, when it should stand twice with two different nouns, is often put only once, and then not with the principal noun, but with the substantive in apposition, if that precedes. Cf. Mt. § 595. 4. —— ὡς ἁμαρτησομένων, *on the supposition that they will commit blunders*. K. § 312. 6; S. § 226. a. —— ὡς ἡμῶν....προνοουμένων. The construction is, ἀλλ' (ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐξ) ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὡς ἀσφαλῶς προνοουμένων. —— πολύ τε....ἀνθρώπου. The sentiment is similar to that contained in νομίζειν....εἶναι (§ 3 supra), as given by Haack and Poppo, only more general. ἀνθρωπον is the subject of διαφέρειν upon which ἀνθρώπου depends (S. § 198. 2). —— ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις, *in things that are necessary*, opposed to τὰ ἀχρεῖα in § 3 supra.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

In short, since they had been prosperous under the institutions handed down by their forefathers, they should not cast them aside, and act with precipitation in an affair of such moment (§ 1); but should send an embassy to Athens on the affairs complained of, and meanwhile make preparations for war (§ 2). Archidamus having closed his speech, Sthenelaidas, one of the ephors, rises to reply (§ 3).

1. μελέτας, *institutions*, referring more particularly to the education of children and youth, according to the laws of Lycurgus. —— ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν, *we have used with advantage*. See N. on I. 67 § 1. —— μὴ παρῶμεν (S. § 218. 2). The object is μελέτας. —— μηδ'.

This negative belongs to the whole proposition with which it is connected. See N. on I. 12. § 1; 84. § 2. —— *περὶ πολλῶν σωμάτων κ. τ. λ.*, *involving many lives, much wealth*, etc. In respect to the repetition of *καί*, see N. on I. 80. § 3. —— *ἔξεστι*, sc. *καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλεύειν* from the preceding context. —— *μᾶλλον ἑτέρων = μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέροις*. Mt. § 454. *Obs.* 2. The Corinthians are referred to in *ἑτέρων*. Cf. I. 69. § 5; 71. § 1. —— *διὰ ἰσχύν*, *on account of our power*, which would deter any one from attacking us rashly.

2. *περὶ ὧν = περὶ ἐκείνων ἅ*, of which the relative is constructed with *ἀδικεῖσθαι*, according to the formula *ἀδικεῖν τινά τι*. In respect to *οἱ ξύμμαχοι φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι*, cf. I. 67. § 4. —— *ἄλλως τε καί*. See N. on I. 83. § 2. —— *ἑτοίμων....δοῦναι*, *since they are ready to submit to trial*. The participle here denotes cause. See N. on I. 9. § 4 (end). On *δίκας δοῦναι*, see N. on I. 28. § 2. —— *δὲ = γάρ*. —— *ἀδικοῦντα*, by its antithesis with *τὸν διδόντα* (sc. *δίκας*), signifies one who is convicted of wrong-doing, or who refuses to submit to a judicial investigation. The subject of this sentence is *ἰέναι*, with which the predicate *νόμιμον* is put in agreement, and which is qualified by *οὐ πρότερον*. —— *γάρ*. The ellipsis may be supplied, *for* (by thus doing) *you will consult*, etc.

3. *Σθενελαΐδας*. Cf. Pausan. III. 7. § 10 (cited by Poppo): *Σθενελαΐδας, ἔς τε ἄλλα ὢν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ἐφορεύων ἐν τῷ τότε, τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα ἐγένετο αἴτιος*.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Sthenelaidas commences his speech, which is truly Spartan in its brevity and bluntness, by professing his inability to comprehend the speech of the Athenians, who had said many things in their own praise, but had passed over the charges made against them by the allies in perfect silence. If they had done well in the Persian war and were now conducting badly, they ought to receive a double punishment for ceasing to be good and for becoming bad (§ 1); as the Lacedæmonians had not changed, they should delay not to revenge the injuries done to their allies (§ 2); whatever might be the resources of the Athenians, yet they had allies, whose wrongs should not be redressed by words but by actions (§ 3); not the avengers but the doers of an injury should consume time in deliberation (§ 4); the dignity of Sparta, and a regard for their allies, demanded that a check should be put upon the rising power of the Athenians (§ 5).

1. *ἀντεῖπον ὡς οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι*. See N. on *ὡς οὐ* after *ἀντέλεγον*, I. 77. § 3. —— *καίτοι εἰ*, *and yet if = granting that*. —— *διπλασίας ζημίας*. Cf. III. 67. § 2.

2. ὁμοῖοι, *the same*, i. e. liberators of Greece (as the Schol. remarks). —— οἱ δ'....πάσχειν. There are two modes of interpreting this passage, according as μέλλουσι πάσχειν is taken in the sense of *to be about to suffer*, or *to delay suffering*, both of which tend to the same thing, viz. that the allies are now actually suffering injuries. The latter signification is preferred by Haack, as more consentaneous with μελλήσομεν which precedes. Thus there would be a play on these words, which are here strongly opposed: *let us not delay to take vengeance—for our allies do not delay to suffer* injuries. —— οἱ δ' is employed for the demonstrative pronoun.

3. ἄλλοις, i. e. the Athenians. —— οὓς....ἐστίν, *whom we must not betray to the Athenians*. The verbal παραδοτέα is followed by the same case as its verb. "The use of the plural for the singular, appears to have arisen from the want of a noun or definite object of sense, to give strict unity to the conception." Crosby § 451. N. —— μὴ λόγῳ is to be taken with βλαπτομένους, and so I have pointed the passage. —— παντὶ σθένει, *with all our might*.

4. ἀδικουμένους, *when we are injured* (see N. on I. 13. § 6), is to be constructed with βουλεύεσθαι. —— ἀλλὰ—μᾶλλον πρέπει, *but it is rather becoming*. The general sentiment is, that men ought to consult long before they commit an act of injustice, but in punishing evil-doers, there was no need of deliberation. πολὺν κρόνον is spoken in reference to the words of Archidamus, I. 85. § 5.

5. ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης, i. e. as is suitable to the dignity of Sparta. —— καταπροδιδῶμεν = προδιδῶμεν, only stronger. —— ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, *with the aid of the gods*.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Sthenelaidas, in virtue of his office as ephor, puts the question to vote in the Lacedæmonian assembly (§ 1); pretending that he could not determine, by the shout, on which side was the majority, he proceeds to take the question by a division of the assembly, by which it appeared that by a large majority the treaty was declared to be broken (§§ 2, 3); the allies having been called in and informed of the vote, it was resolved to call a general meeting of the allies, and submit to them the question of war, in order that if it was resolved upon, it might be waged in concert (§ 4); after this decision of the assembly, which took place the fourteenth year of the thirty years' truce, the allies and Athenians return home (§§ 5, 6).

1. ἐπεψήφιζεν—ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (= ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ), *put the question to vote in the assembly*. ἐπεψηφίζειν = ψῆφον προθεῖναι. Cf. Mit.

§ 402. *Obs.* —— *ἔφορος ὤν.* On the powers and duties of the ephors, cf. Müll. Dorians, II. pp. 114–132.

2. *οὐ ψήφῳ.* "Sed ne ipsi quidem Athenienses in ecclesia calculis utebantur, sed *χειροτονίᾳ*." Haack. This however was not always the case. —— *ἐστὶν* is to be supplied with *ὁποτέρα μείζων*, and has properly for its subject *τὴν βοήν*, which is transferred into the principal clause as its object. See N. on *πόλιν*, I. 72. § 1. —— *αὐτοὺς* depends on *ὁρμῆσαι*. —— *ἀποδεικνυμένους* denotes the means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. This device of Sthenelaidas caused many to vote for the war, who dared not openly to go against what seemed to be the popular side of the question. —— *ὅτῳ* refers for its antecedent to the omitted subject of *ἀναστήτω*, and limits *δοκοῦσι*. —— *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.* Repeat mentally *δοκοῦσι*. —— *δείξας* is to be referred to *ἔλεξεν*, as though written *ἔλεξεν δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς*. The sentence, as it now stands, is parenthetical. —— *ὅτῳ—μὴ δοκοῦσιν.* See N. on *ὅστις*, I. 40. § 2. —— *ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα.* Repeat *ἀναστήτω*.

3. *ἀναστάντες.* Haack thinks that it may be inferred from this, that the Lacedæmonians, after the custom of the heroic age, sat upon the ground while they were deliberating. "Sed cur *ἀναστῆναι* minus recte ad eos, qui de *sedibus* surrexerint, spectare posse crediderit, nos præterit." Poppo. —— *οἷς* = *ἐκεῖνοι οἷς*, the antecedent being the subject of *ἐγένοντο*.

4. *σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν* = *they had determined* = *it was their opinion.* —— *τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους.* Cf. I. 119.

5. *οἱ μέν*, i. e. the Corinthians and the other Lacedæmonian allies. —— *ἐφ' ἅπερ ἦλθον*, *having transacted the business for which they had come* (see N. on *ἀπίστῃ*, I. 62. § 1).

6. *τοῦ—λελύσθαι* is the attributive genitive in dependence on *διαγνώμη*, with which it is properly in apposition. Cf. the Homeric *Ἰλίου πτολίεθρον*, and the Latin *urbs Romæ*. —— *ἐν τῷ....δεκάτῳ.* "Mense hujus anni quinto vel medio vel exeunte." Poppo. —— *μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά*, *after the Euboic war.*

CHAPTERS LXXXVIII.—CXVII.

Having related the ostensible causes of the war in chaps. 24–87, the historian now recurs to a remark made in chap. 23. § 6, that the real ground of the war was the fear, with which the Lacedæmonians regarded the great and rapid increase of the Athenian power. In order to make this evident, he now proceeds to give in detail a history of the affairs of Greece, from the close of the Persian war down to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. In this narrative, he shows in what way the Athenians had augmented their power, the policy which governed their treatment of their allies, and their steady purpose to promote the aggrandizement of their own state, the gradual withdrawal of the Lacedæmonians from the public affairs of Greece, and their virtual surrender of the general guidance and control to the Athenians. It is one of the most valuable summaries of history which has been handed down to us, and is justly celebrated for its perspicuity, conciseness, and evident truthfulness and impartiality. The reader, who would understand well the position and relative strength of the two leading states of Greece, when the Peloponnesian war broke out, should make himself very familiar with the events of these preceding years, which the ancient grammarians distinguished by the common name of *the fifty years*. Arnold remarks, that "to follow the history in chronological order, a reader, after finishing Herodotus, should take up Thucydides at the 89th chapter, and read to the 117th inclusive: he should then go back to the 24th, and read from thence to the 88th inclusive, after which he should proceed directly to the 118th."

This summary of Greek history may be divided into, (1) the manner in which the Athenians attained to their power (chaps. 89–96); (2) the causes and events which led to their subjugation of the allies (chaps. 97–118). I would venture here to suggest, that these chapters (i. e. 88–117), in consequence of their comparative freedom from involved constructions and other perplexing difficulties, which embarrass the reader in other portions of our author, might advantageously be read first, as a kind of introduction to the style, and a gradual preparation for reading the more difficult parts.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

This chapter serves to introduce the digression contained in chaps. 89–117.

1. *οὐ τοσοῦτον....δυνηθῶσιν*, *not so much because they believed* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *the statements of their allies, as because they feared*

lest the Athenians should become more and more powerful. The construction is as though it had been written, φοβούμενοι μὴ οὐ Ἀθηναῖοι —δυνηθῶσι. See N. on πόλιν, I. 72. § 1. —— ὁρῶντες is related to φοβούμενοι as denoting the cause why they feared. The extent of dominion attributed to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians is doubtless exaggerated, unless, as Bloomf. thinks, the Athenian allies, subjects, and colonies, both in Greece, Asia, and elsewhere, are included in the general expression here made use of. See N. on I. 81. § 2.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

The design of this summary of Grecian history, which extends from the siege of Sestos to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is to show the origin and progress of the Athenian power in Greece (§ 1); the Persians having been driven from Europe and conquered at Mycale, Leotychides the Spartan king, with the Peloponnesian allies, returns home, but the Athenians and their confederates remaining lay siege to Sestos and succeed in taking it, after which they return to their respective homes (§ 2); the Athenians then bring back their wives and children, and prepare to rebuild the city and its walls (§ 3).

1. ἦλθον....ηὐξήθησαν, "*ad res gerendas venerunt, per quas creverunt.*" Portus.

2. I prefer with Haack to construct ἐς Μυκάλην with οἱ καταφυγόντες, *those of them who had fled away in their ships to Mycale.* There is, however, no serious objection to constructing it with διεφθάρησαν, *were defeated at Mycale.* —— Λεωτυχίδης, *Leotychides* the grandfather of Archidamus II. (see N. on I. 79. § 2), after the battle of Mycale, was sent into Thessaly, where, after several successes obtained over those who had joined the Barbarians in the Persian war, he yielded to the bribes of the Aleuadæ, for which he was brought to trial on his return home, and went into exile to Tegea, A. C. 469, where he died. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol. —— Σηστόν, *Sestos*, lay on the Thracian side of the Hellespont. Its possession was deemed of importance, because it commanded in a great measure the channel. Here Xerxes crossed the Hellespont on bridges of boats. —— ἐπιχειμάσαντες, *having remained through the winter.* —— ἐκλιπόντων, *having abandoned.* —— ὡς ἕκαστοι = ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον.

3. τὸ κοινόν, *the commonwealth*, contains the idea of plurality, and hence takes a plural verb (διεκομίζοντο), and has αὐτοῖς referring to it in the plural (cf. Mt. § 302). The pronoun αὐτοῖς follows ἀπῆλθον, as showing to whom the action expressed in the verb has reference

(cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 600. 2), or it may depend on χώρας, in the sense of the adnominal genitive. Cf. S. § 201. 5. —— ὅθεν = ἐντεῦθεν οὗ (*ubi*). For the attraction of relative adverbs, cf. K. § 332. R. 7; S. § 175. 1. —— ὑπεξέθεντο, *had removed them for safety*. Notice the force of ὑπὸ and ἐκ in this verb, the latter communicating the idea, *out of danger*, and the former, removal to a secret or retired situation. —— τὴν πόλιν as distinguished from τὰ τείχη, is to be taken in the sense of *houses*. —— αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ and ὀλίγαι δὲ are in partitive apposition with οἰκίαι, which should properly be put in the genitive denoting the whole (cf. K. § 206. 3; S. § 156. 3). Render: *the greater part of the houses had fallen, and but few remained standing*.

CHAPTER XC.

The Lacedæmonians, when they hear that the Athenians are about to rebuild their walls, partly of their own accord, and partly instigated by their allies, send an embassy to Athens (§ 1), and under pretence that the enemy, if they should return, should have no fortified place whence to sally forth, desire the Athenians to desist from their erection (§ 2); but Themistocles advises his fellow-citizens to dismiss the Lacedæmonian embassy, with the promise that they would send envoys to Sparta concerning the matter in hand, of whom he being one would repair immediately to Sparta, while they, remaining at Athens his associates in the embassy, should apply themselves to the work of fortifying the city with all their energies and resources (§ 3); after the giving of which advice, he takes his departure (§ 4); having arrived at Sparta he defers his attendance on the authorities, under the pretence that he is waiting for his colleagues (§ 5).

1. τὸ μέλλον (see N. on I. 68. § 1), *what was about to be done*, i. e. that the city was about to be fortified. —— ἦλθον πρεσβείᾳ, *went by embassy = sent an embassy*. —— τὰ μὲν.... ὁρῶντες, *partly because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *they would* (ἂν) *have been more glad to see*. —— τὸ δὲ responds to τὰ μέν, the singular being employed for the sake of emphasis. —— ἐξοτρυνόντων denotes cause. —— ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, *which formerly did not exist*. ὃ refers to πλῆθος, and therefore it is not denied that there was any shipping, but only that the fleet was not numerous, which was true, for previous to the Persian war the Athenians had comparatively no navy. Cf. I. 14. § 3.

2. αὐτούς, i. e. the Athenians. —— ἀλλὰ καί, *but rather*. —— ὅσοις εἱστήκει (sc. τείχη cognate to τοὺς περιβόλους, *the enclosures, walls*), *as many as had walls standing*. ὅσοις refers to τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου (*of those cities without Peloponnesus*), and limits εἱστήκει. Arnold prefers ξυνειστήκει, *stood* or *held together*, i. e. existed unruined. ——

ξυγκαθελεῖν depends on ἠξίουν. —— σφῶν, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. —— τὸ βουλόμενον = τὴν βούλησιν, *their wish, desire.* See N. on I. 68. § 1. —— ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους depends on ὕποπτον. —— ὡς δὲ—οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος = φάσκοντες δέ, ὅτι (εἰ μὴ τειχίζοιεν) οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι. For this use of ὡς, see N. on I. 73. § 5. In respect to the employment of the participle instead of the substantive sentence (i. e. ὡς followed by a finite verb), cf. K. § 329. 6. R. 5. The difference between the two modes of construction is only in form. —— ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθεν, *from any fortified place whatever.* —— ἀναχώρησιν, *place of retreat.* —— ἀφορμήν, *a sallying place;* "*locus unde fit impetus.*" Betant. It is like our military phrase, *base of operations.* The duplicity and meanness of the Lacedæmonians in this affair, was effectually counteracted by the firmness and sagacity of Themistocles, as we shall see in the sequel.

3. γνώμῃ, *by the advice, suggestion.* —— τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους depends on ἀπήλλαξαν. The natural order of construction would have placed ἀποκρινάμενοι....λέγουσιν immediately after γνώμῃ. —— ὡς αὐτούς. See N. on I. 34. § 2. —— περὶ ὧν = περὶ ἐκείνων ἅ. —— πρὸς ἑαυτῷ, *besides himself.* —— ἐκπέμπειν. Repeat ἐκέλευεν. —— μέχρι ἄρωσιν, *until they should have raised the wall* (to a height) *sufficient.* In respect to the subjunctive, see N. on κωλύωνται, I. 26. § 2. —— ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι explains ἱκανόν. —— ἐκ....ὕψους, *the height which was barely necessary*, i. e. to a height, less than which would be useless for purposes of defence. —— πανδημεὶ is rendered still more emphatic, by καὶ αὐτοὺς....παῖδας which follows. Cor. Nep. includes also the servants in the number of those who engaged in raising the walls and repairing the fortifications. —— τὶς ὠφέλεια, *any thing of service* for the work.

4. ὑπειπὼν τἆλλα ὅτι is put by attraction for ὑπειπὼν ὅτι τἆλλα. Haack places a comma after ὑπειπών. —— τἀκεῖ, i. e. at Sparta.

5. τὰς ἀρχάς, *the magistrates.* Goel. says that the ephors are meant. —— διῆγε, sc. τὸν χρόνον. —— προὐφασίζετο, *made excuses.* Frontinus says that he feigned sickness. —— τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, *of those who were in office.* The same persons are here referred to as in τὰς ἀρχάς. —— ὅτι is here put for διότι. Cf. Mt. § 488. 8. Bloomf. supplies τί ἐστιν. —— τὸ κοινὸν refers to the common assembly, before addressing which, as Bloomf. remarks, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the ἀρχαί. —— ἀσχολίας δέ τινος οὔσης, *on account of some engagement*

CHAPTER XCI

The confidence of the Lacedæmonians in the declarations of Themistocles, is somewhat shaken by the counter-statement of others, who report that the walls are building (§ 1) they are persuaded by him, however, to send persons to Athens to ascertain the truth of his assertions (§ 2); while at the same time he gives private instructions to the Athenians, to detain the Spartan messengers until he and his colleagues (who had then arrived) should return home (§ 3); this they do, after which Themistocles announces to the Lacedæmonians, that the city is fortified sufficiently for purposes of defence, and that the Athenians know what is for their own and the common good (§ 4); that their prudence had been manifested, both when through necessity they abandoned their city and embarked on board of their ships, and when they were consulted on matters of common moment (§ 5); that it would be for their own interest, and that of the allies in general, to have their city in such a state of defence, that they would not be deterred from offering free and impartial counsel in the common assembly (§§ 6, 7).

1. *οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες....ἐπείθοντο, but when they heard this, they believed Themistocles;* not *those who heard*, etc. —— *αὐτοῦ* is the objective genitive, *for* or *towards him*. In respect to the high repute in which the Lacedæmonians held Themistocles, cf. I. 74. § 1. —— *τῶν δὲ ἄλλων* does not refer to the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, as they had returned to Sparta before the arrival of Themistocles (cf. I. 90. § 3), nor to the colleagues of Themistocles, since their arrival is particularly mentioned in § 3 infra, but to those who had come from Athens in the way of common business. Haack conjectures, that the article is employed to denote *all who came*, and that the following *καὶ* may be taken in the sense of *vel* or *adeo*. In his German translation of the passage he seems, however, to have given to *καὶ* the signification, which it has before *μάλα* and *πάνυ*, which Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 186) says is approved by Sintenis in Ephem. Scholast. 1831. p. 1140. In the place of *ἄλλων* (which is suspected by Dobree), Poppo conjectures from the words of Plutarch, that *Αἰγινητῶν* should be substituted. In view of all that has been said, I am disposed to retain the article and give the passage the translation, *the others* (as we would say *every other arrival*, *ἄλλων* being employed in contradistinction to Themistocles) *who came, declaring very openly*. As it is probable that Themistocles had denied that the construction of the walls was going forward the declaration of these comers from Athens was a contradiction of his assertions, yet the verb in itself has not the signification given it by Bloomfield, *contradicting his representations*. —— *ὕψος λαμβάνει*, sc. *τὸ τεῖχος* elicited from *τειχίζεται*. —— *οὐκ εἶχον* (mentally) *ὅπως χρὴ ἀποστῆσαι, they did not know how they were to discredit the thing.*

χρὴ is a gloss, but cf. οὐκ ἠπίσταντο πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ χωρῆσαι, VII. 44. § 3. See also Xen. Cyr. I. 4. § 24; IV. 5. § 19.

2. μὴ....πέμψαι, *not to be led away by reports, but to send rather;* literally, *not rather to be led away—than to send.* "Ex nostra dicendi ratione pro μὴ μᾶλλον—ἢ magis μὴ τοσοῦτον—ὅσον seu μὴ—ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον expectes." Poppo. —— σφῶν αὐτῶν shows that the representations, adverse to the declarations of Themistocles, had not been made by the Lacedæmonians. —— χρηστοί, *respectable, of good standing.*

3. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν. According to Cor. Nep., they sent three men *functos summis honoribus.* Diod. calls them τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, but does not state their number. —— ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς = *as secretly as possible.* —— πρὶν (always accompanied by ἄν) is followed by the subjunctive or optative when a negative clause precedes, and when reference is had to future time, i. e. when its translation is *before.* When it refers to time past (its translation being *until*), it takes the indicative. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 848; K. § 337. 9. a; S. § 220. 2. The subjunctive, κομισθῶσιν, is here employed according to the general rule, that it depends on a primary tense, κελεύων taking the time of πέμπει. S. § 212. 2. —— αὐτοὶ refers to Themistocles and his colleagues. —— ἤδη....τεῖχος is a parenthesis, thrown in to explain why the plural αὐτοὶ was used. —— Ἀβρώνιχος, *Abronychus.* It was he who commanded the ship stationed at Thermopylæ, to communicate between Leonidas and the fleet at Artimesium. —— Ἀριστείδης, *Aristides,* surnamed *the Just,* the rival of Themistocles. For an interesting sketch of his life, see Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol. —— γὰρ after ἐφοβεῖτο introduces the reason why Themistocles gave the direction contained in ὡς ἥκιστα....κομισθῶσιν. It resumes the narration which was interrupted by the parenthesis ἤδη τεῖχος. —— σφᾶς, *them.* Cf. Butt. § 127. 3. —— ὁπότε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, *when they should perchance* (cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 844. a) *obtain certain intelligence* that the walls were erected.

4. ὡς πρὸς....ἰέναι. The order is: τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι ὡς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας. The infinitive ἰέναι depends on εἶπεν, to be repeated from the preceding member, where it was followed by ὅτι with the indicative. —— τὰ ξύμφορα and τὰ κοινὰ (sc. ξύμφορα taken as a substantive) depend on διαγιγνώσκοντας. These remarks of Themistocles are very spirited and patriotic.

5. ἄνευ ἐκείνων—γνόντες, *having determined* (on this thing) *without them* (i. e. without asking advice of them). —— ὅσα....βουλεύεσθαι, *as to any plans which were determined on in conjunction with them* (i. e. in joint council with the Lacedæmonians). For the construction

of the accusative with the infinitive in the oratio obliqua, and depending on a verb of saying, declaring, etc., expressed or implied (here ἔφασαν), cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 889. a; Mt. § 538. —— οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι, *inferior to no one.* S. § 198. 1.

6. δοκεῖν is constructed the same as εἶναι, § 4 supra. —— καὶ νῦν, *now also.* —— The subject of εἶναι is the proposition τὴν....ἔχειν, which is also the subject of ἔσεσθαι. —— ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους is a varied construction for πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, which would regularly have followed τοῖς πολίταις.

7. οὐ γὰρ....βουλεύεσθαι, *for it is impossible for any one, without* (μὴ ἀπὸ) *preparation for defence equal* [to that of the other members of the confederacy], *to give similar and equal* (i. e. independent and impartial) *advice in respect to the common weal*, to that which is given by the more powerful confederates. Arnold paraphrases, *for no one could enter heartily into the counsels of a confederacy, unless he had as much at stake as the other members of it.* But he appears not to have caught the idea, which is not equality of interests at stake, but of the means of defence, such equalities being necessary to give each member of a confederacy freedom of deliberation in the common council. In respect to the general construction, εἶναι depends on οἷόν τ' (S. § 222. 6), and βουλεύεσθαι is the subject of the proposition (S. § 222. 1). —— ἢ....ἔχειν, *or to consider that this thing* (i. e. the construction of the walls at Athens) *was just and proper.* τάδε = τόδε.

CHAPTER XCII.

The Lacedæmonians exhibit no appearance of resentment at the speech of Themistocles, but nevertheless hold a secret grudge against the Athenians. The ambassadors on both sides return home unblamed (§ 1).

1. ὀργὴν....ἐποιοῦντο, *manifested no resentment.* —— κωλύμῃ = κωλύματι. —— δῆθεν, *forsooth, indeed*, expresses irony, and therefore = *they pretended.* Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 726. 2. a. —— τῷ κοινῷ is rendered by Portus, *ad eorum* (i. e. the Athenians) *rempublicam.* So Haack takes the dative for ἐς with the accusative. Valla (cited approvingly by Goeller) makes τῷ κοινῷ depend on παραινέσει, the verbal being followed by the case of its verb, *for the giving counsel to the state.* I am inclined, although with some hesitation, to follow the explanation of the Schol. τῷ κοινῷ = ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. Cf. Mt

§ 387. —— *ἅμα δὲ καὶ....ἐτύγχανον* I take to be a continuation of the avowed sentiments of the Lacedæmonians, *τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως* being the resumption of the subject from *ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*. The participle *ὄντες* is to be constructed with *ἐτύγχανον*. S. 225. 8. —— *ἐν τῷ τότε, at that time.* S. § 228. 1. —— *αὐτοῖς* limits *προσφιλεῖς* and refers to the Athenians.

CHAPTER XCIII.

The Athenians thus surround their city with walls, the hasty construction of which was manifest even in the times of Thucydides (§§ 1, 2); at the advice of Themistocles, they fortify the Piræus, on account of its fine situation for a naval station (§ 3); he also excites and directs their aim to be masters of the sea (§ 4), and to this end, the Piræus was enclosed with a wall of great thickness, although its height was much less than Themistocles intended (§ 5); this was done with the view that it might be defended by a few persons, and the rest spared to man the fleet (§ 6); for the navy occupied his chief attention, as being the most efficient means of defence against the Persian king, and he therefore judged the Piræus to be of more utility than the upper city, and rather to be defended (§ 7); thus the city was rebuilt and fortified (§ 8).

1. Poppo thinks that this and the following section should constitute a chapter by themselves, as with § 3 commences the account of the fortification, and the incipient steps of the Athenians to obtain the naval ascendency.

2. *δήλη—ἐστιν.* The impersonal is changed into the personal construction, and *οἰκοδομία* is transferred from the substantive sentence into the principal one. The impersonal construction would have been *καὶ δῆλον ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὅτι ἡ οἰκοδομία κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο.* Cf. K. § 529. R. 4; Mt. § 297; S. § 225. 7. —— *οἱ—θεμέλιοι* (sc. *λίθοι*), *the foundation-stones, foundations.* Cf. Mt. § 95. —— *παντοίων.* There is some difference of opinion whether this refers to stones of all *sorts*, or of all *shapes* and *sizes*. Perhaps, however, both ideas are included. In their haste, they laid stones of all sorts and shapes promiscuously together. —— *καὶ....ᾗ, and in some places* (see N. on I. 65. § 2) *not wrought and made to fit together.* Some may prefer to take *οὐ—ἔστιν ᾗ* in the sense, *in no manner whatever* (cf. K. § 331. R. 5). But it is hardly to be supposed that the thing spoken of was true of the whole foundation, and hence I think it better to take *ᾗ* in the sense of *place*, than of *manner* or *way*. —— *ἀπὸ σημάτων, from sepulchral monuments.* In the northern wall, which was called the Pelasgian, and which was probably rebuilt about the same time with

the peribolus of the Asty, Leake says (Topog. of Athens, I. p. 312), "entire courses of masonry are formed of pieces of Doric columns, which were almost as large as those of the Parthenon, and there are other courses consisting of the composite blocks of Doric entablature of corresponding dimensions. The ruins of former buildings were much employed for this purpose, the devastations of the Persians having left an abundance of materials of this kind." —— *γὰρ* introduces the reason why monumental and other wrought stones were worked into the wall, viz. because of its increased extension and the consequent deficiency of materials. —— *πάντα* both common and sacred (*καὶ κοινὰ καὶ ἱερά*. Schol.).

3. *τοῦ Πειραιῶς*. Their former port was Phalerus, which Cor. Nep. (Vit. Themist. VI.) says, was neither a large nor a good one. —— *ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ, for a beginning had been made of it* (= *they had begun it*). "If an active or middle, which has no object, is changed to a passive, it becomes of course impersonal, and it may become so with an indirect object." Crosby, § 564. 8. *ὑπῆρκτο....ἦρξε* is a parenthesis, explanatory of *τὰ λοιπὰ* in the preceding context, and hence *δ'* = *γάρ*. —— *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου* (i. e. Themistocles) *ἀρχῆς*. This was A. C. 493. Olymp. 74. 4. —— *ἧς, in which*. S. § 196. —— *Ἀθηναίους* is made by some to depend on *ἦρξε* (cf. Mt. § 360. *a*), but Poppo more correctly makes *Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχειν* simply written for *Ἄρχοντα Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι*. —— *αὐτοφυεῖς, natural* opposed to that which is *artificial*. For the termination *εις* instead of *ας*, cf. Butt. § 53. N. 4. The three ports here spoken of, were named Cantharus, Aphrodisius, and Zea. —— *καὶ....δύναμιν*. There are various ways in which this passage is translated, of which I shall specify but two; (1) *their having become a naval people would be a great help towards their acquiring power;* literally, *by having become a naval people they*, etc. This is Arnold's interpretation, to which he adds, "the adjective and participle form a more important part of the subject than the pronoun substantive; as in those Latin expressions, where the passive participle precedes the substantive with which it agrees, to show that it is the more important word of the two, as 'captum oppidum multum rebus nostris profuit,' *the taking of the town was of much use*." The objection to this is that it leaves out *τὸ χωρίον*, which is evidently to be continued as the subject from the preceding clause, and thus makes what is compact and harmonious, disjointed and feeble. It is also unsafe to reason against the obvious construction of a sentence, by authorities drawn from the Latin mode of construction. (2) *et illum locum* (*τὸ χωρίον* supplied from the preceding context) *se nauticos factos valde promoturum esse ad potentiam consequendam* (*and that the*

place would advance them to the attaining of power, when they should become a nautical people). This is the interpretation of Osiand. (Observ. in Thucyd. fasc. II. p. 9), which Poppo and Goeller adopt. In order to make τὸ χωρίον the subject of προφέρειν, Poppo supposes a transposition of τε in the former member, so that it should be τὸ χωρίον καλόν τε εἶναι. The only objection which I would make to this interpretation, which in its main features is correct, is noticed by Bloomfield. It supposes that the Athenians had not yet become a naval people, whereas the very opposite was the case. If then the participle be translated, *inasmuch as they had become* (see N. on I. 9. § 4), this objection would be removed, and the true interpretation would I think be reached. The transposition of τε is not harsh or unusual, and that προφέρειν (used without ἄν for the future infinitive, cf. S. § 222. 4. b) may have the signification here given it, every good lexicon will show.

4. For a long time I was inclined, by the use of γὰρ in this section, to adopt Arnold's interpretation of the preceding sentence καὶ....δύναμιν. But much examination and reflection has satisfied me, that γὰρ does not serve to confirm the idea that their naval supremacy would help to augment their power, but is rather to be taken with ἔπεισε....ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, as strengthening the idea intended to be conveyed, that Themistocles was the sole projector of the plan to make Athens a maritime power. γὰρ may therefore be rendered *indeed*. —— ἀνθεκτέα (from ἀντέχω) ἐστί. See N. on I. 72. § 1. It is followed by the genitive θαλάσσης (S. § 192. 1). —— εὐθὺς after the Persian war. Goeller interprets it: *statim postquam archon fuit*. It is probable that at this time, if ever, Themistocles made the proposal narrated by Plutarch (τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων).

5. ἐκείνου refers to Themistocles. —— ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι. The walls were destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, yet enough of the foundations were left to enable some judgment to be formed of their thickness. Arnold argues from Xen. Hellen. II. 4. § 11, that the destruction could only have been partial, affecting chiefly the fortifications on the side of the sea. —— δύο γὰρ....ἐπῆγον, i. e. the wall was so broad, that two heavy wagons or wains could meet and pass one another, as they were conveying stones for its construction. —— χάλιξ, *small stone gravel*, with which the ancients filled up the interior of very thick walls, and which was made adhesive and solid by clay (πηλός). This whole passage is illustrated by the following extract from Leake's Topog. of Athens, I. p. 411. "On the side of Munychia, towards the open sea, the remains are best preserved. Here three or four courses of masonry, both of

walls and square towers, are in many places to be seen; and there are some situations, where we still find the wall built in the manner described by Thucydides; that is to say, not filled up in the middle with a mixture of broken stones and mortar in the usual manner of the Greeks, but constructed throughout the whole thickness, of large stones, either quadrangular or irregularly-sided, but fitted together without cement, and the exterior stones cramped together with metal. This we may suppose to have belonged to the original work of Themistocles, which has thus survived the lapse of twenty-three centuries." This helps to decide the meaning of *ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, cut square;* literally, *made square in cutting;* "*cut into an angular form, made angular in cutting.*" Arnold. *ἐν τομῇ* is interpreted by Goel. "*locis quibus incisi sunt,*" which Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 136) seems to cite approvingly. —— *ξυνῳκοδομημένοι, built up close*, i. e. having no interstices between them to be filled up with gravel and clay. *ἦσαν* is to be supplied from the preceding *ἦν*. —— *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* follows *δεδεμένοι*. —— *τὰ ἔξωθεν, on the outside*. —— *ἥμισυ—οὗ διενοεῖτο*, (only) *the half of that which he intended* (*οὗ = ἐκείνου ὅν*).

6. *μεγέθει* here signifies *height*. —— *ἐπιβουλάς, hostile plans*, "vel a *consilio* portum oppugnandi." Haack. The reading *ἐπιβολάς, hostile attacks*, is adopted by Bloomf. and Didot. See N. on III. 45. § 5. —— *καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων, and that too the most useless*, i. e. those who were disabled so as not to perform active service, or were excused on account of their age. —— *ἀρκέσειν* to defend the place. The subject is *τὴν φυλακήν*.

7. *προσέκειτο, devoted his attention to*. —— *ἰδὼν—ἔφοδον—οὖσαν, because he saw* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *that an invasion was more easy* (*εὐπορώτεραν*). *ἔφοδον* is limited by *στρατιᾶς*, and *τῆς* (sc. *ἐφόδου*) follows the comparative. In this appears the sagacity of Themistocles, for no Persian king, with the lesson of Thermopylæ before him, would ever think of attacking Greece by a land expedition. —— *τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, the upper city*. "De sola acropoli noli cogitare." Poppo. —— *ἐς αὐτόν*, i. e. into the Piræus. —— *ναυσὶ* is the dative of means. —— *οὖν οὕτως, so then*, i. e. in accordance with the advice of Themistocles. —— *τἆλλα κατεσκενάζοντο, restored the other edifices*. The theme of *κατασκενάζω* is *κατασκενή*, which has among other significations that of *a building, edifice*, and hence it meets the demands of the context, which evidently refers it to the private and public edifices, temples, etc., some of which were wholly destroyed, and others more or less injured. *ἄλλα* in *τἆλλα* is employed to distinguish these edifices from the walls and fortifications implied in *ἐτειχίσθησαν*.

CHAPTER XCIV.

Pausanias, accompanied by the Athenians and other allied forces, is sent out from Lacedæmon (§ 1); he reduces the greater part of Cyprus, and takes Byzantium (§ 2).

1. *Παυσανίας δέ.* There is a resumption here of the historical summary commenced at I. 87. § 3, and interrupted by the somewhat extended account of the fortification of Athens. The events here spoken of took place, the year subsequent to the battles of Platæa and Mycale, and the same year in which the walls of Athens and the Piræus were built. —— *εἴκοσι.* Gottl. cites Diodorus as giving the number at fifty, which diversity Bloomfield would remove by reading *δὴ* (*scilicet*) for *δέ*.

2. *Κύπρον, Cyprus*, was a large island in the Mediterranean, S. of Cilicia, and W. of Syria, not far from the coast. The luxurious and effeminate character of its inhabitants is well known. —— *αὐτῆς τὰ πολλά, the greater part of it.* —— *Μήδων ἐχόντων, the Medes possessing it = it being in the possession of the Medes.* —— *ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ* is considered by Steph., Haack, and Goel., as belonging to the following chapter, *δὲ* after *ἤδη* being omitted. But may not its use, in the present connexion, have been to show that Byzantium was taken in the time of Pausanias's command, although near its close? So Arnold thinks, and with good reason. It was not until the capture of that place, and the release of the Persian captives taken in it, that the proposal to betray Greece was made by Pausanias. This proposal being favorably received, and an answer from the king at Susa having been returned, Pausanias became arrogant to such a degree, as to excite the ill-will of the Asiatic Greeks, and cause them to put themselves under the protection of Athens.

CHAPTER XCV.

The insolence of Pausanias having become intolerable, the Asiatic Greeks request the Athenians to become their leaders, which request is complied with (§§ 1, 2); the Lacedæmonians, in the meantime, had recalled Pausanias to answer to the charges of a tyrannical and arbitrary command preferred against him (§ 3); and at this time the allies through hatred of him passed over to the Athenians (§ 4); Pausanias on his return home is found guilty of the private charges, but is acquitted of the most serious of the public accusations (§ 5); Dorcis is sent out in his place, to whom the allies refuse obedience (§ 6); upon which he and the leaders associated with him withdraw, and the Lacedæmonians, fearing that their generals will be corrupted, and thinking that the Athenians are better adapted to carry on the war than themselves, send out no more commanders into Asia (§ 7).

1. *βιαίον, tyrannical* in the exercise of his command. —— *ἄλλοι* than the Peloponnesians, especially the Lacedæmonians. —— *οὐχ*

ἥκιστα, *most especially.* —— νεωστί, *lately.* Reference is had in this place to the Greeks, who had been liberated from the Persian yoke by the battles of Platæa and Mycale. —— κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, *by virtue of the relationship between them.* These words are to be constructed with ἠξίουν (= *thought it fit, becoming*). The Ionians, having been driven out of Peloponnesus by the Achaians (who had been dispossessed of Argolis and Laconia by the Dorians and the Heraclidæ), came to Athens and there for a time resided, not as citizens, or those who could possess land, but enjoying the protection of the laws, and supporting themselves by mechanical arts. After a while, under the protection of Athens, they migrated to Asia Minor, from which state a number of citizens was sent as leaders (ἡγέμονες) of the colony. These carried with them the sacred fire for the new settlement, taken from the prytaneum of Athens, and thus were entitled to the appellation of μητρόπολις (*mother-city*) to the Ionians. See Arnold's note on this passage. —— μὴ....βιάζηται (= μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν βιάζεσθαι). The subjunctive is employed, because the condition is assumed as something probable but not certain. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 854. 1; S. § 215. 1.

2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντο κ. τ. λ. If Plutarch is to be believed, the Athenians did not grant their request, until after the allies had offended Pausanias by their movements. —— προσεῖχον τὴν γνώμην, *directed their attention = attended to their request.* αὐτοῖς (i. e. τοῖς λόγοις) may be mentally supplied after these words. —— ὡς (= *with the purpose*) οὐ περιοψόμενοι. See Notes on ὡς, I. 73. § 4, and on περιοράν, I. 24. § 6. —— τἄλλα. Their affairs had now reached so important and delicate a crisis, that many other things, besides a redress of the immediate wrongs complained of, were to be attended to, and hence I am inclined to refer αὐτοῖς in this clause to both the Athenians and the Asiatic allies, rather than to either party taken separately. A union, like the one here proposed, was to be effected with great prudence and precaution, in order not to draw upon the parties the enmity of the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the Peloponnesians, whose acquiescence in such an accession of strength to the Athenians, could hardly at that time have been hoped for. Hence it was important to look at the subject in all its aspects, and to establish matters on a good basis in reference to the alliance about to be formed.

3. ἀνακρινοῦντες, *in order to examine into.* S. § 225. 5. —— ὧν πέρι = ἐκεῖνα περὶ ὧν. See N. on I. 75. § 5 (end). —— ἀδικία....αὐτοῦ, *much injustice was charged upon him = he was accused of much injustice.* In the active voice ἀδικία would have been the accusative, after the formula κατηγορεῖν τί τινος. Cf. S. § 194. 4; Mt. § 378. p. 608. —— τῶν ἀφισταμένων into Lacedæmon. —— τυραννίδος—μίμησις, *an*

imitation of tyranny. —— ἡ στρατηγία, *rather than a military command* (cf. I. 94. § 1, where Pausanias is called a στρατηγός). Haack and Poppo read ἡ στρατηγία, and make it the subject of the verb. Haack gives as a reason, "quia aloqui subjectum huic loco aptum desideratur." But the subject can readily be supplied from the context.

4. καλεῖσθαι....μετατάξασθαι, *at the same time in which he was recalled, the allies through enmity of him* (objective genitive) *went over to the Athenians.* Notice how ἅμα unites these propositions in respect to time.

5. τῶν....εὐθύνθη, *he was found guilty of the injuries privately committed against individuals* (πρός τινα.) For the construction, cf. S. § 194. 4. —— εὐθύνθη—ἀπολύεται. This interchange of the aorist and the historic present, imparts beauty and force to the passage, by keeping before us the continued action of the verb of acquittal, and suffering the momentary one designating the conviction of Pausanias's guilt to pass rapidly by in the aorist. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 401. 5; Mt. § 504. 1. —— τὰ δὲ μέγιστα, *in respect to the greatest charges* (Mt. § 421. *Obs.* 2), is to be referred to Μηδισμός, *Medism.* See N. on I. 135. § 1. —— μὴ ἀδικεῖν. See N. on I. 10. § 1. —— ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι (sc. τὸ πρᾶγμα), *and the matter seemed to be most manifest* (to the other Greeks), i. e. public opinion pronounced him guilty of this charge. Had his treason been as manifest to the Lacedæmonians as to others, there is no reason to believe that he would have escaped immediate punishment, since no leniency was shown him, when subsequently convicted of the same crime.

6. ἐκεῖνον....ἄρχοντα shows that the term of his command had not expired, when he was recalled by the Lacedæmonians. He returned afterwards of his own accord to the Hellespont, but not by public authority. *Cf. I. 128. § 2. —— Δόρκιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους. These persons appear to have constituted a board, the members of which were jointly intrusted with the command. See N. on III. 100. § 2. It was not wonderful that the allies refused obedience to them, since no authority can be more inefficient or liable to abuse than that which is jointly shared by many.

7. οἱ δέ, i. e. Dorcis and his colleagues. —— ἀπῆλθον into Lacedæmon. —— ἄλλους....Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Müller (Dorians, I. p. 204) thinks that the motive of the Lacedæmonians, in determining to send no more commanders into Asia, lay deeper than the defection of the Ionians from Pausanias, or their refusal to obey Dorcis and his associates; for without the Greeks of Asia Minor, they could, by the assistance of the naval powers of Peloponnesus, viz. Corinth, Ægina, etc., have continued a war, which promised more of gain and plunder than of

trouble or danger. They probably deemed it inexpedient to aim at the mastery of the sea, or run the hazard of marring and breaking up the Spartan institutions by foreign expeditions and foreign conquests. Nor was it true, that the supremacy over the Greeks passed wholly into the hands of the Athenians, since Sparta still continued to hold the pre-eminence in Peloponnesus; and most of the states of the mother country joined themselves to her, while none but the Asiatic Greeks and those who inhabited the islands, put themselves under the command of Athens. —— *σφίσιν* is the dat. incommodi after *χείρους γίγνωνται*. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. (§ 602. 2). —— *χείρους*, *badly affected* (*false and unfaithful*. Bloomf.), as we say *spoiled*, i. e. rendered unfit for public service. The comparative is here used for the positive. K. § 323. R. 7; Mt. §. 457. p. 576. —— *ἀπαλλαξείοντες δὲ καί*, *but also through a desire to get rid of*. S. § 143 (*-σείω*). —— *πολέμου*. S. § 197. 2. —— *νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι*. The Athenians boasted (I. 76. § 2) that by the Lacedæmonians themselves, they were deemed worthy of the command intrusted to them. —— *σφίσιν* limits *ἐπιτηδείους* (= *φίλους*).

CHAPTER XCVI.

The Athenians having thus attained the command, proceed to determine what states shall furnish ships, and what states money for the prosecution of the war against the Barbarians (§ 1); they appoint hellenotamiæ to receive the tribute which is first deposited at Delos (§ 2).

1. *παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. This took place A. C. 457. Olymp. 75. 4. Arnold calls it the beginning of the Athenian empire. —— *διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μῖσος*. It is probable that admiration of the character of Aristides, had some influence also in inducing the allies to take this step. —— *ἃς....χρήματα*, *which of the states should furnish money*. —— *πρός*, *against*. —— *ἃς ναῦς*. The ellipsis can easily be supplied from *ἃς....χρήματα*. —— *ἦν*. The subject is *ἀμύνασθαι* and the predicate is *πρόχημα*, *pretence*, *show*. —— *ὧν* = *ἐκείνων ἅ*, of which the antecedent is put in the genitive after *ἀμύνασθαι*, to denote that on account of which the feeling of revenge arose. K. § 274. 2; S. § 194. 1. —— *δῃοῦντας*, *by laying waste* (see N. on I. 9. § 1), agrees with *αὐτούς*, the omitted subject of *ἀμύνασθαι*. Some erroneously regard it as an accusative absolute.

2. *Ἑλληνοταμίαι*, *receivers of taxes*, *treasurers* appointed to receive the moneys collected from the allied states, and to take charge of them

when deposited in the treasury at Delos, and afterwards at Athens, Boeckh concludes from certain inscriptions, that their number was ten, and that, like the treasurers of the gods, they were chosen by lot, out of the pentacosiomedimni (i. e. the first class of citizens, who possessed land producing 500 medimni yearly), and that they did not enter upon their office at the beginning of the year, but after the Panathenæa (i. e. the festival in honor of Minerva), and the first prytanea, i. e. periods of thirty-five or thirty-six days, in which the prytanes (πρυτάνεις) of each φυλή in turn presided in the βουλή and ἐκκλησία Cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Athens, pp. 176–180; Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 469. Ἑλληνοταμίαι is in apposition with ἀρκή; literally, *and hellenotamiæ, the office* (= *the office of hellenotamiæ*) *was then first established.* Cf. S. § 156. N. 2. —— οἱ ἐδέχοντο, *who received.* These officers did not collect the tribute. After the funds were removed from Delos, they acted only as treasurers, the apodectæ (receivers) being a distinct office. Cf. Boeckh, l. c. —— φόρον. On account of the odium which became attached to this word, it was exchanged for σύνταξις. —— τάλαντα is in apposition with φόρος. —— Δῆλος was the place chosen for the treasury, because the temple of Delos was greatly venerated, not only by the Greeks, but also by the Barbarians, and the treasures would therefore be unmolested. —— αἱ ξύνοδοι, "*the returns, contributions.*" Pickering. I prefer with Poppo and Bloomf. (in his latest edition) to affix to it the signification, *the common councils* of the allies. The presence of the article is no objection to this rendering, since the councils are referred to as a well known fact (S. § 167), and no place would be more likely to be selected for holding these councils, than one so secure as Delos, where also their treasures were deposited. Cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Athens, p. 397.

CHAPTER XCVII.

Here commences the second division of the summary of Grecian history contained in chaps. 89–118 (see general remarks, p. 333). In this chapter Thucydides, after remarking that the Athenians increased their dominion thus acquired, by carrying on war and by political management (§ 1), states the reasons why he digresses from the main history, viz. the imperfection in which the history of the time between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars had been left by his predecessors, and the immediate bearing which the increase of Athenian power had on the declaration of war by the Lacedæmonians (§ 2).

1. αὐτονόμων. See N. on I. 67. § 2. —— τὸ πρῶτον. In process of time, as the defection of the allies or political considerations gave oc-

casion, the Athenians became more arbitrary, and exercised authority over the allies as over vassal states. —— *ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων, in common assemblies.* *ἀπὸ* here denotes the mediate instrument. See N. on I. 81. § 4. —— *τοσάδε* refers to the rising power of the Athenians, which is about to be the subject of the narration. —— *διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων, by the administration of things.* —— *ἃ* refers to *πραγμάτων* and not to *τοσάδε* as some imagine. It also embraces as a prominent idea the notion of war, from *πολέμῳ* which precedes *διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων*, and hence *πρὸς* which follows signifies *against.* —— *αὐτοῖς* depends on *ἐγένετο* and refers to the Athenians. —— *νεωτερίζοντας, attempting changes* (in government), *meditating a revolt.* —— *ἀεί, at the time.* —— *ἑκάστῳ.* The Scholiasts supply *πολέμῳ*, *χωρίῳ*, or *χρόνῳ.* Haack would understand *νεωτερισμῷ* elicited from *νεωτερίζοντας.* I prefer with Poppo to supply from *ἃ ἐγένετο* the words *ὃ ἐγένετο, in each* (war or transaction) *which took place.*

2. *ἔγραψα, I have written.* The aorist is here used for the perfect. S. § 211. N. 14. —— *αὐτὰ* refers to the events detailed in the digression here spoken of. —— *τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου, digression from the subject.* —— *τόδε* refers forward to *ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ κ. τ. λ.* —— *ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον, this passage* (in history) *has been overlooked.* So we often use *place* in the sense of *passage*, when we say, 'in such a *place* the author remarks, etc.' —— *τούτων* does not refer to the historians, but is a neuter depending on *ἤψατο* (S. § 192. 1), or upon *ἐπεμνήσθη* to which it also belongs (S. l. c.). —— *καὶ* is employed because *ὥσπερ καὶ* is almost equivalent to *εἰ καί, even though, although.* —— *ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ.* Reference is had to the Ἀττὶς or history of Attica, which Hellanicus composed in four books at least. This writer (Ἑλλάνικος) was born in Mytilene in the island of Lesbos, and was one of the most eminent of the Greek logographers (see N. on I. 21. § 1). Respecting the date of his birth, among the diverse statements, that of Pamphila is now most generally adopted, which makes him a contemporary of Herodotus, and to have been sixty-five years old at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (A. C. 431). If he died, as Lucian (Macrob. 22) states, at the age of eighty-five, his birth would then have been about A. C. 496, and his death A. C. 411. He was a very prolific writer, but all his productions are lost except some fragments. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Mythol. and Biog. II. p. 409. —— *τοῖς χρόνοις*, i. e. *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους.* —— *τῆς ἀρχῆς....κατέστη.* For the attraction of *ἀρχῆς* from the subordinate clause (where it would have been the subject of *κατέστη*) into the principal one, see N. on I. 61. § 1. —— *ἔχει.* Supply *ταῦτα* from *τούτων*, or from *αὐτὰ* at the beginning

of the section, since this sentence contains a second reason for the digression, and is to be disjoined from the immediately preceding context (i. e. *τούτων....ἐπεμνήσθη*), which is parenthetical.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

In this digressive statement of the rise and progress of the Athenian power, the historian begins by relating how under Cimon the son of Miltiades, they took Eion (§ 1), and Scyrus (§ 2), and then compelled the Carystians to yield on conditions (§ 3); after which the Naxians, who had revolted, were reduced by a siege and forced to submit (§ 4).

1. Ἠιόνα *τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι* is so called to distinguish it from Eion in Pieria, and another in Thrace (cf. IV. 7. § 1). It was situated at the mouth of the Strymon, nearly S. of Amphipolis, and is celebrated for the desperate defence made by the Persian governor Boges, who, when he found that he could no longer hold out against Cimon, killed his wife, children, and family, and then set fire to the place and perished in the flames. Dahl. fixes the chronology of this event at A. C. 476. Cf. Class. Mus. I. p. 188. —— *εἷλον* refers to the Athenians.

2. *ἔπειτα* is put for *ἔπειτα δὲ* after *πρῶτον μέν*, the omission taking place, because *ἔπειτα* makes the contrast sufficiently manifest. Cf. K. § 322. R. 4. —— Σκῦρον, *Scyrus* (now *Scyro*), an island in the Ægean sea, N. E. of Eubœa. The Schol. calls it one of the Cyclades. —— *ᾤκισαν αὐτοί, they themselves colonized it*, i. e. they sent out colonists who settled it.

3. Καρυστίους, *the Carystians*. Carystus was a city of Eubœa, on the south-eastern extremity of the island, and W. of Geræstus. —— *αὐτοῖς* refers to the Athenians. —— *ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων*, i. e. no other cities of Eubœa were subject to hostilities, the Carystians alone refusing to become tributary to the Athenians. —— *ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν, came to terms of surrender*, evidently refers to the Carystians.

4. *ἐπολέμησαν* refers to the Athenians. —— *παρεστήσαντο, reduced them = forced them to submit*. This took place, A. C. 466. Olymp. 78. 3, or about ten years after the reduction of Eion. It will be seen by this, how brief is the summary of events which Thucydides is here giving. It was while Naxos was besieged, that Themistocles fled to Persia in the way spoken of in I. 137. § 2. —— *πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις —ἐδουλώθη = αὕτη τε ἐγένετο πρώτη πόλις, ἣ ἐδουλώθη (was reduced to slavery = deprived of freedom)*. —— *παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός, contrary*

casion, the Athenians became more arbitrary, and exercised authority over the allies as over vassal states. —— *ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων, in common assemblies.* *ἀπὸ* here denotes the mediate instrument. See N. on I. 81. § 4. —— *τοσάδε* refers to the rising power of the Atheniana, which is about to be the subject of the narration. —— *διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων, by the administration of things.* —— *ἃ* refers to *πραγμάτων* and not to *τοσάδε* as some imagine. It also embraces as a prominent idea the notion of war, from *πολέμῳ* which precedes *διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων*, and hence *πρὸς* which follows signifies *against.* —— *αὐτοῖς* depends on *ἐγένετο* and refers to the Athenians. —— *νεωτερίζοντας, attempting changes* (in government), *meditating a revolt.* —— *ἀεί, at the time.* —— *ἑκάστῳ.* The Scholiasts supply *πολέμῳ, χωρίῳ*, or *χρόνῳ.* Haack would understand *νεωτερισμῷ* elicited from *νεωτερίζοντας.* I prefer with Poppo to supply from *ἃ ἐγένετο* the words *ὃ ἐγένετο, in each* (war or transaction) *which took place.*

2. *ἔγραψα, I have written.* The aorist is here used for the perfect. S. § 211. N. 14. —— *αὐτὰ* refers to the events detailed in the digression here spoken of. —— *τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου, digression from the subject.* —— *τόδε* refers forward to *ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ κ. τ. λ.* —— *ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον, this passage* (in history) *has been overlooked.* So we often use *place* in the sense of *passage*, when we say, 'in such a *place* the author remarks, etc.' —— *τούτων* does not refer to the historians, but is a neuter depending on *ἤψατο* (S. § 192. 1), or upon *ἐπεμνήσθη* to which it also belongs (S. l. c.). —— *καὶ* is employed because *ὥσπερ καὶ* is almost equivalent to *εἰ καί, even though, although.* —— *ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ.* Reference is had to the Ἀτθίς or history of Attica, which Hellanicus composed in four books at least. This writer (Ἑλλάνικος) was born in Mytilene in the island of Lesbos, and was one of the most eminent of the Greek logographers (see N. on I. 21. § 1). Respecting the date of his birth, among the diverse statements, that of Pamphila is now most generally adopted, which makes him a contemporary of Herodotus, and to have been sixty-five years old at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (A. C. 431). If he died, as Lucian (Macrob. 22) states, at the age of eighty-five, his birth would then have been about A. C. 496, and his death A. C. 411. He was a very prolific writer, but all his productions are lost except some fragments. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Mythol. and Biog. II. p. 409. —— *τοῖς χρόνοις*, i. e. *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους.* —— *τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέστη.* For the attraction of *ἀρχῆς* from the subordinate clause (where it would have been the subject of *κατέστη*) into the principal one, see N. on I. 61. § 1. —— *ἔχει.* Supply *ταῦτα* from *τούτων*, or from *αὐτὰ* at the beginning

of the section, since this sentence contains a second reason for the digression, and is to be disjoined from the immediately preceding context (i. e. *τούτων.... ἐπεμνήσθη*), which is parenthetical.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

In this digressive statement of the rise and progress of the Athenian power, the historian begins by relating how under Cimon the son of Miltiades, they took Eion (§ 1), and Scyrus (§ 2), and then compelled the Carystians to yield on conditions (§ 3); after which the Naxians, who had revolted, were reduced by a siege and forced to submit (§ 4).

1. Ἠιόνα *τὴν ἐπὶ* Στρυμόνι is so called to distinguish it from Eion in Pieria, and another in Thrace (cf. IV. 7. § 1). It was situated at the mouth of the Strymon, nearly S. of Amphipolis, and is celebrated for the desperate defence made by the Persian governor Boges, who, when he found that he could no longer hold out against Cimon, killed his wife, children, and family, and then set fire to the place and perished in the flames. Dahl. fixes the chronology of this event at A. C. 476. Cf. Class. Mus. I. p. 188. —— *εἷλον* refers to the Athenians.

2. *ἔπειτα* is put for *ἔπειτα δὲ* after *πρῶτον μέν*, the omission taking place, because *ἔπειτα* makes the contrast sufficiently manifest. Cf. K. § 322. R. 4. —— Σκῦρον, *Scyrus* (now *Scyro*), an island in the Ægean sea, N. E. of Eubœa. The Schol. calls it one of the Cyclades. —— *ᾤκισαν αὐτοί, they themselves colonized it*, i. e. they sent out colonists who settled it.

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to what was established by the terms of the confederation. —— The Schol. defines this by παρὰ τὸ νόμιμον καὶ πρέπον, for the Greeks were then free. —— ὡς ἑκάστῃ ξυνέβη, sc. ἐδουλώθη. Schol. Steph. explains its construction as though written: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη, ὡς αὐτῇ ξυνέβη. A learned critic in Seebod. Bibl. Crit. a. 1828, no. 8. p. 18 (cited by Poppo, Adnot. ad Schol.), would omit ξυνέβη and take ἑκάστη in the nominative. Of course ἐδουλώθη would have to be supplied from the preceding context.

CHAPTER XCIX.

If the causes of the revolt of the allies, the principal one was their failure to pay the stipulated tribute, furnish ships, and perform military service, which things bore heavily upon them, and which the Athenians rigorously exacted (§ 1); the government of the Athenians was also no longer popular, and no expeditions were made on terms of equality (§ 2); which state of things had been brought upon the allies in part by their own fault, inasmuch as to avoid engaging in military expeditions they had compounded their personal service by payment in money, which both increased the ability of the Athenians to enlarge their naval power, and rendered the allies unable to offer effectual resistance whenever they dared to revolt (§ 3).

1. αἰτία....ἔκδειαι, *now the cause of the revolt among others was especially their being in arrears;* literally, *now there were other causes of the revolts, and the greatest* was their being in arrears (ἔκδειαι). —— λειποστράτιον, *failure in military service*, i. e. neglect to send their contingents. —— ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσαν, *dealt rigorously*, i. e. exacted the full amount of tribute and service. —— οὐκ....ἀνάγκας, *because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *they imposed necessities upon those, who were neither accustomed nor willing to do hard work.* ταλαιπωρεῖν refers to military service, and the labor necessary to provide the quota of ships and the stipulated tribute. In respect to the indolence and effeminacy of the Asiatic Greeks, cf. Herod. VI. 12. τὰς ἀνάγκας is a term denoting, as Arnold remarks, *torture used to extort confession*, and hence is very forcible in this place.

2. δέ πως καὶ ἄλλως, *in some other respects also.* —— ὁμοίως as when the confederacy was first formed. —— ἐν ἡδονῇ is to be constructed with ἦσαν, *were no longer* (οὐκέτι) *popular in their command* (ἄρχοντες), i. e. their government was no longer acceptable to the allies. Krüg. (ad Dionys. p. 117) says that ἦσαν—ἄρχοντες is a circumlocution for the imperfect, *were governing*. But it is better to translate the participle as a verbal noun denoting *manner*. See N.

on I. 37. § 5. —— *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, on equal terms;* "on a footing of equality." Bloomf. This is explained by Jacobs, *ἴσῳ νόμῳ καὶ ἴσῃ δυνάμει.* —— *τε* responds to *οὔτε*, and is therefore not unsuitable, as Bloomf. supposes. —— *προσάγεσθαι, to bring under, to reduce to obedience.*

8. *ἀπόκνησιν—τῶν στρατειῶν, reluctance to engage in military expeditions.* The genitive is here objective. S. § 188. N. 1. —— *ἀπ' οἴκου, away from home.* —— *ἀντι, in lieu of.* —— *ἐτάξαντο—φέρειν, agreed to pay;* literally, *took upon themselves the payment.* Cf. III. 50. § 2. —— *τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα* (in apposition with *χρήματα*), *whatever the expenses might come to = the proportionate expense* (i. e. as it might be rated to each state). By this commutation of ships and men for money, the allies became devoted to trade, agriculture, and the peaceful pursuits of life, and were proportionably unfitted for war. The Athenians, on the other hand, employing the money thus furnished in fitting out their navy and in providing warlike munitions, increased their power, and soon became so formidable as to awe the allies into any measure which they pleased to propose. This plan of allowing the allies to furnish money in lieu of men and ships, is ascribed by Plutarch to Cimon. —— *ἦν—ξυμφέροιεν.* The optative here denotes indefinite frequency. See N. on I. 49. § 3. —— *ἐκεῖνοι* and *αὐτοὶ* both refer to the allies.

CHAPTER C.

The Athenians under Cimon gain a great victory over the Persian land and sea-forces at the Eurymedon (§ 1); the Thasians having revolted are defeated in a sea-fight, and the Athenians effect a landing on their island (§ 2); a colony being sent out to the Strymon to settle in a place called the Nine-ways, are all cut off at Drabescus by the Thracians (§ 3).

1. *μετὰ ταῦτα, after these events* (viz. those related in I. 98). The victory at the Eurymedon was probably achieved the same year that Naxos was reduced, i. e. A. C. 466. Olymp. 78. 3. See N. on I. 98. § 4. —— *ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ.* Beaufort (Caramania, pp. 135–137) says that this river, inside of the curved bar which extends across its mouth, is four hundred and twenty feet wide, and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. The bar is so shallow as to be impassable to boats drawing more than one foot of water. Of course, as Arnold remarks, the river must have undergone great changes, a bar being now formed where the vessels of the ancients proceeded without difficulty. —— *πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία.* The sea-fight first took place, after which

Cimon disembarking his men proceeded against the land-forces, and thus gained two victories in one day. —— *τὰς πάσας ἐς τὰς διακοσίας, in all to the number of (ἐς) two hundred.* The second *τὰς* is omitted by Goeller and Haack, and bracketed by Poppo. Cf. Mt. § 268.

2. *χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον.* This defection of the Thasians took place the next year, i. e. A. C. 465. Olymp. 78. 4. —— *αὐτῶν* (S. § 197. 2) refers to the Athenians. —— *ἐμπορίων.* See N. on I. 13. § 5. —— *τοῦ μετάλλου* in Thrace. Reference is probably had to the gold mine in Scapte-Hyle, where Thucydides had an interest and resided during his banishment. —— *ἃ* refers to both *ἐμπορίων* and *μετάλλου.* —— *ἐνέμοντο* refers to the Thasians. —— *ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν.* Plutarch (Cimon, ch. 14) says that thirty-three of the Thasian ships were taken.

3. *πέμψαντες—ὡς οἰκιοῦντες—αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν—προελθόντες.* Haack finds a difficulty in this passage, inasmuch as *αὐτοὶ* cannot refer to *πέμψαντες* (*Ἀθηναῖοι*), but to the ten thousand colonists which had been sent out. He therefore thinks that *πεμψάντων* is demanded by the construction. There is no necessity, however, inasmuch as Matthiæ (§ 562. N.) has shown that the participle is put in the nominative, when its subject is contained in part in the principal subject, or this latter in the other. Here *αὐτοὶ* is the principal subject, and constitutes a part of the whole contained in the subject of *πέμψαντες* (i. e. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*). See N. on I. 49. § 4. Cf. also Xen. Anab. I. 8. § 27. —— *ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, about the same time.* —— *ὡς οἰκιοῦντες, in order to colonize.* For the form of the future, cf. S. § 109. N. 2. —— *Ἐννέα ὁδούς, Nine-ways,* so called, probably, because there were nine roads leading to it. —— *Ἠδωνοί.* The Edoni were a people of Thrace occupying the left bank of the Strymon. —— *προελθόντες—μεσόγειαν.* Mitford conjectures that this was done, in order, by one bold and vigorous movement, to put an end to the hostilities with which they had long been harassed by the Edoni; but advancing incautiously into the heart of the country, and drawn perhaps into ambush by the art of the retreating enemy, they were attacked to disadvantage and cut off. —— *ἐν Δραβήσκῳ.* "With the names of places, *ἐν* is used when proximity only is implied." Mt. § 577. 2. —— *ξυμπάντων,* i. e. with all their forces united. Poppo would read *ξύμπαντες,* on the ground that all the Thracians, so separated and so at enmity among themselves, could hardly be expected to have united to make war upon the colony. But it was very natural, that all the Thracians of those parts should look with an unfavorable eye upon a colony planted in so advantageous a place as Amphipolis, and which once before, when attempted by Aristagoras of Miletus, had been defeated by the natives. Compare Arnold's note on this passage.

CHAPTER CI.

The Thasians in their extremity call upon the Lacedæmonians to assist them by invading Attica (§ 1); this they secretly promise to do, but are hindered by an earthquake, which furnishes occasion for the Helots to revolt (§ 2); the Thasians therefore in the third year of the siege capitulate on conditions (§ 3).

1. *μάχαις.* As only one battle has been spoken of (I. 101. § 2), Poppo and Goeller after several MSS. are disposed to read *μαχῇ*. But it is highly probable that several inconsiderable battles had been fought, which Thucydides for the sake of brevity has omitted. Bloomf. thinks that there was a land engagement, after the Athenians disembarked to besiege the city. —— *πολιορκούμενοι.* The name of the capital thus besieged was the same as that of the island. —— *ἐσβαλόντας* denotes the means. See N. on I. 9. § 1.

2. *κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, unbeknown to the Athenians.* S. § 187. 4. —— *ἔμελλον*, sc. *ἐπαμῦναι* or *ἐσβαλεῖν.* —— *τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, the earthquake.* The article is added, because the *σεισμὸς* was so great and destructive, as to be well known to all those living in the time of Thucydides (S. § 167). It was said that there were only five houses in Lacedæmon which were not thrown down, and that twenty thousand human beings perished. But this is doubtless an exaggeration. —— *ἐν ᾧ, in which time, on which.* —— *αὐτοῖς* = adnominal genitive. —— *περιοίκων.* When the Dorians invaded Laconia, a part of the original inhabitants fled, while others placed themselves under the conquerors in a relation very similar, as Arnold observes, to that which the Saxons sustained to the Normans in the reign of William the Conqueror. But being defeated in an attempt to regain their freedom, they were deprived of many of the rights first granted to them, and reduced to the condition of subjects. In this abject state they continued, until at their request Augustus Cæsar restored them to the full enjoyment of their civil rights. The word *περίοικοι* is a term given to those old Achæan inhabitants of the soil, who dwelt in towns about Sparta, of which in round numbers there were said to be one hundred. Cf. Müller's Dorians, II. p. 17, et seq. —— *Θουριᾶται, the Thurians* near Calamæ. The towns of Thuria and Æthea (*Αἰθεεῖς, Ætheans*) were situated inland, in what had formerly been Messenia. Col. Leake (Travels in Morea, I. p. 471) conjectures that these people occupied the valleys, watered by the branches of the Bias to the southwestward of the modern Andrussa, which may possibly stand on the

site of Æthrum, this district being about the same distance from Ithome as Thuria is in the opposite direction. —— πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων κ. τ. λ. After the Messenians had been reduced to servitude, forming as they did a considerable portion of the Helots, they gave their name to these bondmen, so that they were all called at times Messenians. —— τότε δουλωθέντων, *at that time being subjugated.* τότε refers emphatically to the well-known time, when the thing spoken of took place. Steph. and Müller conjecture πότε as the true reading, but this is rejected by the best of the recent editors. Didot would construct: τῶν τότε δουλωθέντων Εἱλώτων. But such a transposition is wholly unauthorized and unnecessary.

3. ἐν Ἰθώμῃ. Cf. ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν, § 2 supra. ——Θάσιοι δέ. The story is here resumed from § 1, the intermediate passage being parenthetically introduced, to show why the Lacedæmonians could furnish the Thasians no aid. —— τείχός τε καθελόντες κ. τ. λ. are the conditions on which the Thasians were obliged to surrender. The capitulation took place A. C. 463. Olymp. 79. 2. —— χρήματα....ταξάμενοι = χρήματά τε ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι (*agreeing to pay immediately*) ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι. The Schol. explains ὅσα ἔδει as embracing the expenses incurred in the war. This is not probable, inasmuch as the money was paid immediately, which could hardly have been done, if any thing besides the arrears had been demanded.

CHAPTER CII.

The siege of Ithome being protracted, the Lacedæmonians call to their aid their allies and the Athenians (§ 1), the latter, on account of their skill in attacking fortified places (§ 2); but becoming jealous of them the Lacedæmonians dismiss them (§ 3), at which the Athenians are greatly irritated and enter into an alliance with the Argives, who are at enmity with the Lacedæmonians (§ 4).

1. The events in this chapter took place A. C. 461. Olymp. 79. 4. ἄλλους—ξυμμάχους, i. e. the Æginetæ, Platæenses, Mantinenses, etc. —— οἱ δ', i. e. the Athenians. —— πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ are datives of accompaniment. S. § 206. 5; K. § 283. 2. b.

2. τειχομαχεῖν—δυνατοί, *skilled in conducting sieges.* S. § 222. 6. —— τοῖς δὲ....ἐφαίνετο, *of this they seemed to stand in need on account of the long continuance of the siege.* τοῖς δὲ is edited τῆς δὲ by Haack and Poppo, on the ground that πολιορκίας needs the article. But is not τοῖς δὲ necessary to denote a change of the subject, which

in the preceding clause was the Athenians? —— τούτου i. e. τοῦ τειχομαχεῖν. —— Supply πράγματα with ἐνδεᾶ. —— βίᾳ....χωρίον, *for* (otherwise) *they could have taken the place by force.* Haack most strangely refers εἷλον to the Athenians, and places βίᾳ in antithesis with ἀπορίᾳ or λίμῳ, denoting the other mode of taking a city.

3. φανερὰ ἐγένετο, *became open, undisguised.* —— βίᾳ οὐχ ἡλίσκετο. The unsuccessful attempt to take the place by assault, no doubt contributed to bring to an open rupture two states of such different habits and tastes, that they could not come in contact without being displeased if not disgusted with each other. —— νεωτεροποιίαν, *fondness for innovations, revolutionary spirit.* See N. on I. 70. § 2. Bloomf. thinks that a plan is here alluded to, of taking part with the Helots, and restoring Messenia to its independence. —— ἀλλοφύλους (see N. on I. 2. § 4). The Athenians were of the Ionic, the Lacedæmonians of the Doric race. "The ties of race were, in that unsettled state of society in Greece, stronger than those of alliance." Bloomf. —— μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων. It increased the indignation of the Athenians, that they alone of the allies were sent away. —— οὐδὲν—ἔτι, *no longer.* The position of ἔτι gives it great emphasis. —— αὐτῶν. S. § 200. 3. The conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this affair, does not appear in a very favorable light. They seized the occasion of a failure to carry the place by storm, to turn the siege into a blockade, and thus gave a color to their dismissal of the Athenians, by announcing that they had no further need of them.

4. ἔγνωσαν—ἀποπεμπόμενοι, *they perceived that they were sent away* (see N. on I. 25. § 1). The participle takes the nominative form, because its subject is the same as that of the principal verb. Cf. S. § 225. 7. —— οὐκ....λόγῳ, *not for any good reason*, as we say, *not with the best intention.* Arnold, however, takes the expression in a less playful sense, and renders it: *not upon the more creditable reason that was assigned.* So Haack and Goeller also interpret. ἐπὶ here denotes *counsel* or *purpose.* K. § 296. II. 3. c. For the use of the comparative, cf. Mt. § 457; S. § 159. 3. —— τινὸς ὑπόπτου γενομένου denotes the cause. S. § 226. —— δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, *esteeming it bad usage, taking it as an affront.* —— τοῦτο παθεῖν, *to receive such treatment.* —— ἐπὶ in ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ is used in a hostile sense, *against.* K. § 296. II. 3. d. Cf. III. 63. § 2. —— πρὸς αὐτοὺς depends on ξυμμαχίαν. —— ἐκείνων refers to the Lacedæmonians. —— οἱ αὐτοί, *the same* (S. § 160. 5) as the oaths with which the treaty with the Argives had been ratified.

CHAPTER CIII.

In the tenth year of the siege Ithome is surrendered on the condition that its defenders shall leave Lacedæmon and never set foot in it again (§ 1); the Lacedæmonians are inclined to this leniency from a response, which they had received aforetime from the Pythian oracle (§ 2); the vanquished Helots are received by the Athenians, and settled at Naupactus (§ 3); the Megareans forsake the Lacedæmonian alliance, and come over to the Athenians by whom their city is fortified and garrisoned (§ 4).

1. *δεκάτῳ ἔτει*, i. e. A. C. 455. Olymp. 81. 2. The order of events is not strictly pursued in this summary, otherwise this termination of the siege would have been related at the beginning of chap. 111. This anticipation makes the narration clearer, by grouping together all the events and incidents pertaining to the siege and capture of Ithome. The length of the siege shows, that either the Lacedæmonians were very unskilful in conducting it (see I. 102. § 2), or that the place was by nature quite impregnable. —— *ἐφ' ᾧ τε* (generally followed by the infinitive. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 865. 2; Mt. § 479. *a*), *on condition that.* The antecedent is *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* implied in the preceding clause. Cf. K. § 341. R. 5. —— *ἐξίασιν* has the future signification (S. § 211. N. 4). The Schol. calls this use of the future after *ἐφ' ᾧ*, an idiom of Thucydides. But cf. Jelf's Kühn. l. c., where examples of the same usage are cited from Herodotus. —— *ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς.* This genitive may be referred to S. § 192. 1.

2. *καί*, *also*, implies that there were other reasons, to which that derived from the Pythian oracle was added, why the Helots were suffered to depart on these terms. —— *πρὸ τοῦ.* See N. on I. 32. § 4. —— *τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα.* The mountain-fortress in which the Messenians made their last stand for freedom, is said to have derived its name from Ithome, one of the nymphs who nourished Jupiter. On the summit of the mountain was a temple dedicated to Jupiter Ithomatas. —— *ἀφιέναι*, *to dismiss*, *to let go.* I cannot find any instance where this word is used in the sense of *to manumit*, which Bloomf. affixes to it.

3. *κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων*, *through hatred now to the Lacedæmonians.* The genitive is here objective, as in *διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μίσος* (I. 96. § 1), and *διὰ τὸ ἔχθος Ἀθηναίων* (II. 11. § 2). Cf. III. 101. § 2; IV. 1. § 2; VII. 57. § 7. —— *Ναύπακτον*, *Naupactus*, now *Lepanto*, was situated on the Sinus Corinthiacus, north-east of Antirrhium. Its commanding position showed with what sagacity the Athenians selected places for their colonies and those of their allies.

In the Peloponnesian war, this Messenian colony repaid with interest the wrongs which they had suffered at the hands of the Lacedæmonians. Cf. II. 90. §§ 4–6. —— Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν, *the Ozelian Locrians*, one of the divisions of the Locrians in Greece, or perhaps a colony of the eastern Locrians, since Homer makes no mention of the Ozolæ. In the Peloponnesian war they sided with the Athenians, partly through hatred of the Ætolians, and partly because the Athenians had possession of their principal town and harbor.

4. προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς. Thucydides now returns to the narrative of events in their proper series (see N. on § 1 supra). Megara united with the Athenian confederacy, according to Müller (Chron. Tab. Dorians, II. p. 464), A. C. 461, or six years before the reduction of Ithome. Another chronologist fixes the date at A. C. 464, which is undoubtedly too early. —— περὶ.... κατεῖχον. The Megareans and Corinthians were engaged almost continually in border hostilities. —— τὰ μακρὰ τείχη—ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν. These walls connected Megara with the port of Nisæa on the Sinus Saronicus, and were eight stadia in length (cf. IV. 66. § 4), or eighteen stadia according to Strabo (391). —— Μεγαρεῦσι, *for the Megareans*, is the dat. commodi. —— οὐχ.... ἤρξατο, *from which in no small degree that violent hatred began.* The Corinthians avowed their displeasure at this transaction, in their speech to the Athenians (I. 42. § 2), and the war spoken of in I. 105, owed its origin to the same cause.

CHAPTER CIV.

Inarus having revolted from the king of Persia calls to his aid the Athenians, who happe at that time to be laying siege to Cyprus; these sailing up the Nile to Memphis, posses themselves of two parts of the town and besiege the third (§§ 1, 2).

1. τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, *those bordering on Egypt.* These Libyan tribes occupied the district of country west of Egypt, probably what was afterwards called Libya Marmorica. —— ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας. See N. on I. 64. § 2. Marea was situated on the western part of the narrow strip of land, separating Lake Mareotis from the sea. I find that it is placed by Kiepert on the inland shore of the south-western part of that lake. Thus commencing hostilities at the western extremity of the Delta, Inarus extended them eastward until all Egypt was engaged in the revolt. According to Diodorus (XI. 71), this

defection of Inarus took place A. C. 461, and it was one year afterwards that he called in the Athenians. —— *ὑπὲρ Φάρου, over against Pharos.* This was a small island in front of Alexandria, on which stood the celebrated lighthouse. —— Ἀρταξέρξου, i. e. Artaxerxes Longimanus. Bekker reads Ἀρτοξέρξου. —— *ἄρχων* of the Egyptians. —— *ἐπηγάγετο, called in* as allies.

2. *ἔτυχον....ξυμμάχων* is a parenthesis (and so marked in some editions), thrown in to show the proximity of the Athenian ships to the scene of operations in Egypt. —— *ἦλθον* to Egypt. —— *ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον.* Raleigh censures them for leaving Cyprus, while Mitford justifies them for the act. —— *ἀναπλεύσαντες—ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον, sailing up the Nile.* —— *τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ*, i. e. the parts bordering on the river, viz. the Delta. —— *καὶ τῆς....μερῶν.* This was probably preceded by the great battle recorded by Ctesias and Diodorus, in which the Persians were defeated, and Achæmenes the brother of king Artaxerxes fell by the hand of Inarus. —— *Λευκὸν τεῖχος, the White Fortress.* The Schol. says that it was so called, to distinguish it from the other two fortified places which were built of brick. It was probably the head-quarters of the Persian army in Egypt, which amounted in the time of Herodotus to 120,000 men. —— *Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων.* This distinction is rather singular, as these people had long before become one. By the Greek writers, as Poppo observes, they are very frequently called Medes alone, as in *Μηδικὸς πόλεμος, μηδίζειν, μηδισμός*, etc.

CHAPTER CV.

In a sea-fight with the Corinthians and Epidamnians, the Athenians are defeated, but in a subsequent one fought near Cecryphaleia are victorious (§ 1); they also conquer the Æginetæ in a great naval engagement, and having landed upon the island lay siege to the city (§ 2); in order to make a diversion in favor of the city, the Corinthians take possession of the heights of Geranea and invade the Megarean territory, supposing that no assistance could be furnished by the Athenians, unless they raised the siege of Ægina, since all their forces were employed in that place and in Egypt (§§ 3, 4); the Athenians, however, send from Athens a force composed of the old and young, who come to an indecisive engagement with the Corinthians (§§ 5, 6); being reproached by those at home, the Corinthians return to erect a trophy, and in a second engagement are completely routed by the Athenians (§ 7).

1. Ἁλιάς. This is the reading of Bekker; but Poppo, Goeller, Haack, Bloomf., and Arnold edit Ἁλιάς, contracted for Ἁλιεῖς, a people who lived on the coast of Argolis, and who were, as Arnold

supposes, the περίοικοι of the Dorian Argives, the remnant of the old inhabitants who occupied the extreme point of Argolis, and lived by fishing (whence their name arose) and perhaps by piracy. The reading of Dindorf is preferable, which refers it to the territory or chief town of this people. —— πρὸς....Κορίνθιοι. Neither Thucydides nor Diodorus gives the origin of this war, but it most likely arose from the ill-will, which the Corinthians bore to the Megareans for their defection to the Athenians. The battles here spoken of took place A. C. 457. —— Κεκρυφαλείᾳ. According to the Schol. this was an island, lying off the western coast of Peloponnesus. Pape says that it was a small island in the Laconic gulf, and Col. Leake (Travels in the Morea, II. p. 455) identifies it with Kyrá, one of the small islands which lie between Epidaurus and Ægina. This is its true situation, and the one assigned it by Kiepert. —— Πελοποννησίων. "Qui ii Peloponnesii? Corinthii puto, Epidaurii, Spartani, Æginetæ." Od. Müll. Ægin. p. 176.

2. πολέμου δὲ καταστάντος. This war doubtless resulted from the preceding one, as the Æginetæ were allies of the Peloponnesians. —— Ἀθηναίοις depends on καταστάντος. —— μετὰ ταῦτα, i. e. after the transactions just mentioned. Poppo and Haack place a comma after Ἀθηναίοις, and thus connect μετὰ ταῦτα with the following words. —— αὐτῶν, i. e. τῶν Αἰγινητῶν. —— ἐπολιόρκουν, sc. τὴν Αἴγιναν. —— Λεωκράτους. This general was a colleague of Aristides in the battle at Platæa, as was also Myronides, who gained the victory spoken of in § 7 infra.

3. πρότερον must not be taken with διεβίβασαν, but with ἐπικούρους, *formerly the auxiliaries.* —— τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας, *the heights of Geranea.* This mountain stretched across the isthmus between Corinth and Megara, belonging probably to the territory of the latter.

4. ἀπούσης στρατιᾶς πολλῆς, *as a large portion of their army was absent.* —— ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. It was the object of this inroad into the Megarean territory, to create a diversion in favor of the Æginetæ, who were at this time besieged by the Athenian army under Leocrates.

5. τῶν....νεώτατοι, *those left in the city* (viz.) *the oldest and the youngest.* "The genitive τῶν ὑπολοίπων is put for the nominative, οἱ being understood. Cf. Mt. § 297. 3." Bloomf. But this, as Poppo remarks, is contrary to the laws of the language, and does not remove the difficulty which it was intended to do. The construction, which makes the genitive depend on οἱ πρεσβύτατοι and οἱ νεώτατοι, is in accordance with the obvious sense: *of those remaining in the city* (= of the citizens) *the aged and the young*, who had been on that

account left behind (*ὑπολοίπων*), when the more able-bodied set out on the expeditions previously referred to.

6. *ἰσορρόπου, equally balanced, indecisive.* —— *ἐνόμισαν....ἔργῳ, each thought that they had got the better* (*οὐκ ἧλασσαν, not inferior*, by litotes = *superior*) *in the action* (*ἔργῳ* = *μάχῃ*).

7. *ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως μᾶλλον, for* [although neither party came off decidedly victorious] *yet they* (i. e. the Athenians) *had rather the advantage.* The evidence of this is furnished in *ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων, inasmuch as the Corinthians retired* after the battle was over. It was on this account that the Athenians erected a trophy. —— *κακιζόμενοι, being reproached* because they had suffered themselves to be driven from the field by old men and boys (see N. on § 5 supra). Aristid. narrates that they were upbraided *ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων.* —— *ἡμέρας—δώδεκα μάλιστα* (see N. on I. 54. § 2), *for about twelve days.* —— *ἐλθόντες* to the place of the engagement. —— *ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον, began to erect a trophy in opposition* (*ἀντι-*). The imperfect tense is used of an action not brought to a successful conclusion. See N. on I. 57. § 4. —— *ἐκβοηθήσαντες, sallying forth.* —— *τοῖς ἄλλοις* who had come to the aid of those who were erecting the trophy. Diod. says: *πάλιν γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κιμωλίᾳ, πάλιν ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον τῶν πολεμίων.*

CHAPTER CVI.

On the retreat of the Corinthians, a part lose their way, and are driven into a place from which escape is impossible (§ 1); the Athenians surround them and stone them to death (§ 2).

1. Poppo thinks that this chapter should be included in the preceding one, or if two chapters are to be formed, that the second should begin at I. 105. § 4. —— *τι....ὀλίγον, some considerable portion of them.* The student will notice the litotes in *οὐκ ὀλίγον.* —— *διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ, missed entirely* (*δια-*) *the way.* S. § 197. 2. —— *ἔς του* (= *τινος*) *χωρίον ἰδιώτου*, i. e. *ἔς του ἰδιώτου χωρίον.* Cf. Mt. § 279. *Obs.* 4. *χωρίον* here signifies *a spot, enclosure*, to which, as was often the practice in ancient times, a local name was given. Perhaps the battle, to which Diod. refers as fought *ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κεμωλίᾳ* (see N. on I. 105. § 7), was the one here spoken of. —— *ᾧ* depends on *ἔτυχεν* = *ἔτυχεν ὄν.* Jelf constructs it as a local dative, and refers it to § 605 of his edition of Kühner. —— *περιεῖχον* (sc. *αὐτὸ* referring to *χωρίον, enclosed it all around.*

2. *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, *in front*, i. e. at the entrance of the field. The hoplites were stationed here, because it was the only place where those hemmed in could escape. —— *κατέλευσαν*, *stoned to death*. This was done by the slingers, who constituted a considerable portion of the light-armed. Bloomf. remarks that the Athenians afterwards tasted the bitter fruits of this unsparing cruelty. —— *αὐτοῖς* stands for the adnominal genitive. Kühner (Jelf's edit. § 597) ranks this with the dat. commodi, the thing possessed being conceived of as being for the owner's benefit.

CHAPTER CVII.

The Athenians begin to build the Long Walls (§ 1); the Lacedæmonians and their allies having gone to assist the Dorians against the Phocians, their return home is impeded by the Athenians (§§ 2, 3); whereupon they resolve to remain in Bœotia and watch their opportunity to return home, being privately importuned also by certain Athenians, to assist in abolishing democracy in their city, and to put a stop to the erection of the Long Walls (§ 4); the Athenians and their allies sally forth against them, partly on the supposition that they would be embarrassed in effecting a return home, and partly through apprehension of their intrigues to put down democracy (§§ 5, 6); some Thessalian horse join the Athenians, who, however, desert them in the time of action (§ 7).

1. *ἤρξαντο—οἰκοδομεῖν*. The infinitive follows *ἄρχεσθαι*, when the notion of the dependent verb is only in intention not in act; but the participle, when it is actually begun. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 688. *Obs.* —— *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους*, *in these times*, i. e. in the time of these occurrences which have just been related. —— *τό τε Φαληρόνδε*. See N. on II. 13. § 7.

2. *μητρόπολιν* is in apposition with *Δωριᾶς* (= *Δωρίδα*. Mt. § 429. 2), as are also *Βοιών*, *Κυτίνον*, and *Ἐρινεόν*, showing its parts or divisions (Mt. § 432. 3). —— *Νικομήδους* is to be constructed with *ἡγουμένου*. Nicomedes is supposed to have been the uncle of Pleistoanax and brother of Pausanias, for Cleombrotus is often mentioned as the father of Pausanias. Dukas makes Leonidas to have been a brother to Nicomedes and Pausanias. But he was a son of Anaxandrides and brother (some say twin-brother) to Cleombrotus. —— *ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος*, *in the stead of Pleistoanax*. Nicomedes was tutor of the young king, and acted as regent. —— *βασιλέως* is referred by most commentators to Pleistoanax, since Pausanias was only regent, although called king (as he virtually was) by Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plutarch, etc. It is written in I. 114. § 2 with equal ambiguity, *Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου*. —— *νέου ὄντος ἔτι*, *being yet a youth*. —— *ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν*. Müller fixes the date

of this expedition at A. C. 457. Olymp. 80. 4, and very correctly supposes that they returned the following year. —— *ἑαυτῶν, of their own.* —— *ὁπλίταις* is the dative of accompaniment (S. § 206. 5). —— *ὁμολογίᾳ, on terms of surrender.*

8. *κατὰ θάλασσαν, by sea.* —— *εἰ βούλοιντο—ἔμελλον.* There is an ellipsis of *ἄν* in the apodosis, that particle being seldom added to the verb *μέλλω.* —— *Κρισαίου κόλπου, the Crisæan gulf.* This bay was south of Phocis, and belonged to the Sinus Corinthiacus to which it sometimes gave its name. —— *περαιοῦσθαι* on their way home. —— *περιπλεύσαντες, having sailed around* Peloponnesus. This they would be under the necessity of doing, in order to enter the Corinthian gulf. —— *Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς.* Cf. I. 103. § 4. —— *δύσοδος, transitu difficilis.* —— *γὰρ* introduces as the reason why it would be unsafe to go by Geranea, that the Athenians had possession of Megara and Pegæ. —— *τότε*, i. e. at the time when they were wishing to return. —— *ᾐσθάνοντο—μέλλοντας.* See N. on I. 26. § 3. —— *ταύτῃ, there*, i. e. in the defiles of Geranea, through which lay the road to Lacedæmon by the way of the Isthmus.

4. *ἔδοξε—ὅτῳ τρόπῳ—διαπορεύσονται.* Notice the change from the oblique to the direct discourse, the action belonging to the past being transferred to the present time of the speaker. Cf. K. § 345. 5. —— *Βοιωτοῖς.* Bœotia lay west of Phocis, and in this state the Lacedæmonians took up their quarters and spent the winter. —— *τὸ δέ τι καί*, "*partim etiam.*" Bauer. —— *ἐλπίσαντες....οἰκοδομούμενα, hoping to put down democracy and put a stop to building the Long Walls.* The student will notice the *dilogia* in *καταπαύσειν.* See N. on I. 26. § 3. The popular leaders, who were aiming to secure for Athens the sovereignty of the sea, urged the erection of the Long Walls as a measure most beneficial to the state. As a project, therefore, of the democratical party, and as rendering Athens independent of the Lacedæmonians, the building of these walls was opposed by the aristocracy.

5. *πανδημεί.* "Haud dubie qui militari erant ætate; hos enim paulo post tredecim millia Athenis effecisse II. 13. cognoscemus." Poppo. —— *Ἀργείων χίλιοι.* Cf. I. 102. § 4. —— *ὡς ἕκαστοι* (*ἐσῇλθον*), "*singuli pro rata parte.*" Poppo. See N. on I. 3. § 5. —— *ξύμπαντες*, i. e. the Athenians and their allies. Mitford says that with the cavalry and the attending slaves, the whole number could be scarcely less than 30,000 men.

6. *νομίσαντες, because they thought.* See N. on I. 9. § 4. —— *διὰθεσιν* in their return home. —— *καί τι καί, and partly.* Didot reads *καίτοι καί.* —— *τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, of the subversion of the democracy* (cf. § 4 supra). Notice the change of construction from *νομί-*

σαντες, with which Poppo compares ὥστε μήτι ἀπειρίᾳ—νομίσαντα, I. 80. § 1.

7. ἱππῆς. Attic for ἱππεῖς. —— κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, *according to the treaty of alliance.* Cf. I. 102. § 4. —— μετέστησαν = μετετάξαντο, *changed sides* (see N. on II. 67. § 1). Bloomf. —— ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ (at Tanagra). See N. on I. 105. § 6.

CHAPTER CVIII.

The Athenians and Lacedæmonians come to an engagement at Tanagra, in which the latter come off victorious (§ 1), after which they return home by the way of Geranea and the Isthmus. The Athenians afterwards invade and conquer Bœotia, and throw down the walls of Tanagra (§§ 2, 3); the Æginetæ surrender to the Athenians on conditions (§ 4), after which the Athenians cruise around the Peloponnesian coast, burn the dock of the Lacedæmonians, take Chalcis, and defeat the Sicyonians (§ 5).

1. μάχης. According to Diod. this battle lasted two days, no decided advantage being gained by either party. It is evident, however, that the fruit of victory was enjoyed by the Lacedæmonians, inasmuch as they returned unimpeded to their home. —— ἐν = *in the vicinity of.* The city of Tanagra was situated on a lofty and rugged eminence, on the north bank of the Asopus near the junction of the Thermodon (cf. Kiepert's Map of Bœotia), and was remarkable for the thrift and orderly character of its inhabitants. Cf. Cramer's Greece, II. pp. 267-269.

2. δενδροτομήσαντες. This was a common method of inflicting injury upon a hostile territory. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 4. § 10. The trees selected to be cut down or girdled, were doubtless such as bore fruit, or served for shade or ornament. —— πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου (see N. on I. 30. § 2). Diod. says that a truce of four months was entered upon after the battle, which is highly probable, as in no other way can we account for the unimpeded passage of the Lacedæmonians over Geranea.

3. Οἰνοφύτοις, *Œnophyta*, "was not a town but a plot of ground forming one farm, planted with olive-trees." Bloomf. The reason why the Bœotians were thus invaded, was the assistance which they had rendered the Lacedæmonians in the battle at Tanagra (cf. καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, § 1 supra). —— τῆς Βοιωτίας except Thebes. Cf. III. 62. —— περιεῖλον, *demolished all around*, or rather, *demolished the wall which was around* the city. Cf. Liddell and Scott sub voce. Bloomf. renders the word, *dismantled*, viz. by removing the battlements of the wall, and lowering it to a height practicable to be scaled by an invad-

ing force. —— Λοκρῶν—ἅλαβον. Afterwards Myronides, according to Diodorus, penetrated into Thessaly to punish that people for their desertion in the battle of Tanagra, but failing in his attempt upon the town of Pharsalia, he returned to Athens. But compare I. 111. § 1 (on which see Note), where it appears that the Thessalian expedition was later, probably A. C. 454. —— τά τε....ἐπετέλεσαν. "When two or more attributives are joined to a substantive, each of which has a peculiar force, the article is used with each. This is more rare when the attributives follow the substantive." Jelf's Kühn. § 459. 5. As the foundations of these walls were laid by Cimon, when the spoils of the victory of the Eurymedon were applied by the Athenians to the improvement of the city, and as Cimon, after a banishment of five years, was recalled (A. C. 456) the same year in which the two walls were finished, Col. Leake (Athens, I. p. 425) thinks that the year 462 is the latest to which the commencement of the walls can be ascribed. If so, the words κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους (I. 107. § 1) must be received with some latitude.

4. ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται after they had stood a siege of nine months. Müller fixes the date of this event, A. C. 457, but I prefer with other chronologists to assign to it the date of A. C. 456. —— περιελόντες (see N. on περιεῖλον, § 3 supra), παριδόντες, and ταξάμενοι denote the conditions on which the capitulation was made.

5. περιέπλευσαν. This cruise took place the next year after the surrender of Ægina, i. e. A. C. 455. Olymp. 81. 2. —— τὸ νεώριον refers to the naval arsenal or docks at Gytheum. —— Χαλκίδα, *Chalcis* in Ætolia which was a Corinthian colony. —— ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς = ἀποβάσει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, the genitive being objective and supplying the place of the preposition and its case.

CHAPTER CIX.

The Persians having been vanquished in Egypt by the Athenians and their allies, Artaxerxes sends Megabazus to Lacedæmon inviting that people to create a diversion by invading Attica (§§ 1, 2); but being unsuccessful in his mission he returns to Asia, whereupon the king despatches a large force to Memphis, by which the Egyptians and their allies are defeated, and the Greeks shut up in the island of Prosopis, where after holding out for one and a half years, they are finally overcome by the Persians (§§ 3, 4).

1. The narration of the Egyptian war is here resumed from I. 104. —— αὐτοῖς....κατέστησαν = *carried on the war with various incidents*, i. e. various and diverse fortunes befell them in the prosecution of the war. These are narrated by Diod. Sic. XI. 77.

2. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, *for in the first place.* γὰρ is epexegetical, i. e. it serves to explain πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέμων in the preceding section. —— ἐκράτουν refers to the victory spoken of in I. 104. § 2. —— βασιλεύς, i. e. Artaxerxes Longimanus. —— Μεγάβαζον. Smith thinks that this may be the same person with the one of that name, who held a command in the fleet of Xerxes. Cf. Herod. VII. 97. —— ἄνδρα Πέρσην. This is not to be considered as an appellation of rank or dignity, but rather as serving to distinguish the person here spoken of, from Megabyzus the son of Zopyrus, a Persian, who was sent as commander of the army in Egypt (cf. § 3 infra). This is rendered probable by the fact that Μεγάβαζος and Μεγάβυζος are so intermingled in Herodotus, Ctesias, and other writers, that it is quite certain they are only different forms of the same name. The use of this appellation may be seen in a form of expression like the following: *a Persian by the name of Megabazus—another Persian also of the name of Megabyzus* (the same name as the preceding although slightly varied in form) *the son of Zopyrus* (cf. § 8). —— ὅπως is used here in its telic sense. See N. on I. 65. § 1. —— πεισθέντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων denotes the means.

3. ὡς....προὐχώρει, *but when he met with no success;* literally, *when things* (πράγματα supplied from the context. K. § 238. R. 3. c) *did not turn out well for him.* —— ἄλλως, *otherwise* (than to advantage) = *in vain.* —— ἀναλοῦτο. For the omission of the augment, see K. § 122. 1. —— Μεγάβυζον. As this general was one of the commanders of the land forces of Xerxes, when he invaded Greece, and also commanded the army which was defeated by Cimon on the Eurymedon, he must have been at this time somewhat advanced in years and have had much military experience. —— Ζωπύρου, *Zopyrus.* He was the one through whose self-devotion Babylon was taken by Darius. Cf. Herod. III. 160. —— στρατιᾶς πολλῆς. Diodorus says that the number was 300,000; Ctesias, 200,000. The latter author, however, adds the troops which remained in Egypt, thus making a total of 500,000 men. According to Diodorus, a fleet of 300 ships accompanied them.

4. τοὺς ξυμμάχους, i. e. the Athenians. —— Προσωπίτιδα. The island Prosopis was formed probably by two branches of the Nile, or perhaps as Bloomf. thinks, by the Nile and a wide and deep canal. The Schol. says that it is the same as that called Nicion. —— μῆνας ἕξ, i. e. ἓξ μῆνας. —— μέχρι οὗ, *until.* —— τὴν διώρυχα in which lay the Athenian triremes. —— ἄλλῃ, *another way, in another direction.* —— τάς τε....ἐποιήσε, *he caused the ships to ground.* —— πεζῇ is to be constructed with διαβάς.

CHAPTER CX.

A small remnant only of the Greeks escape from Egypt, which country again passes under the dominion of the Persians (§§ 1, 2); Inarus is treacherously taken and crucified (§ 3); fifty Athenian triremes having come to the relief of the fleet in Egypt, are attacked by the Persians and most of them destroyed (§ 4), and thus terminates the Egyptian expedition (§ 5).

1. *πολεμήσαντα* belongs in sense to *Ἑλλήνων*, but in grammatical form to *πράγματα*, which is the principal word in the periphrasis *τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα*. —— *ὀλίγοι....ἐσώθησαν*. Diod. says that the Persians, through admiration of the valor of the Athenians, allowed them to evacuate Egypt and return home unmolested. But this is hardly reconcilable with the closing words of the preceding chapter (*εἶλε τὴν νῆσον*), and then, as Bloomf. inquires, why did they not leave Egypt by the way of the Nile, if they were suffered to depart in peace? —— *Κυρήνην*, *Cyrene*. This was a flourishing city of Libya Cyrenaica, situated a few miles from the Mediterranean coast, directly opposite Greece. In making this retreat (which was a kind of archetype of the Anabasis), the Greeks unquestionably took the route by Parætonium, and so along the sea-coast, where were numerous Greek settlements.

2. *Ἀμυρταίου*. This Amyrtæus must not be confounded with the Saite of the same name, who revolted from the Persians in the reign of Darius Nothus, as that event took place A. C. 414, or upwards of forty years after the termination of the revolt here spoken of. This Amyrtæus, according to Herodotus, was reduced to submission by the Persians, and his son Pausiris suffered to reign over the fen district of the Delta, by their favor; whereas the Amyrtæus who revolted from Darius Nothus, was succeeded by four successive kings, nor did the Persians recover their ascendency over the country, until the reign of Ochus, nearly sixty years afterwards. Cf. Arnold's note on this passage, to which I am indebted for the substance of these remarks. In Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol., there is mention made of only one Amyrtæus who revolted, and he is said to have reigned in the marshy districts from the time of his revolt from Artaxerxes, until about A. C. 414, when the Egyptians expelled the Persians, and Amyrtæus reigned over Egypt six years, being the only king of the twenty-eighth dynasty. —— *ἕλεσι*, *low grounds*, *marshes*, lying between the Canopic and the Tanitic mouths of the Nile, and comprising the most of what was called the Delta. —— *καὶ ἅμα....ἕλειοι* is a varied construction for *καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ μαχιμωτάτους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς ἕλείους* demanded by the preceding member.

8. *προδοσίᾳ ληφθείς.* According to Ctesias (c. 84), he made an agreement with Megabyzus to surrender *ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν παρὰ βασιλέως λαβεῖν.* But after five years' residence at the court, whither he was carried a prisoner, at the instigation of Amytis, the mother of the king and of Achæmenes, he was put to death by Artaxerxes, who thus broke the promise given by Megabyzus and confirmed by his own word. —— *ἀνεσταυρώθη.* Herodotus and Ctesias say that he was crucified *ἐπὶ τρισὶ σταυροῖς*, which Bloomf. says might be more properly termed impalement.

4. *ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.* Poppo, Haack, and Goeller read *Ἀθηναίων*, and refer to Mt. § 429. 2, where it is said that *Ἀθηνῶν*, the reading of Bekker, is without MS. authority. —— *κατὰ τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας, at the Mendesian mouth* (of the Nile), i. e. the arm or branch of the river on which was situated Mendes, and which was the fifth mouth of the stream reckoning from the west. There are so many aspects in which the word *κέρας* might be applied to the disemboguing branches of a river, that it appears to me unnecessary and useless to inquire why it is here applied to this branch of the Nile. —— *οὐκ εἰδότες—οὐδέν, being wholly ignorant of.* *εἰδότες* refers grammatically to *τριήρεις*, but in sense to the persons who navigated them. —— *τῶν γεγενημένων*, i. e. the defeat of the Greeks and Egyptians. —— *πεζοὶ* of the Persians. —— *πάλιν* to Greece.

5. *τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν = ἡ μεγάλη στρατεία.* Mt. § 583. 3. —— *οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.* The position of these words at the close of the story of this disastrous expedition, is highly emphatic. No one knew better than Thucydides where to place important words, so that they should stand out with prominence and emphasis. In this, as well as in other respects, he is a model worthy of repeated study.

CHAPTER CXI.

The Athenians, undertaking at his solicitation to restore the Thessalian prince Orestes to his country from which he had been exiled, advance for that purpose as far as Pharsalus, but are obliged to retire without accomplishing their object (§ 1); after this a fleet under Pericles sail to Sicyon, and disembarking, defeat the Sicyonians who assemble to oppose them (§ 2); and then taking some Achæans on board cross over and lay siege to Œniadæ, but being unsuccessful return home (§ 3).

1. *τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως.* It does not appear that Echecratides was king of the whole of Thessaly, but only of the region about Pharsalus. There were three of these noble families in Thessaly, the gens

Antiochi at Pharsalus, the gens Aleuadæ at Larissa, and the gens Scopadæ at Cranno. To the former of these families Echecratides belonged, being the son of Antiochus, and grandson of Echecratides Major who was celebrated by Simonides. But little is known of these personages. —— *φεύγων*, *being an exile.* The reason of this is unknown, as the history of the Thessalians is very obscure. —— *παραλαβόντες....ἐστράτευσαν.* Diod. connects this expedition with those which were made against the Phocians and Locrians, after the battle of Œnophyta (I. 108. § 3), A. C. 456, or as Poppo prefers, 467. It is evident that the historian here resumes the regular series of events, which had been interrupted by the account of the issue of the Egyptian expedition, but I prefer with Arnold to assign to the invasion of Thessaly the date, A. C. 454. Olymp. 81. 3. —— *τῆς Θεσσαλίας* depends on *Φάρσαλον.* Cf. Mt. § 321. 6. —— *τῆς μὲν γῆς....ὅπλων*, *they took possession of as much of the country as extended but a short distance from the encampment;* literally, *they conquered as much of the country as they could conquer* (*ὅσα μὴ = ὅσα κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς ἐδύναντο μή*), *not advancing far from their camp.* —— *πόλιν*, i. e. Pharsalus. —— *οὐδ'....ἐστράτευσαν*, *nor did they succeed* (see N. on I. 109. § 3) *in any one of the other objects of their expedition;* literally, *in any other of those things on account of which* (*ὧν = ἐκείνων ὧν*) *they made the expedition.*

2. *μετὰ....πολλῷ*, *not long afterwards.* This expedition of Pericles took place most likely the next year, i. e. A. C. 453. —— *Πηγαῖς.* Cf. I. 103. § 4. —— *Σικυῶνα*, *Sicyon*, was a part of Sicyonia on the Sinus Corinthiacus, north-west of Corinth. —— *Ξανθίππου.* He commanded the Athenian forces at the battle of Mycale. —— *στρατηγοῦντος* belongs to *Περικλέους.* —— *Σικυωνίων τοὺς προσμίξαντας*, *those of the Sicyonians who engaged with them.* The genitive here denotes the 'whole,' *τοὺς προσμίξαντας* being put partitively. Cf. Mt. § 318. 2. Diod. says that an attack was subsequently made upon Sicyon, but the Lacedæmonians coming to the aid of the Sicyonians, Pericles retreated.

3. *παραλαβόντες* (*having taken on board*), *εἰς ξυμμαχίαν* (as the Schol. says), or rather *εἰς στρατείαν.* Cf. *παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς κ. τ. λ.* § 1 supra. —— *Ἀχαιούς.* These persons were doubtless such as favored the democratical party. Achaia lay west of Sicyonia. —— *διαπλεύσαντες πέραν* the Corinthian gulf, probably to Naupactus, as this port was a convenient base for the operations which they had in view. —— *Οἰνιάδας*, *Œniadæ.* This city lay in the extreme southern part of Acarnania, on the right bank of the Achelous (cf. Kiepert's map), near its mouth and opposite the promontory of Araxum. Col. Leake

(North. Greece, III. p. 556) identifies it with the ruins of a large city, to which is given the name Trîkardho, or Trigardhókastro. The reason why Pericles assaulted this city, was because it was the only one in Acarnania, which was opposed to the alliance then contemplated, and soon afterwards formed, between Athens and Acarnania. It was not until the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war that, compelled by a superior force, it joined the Athenian alliance. —— *μέντοι —γε, yet indeed.* Between these particles Thucydides often interposes another word.

CHAPTER CXII.

In the third year after this, a five years' truce is concluded between the Peloponnesians and Athenians (§ 1), during which time a fleet of two hundred ships under the command of Cimon is fitted out by the Athenians against Cyprus (§ 2); of these ships sixty are detached to be sent to Egypt at the instance of Amyrtæus, and the rest blockade Citium (§ 3); but Cimon dying and a famine having arisen, they leave Citium, and sailing away defeat the Phœnicians and Cilicians both by sea and by land, after which being joined by the ships sent into Egypt they return home (§ 4); the *sacred war* follows (§ 5).

1. *ἐτῶν τριῶν.* This fixes the date of the commencement of the five years' truce at A. C. 450. Olymp. 82. 3. —— *σπονδαί.* This truce was effected chiefly through the agency of Cimon.

2. *πολέμου ἔσχον, desisted from war.* Cf. K. §§ 249. 1; 271. 2; S. § 197. 2. —— *ἐς Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο.* The object of this expedition is given in Plut. Cimon, c. 18 (init.).

3. *Ἀμυρταίου.* Cf. I. 110. § 2. —— *Κίττιον, Citium.* This town lay in the south-eastern part of Cyprus, and was celebrated for being the birthplace of Zeno, Apollodorus, Apollonius, and other distinguished persons.

4. *Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος* (A. C. 449) through illness or the effects of a wound. To this circumstance, together with the scarcity of provisions, must be attributed the failure of the expedition, since a place so small could scarcely have resisted the attack of so large a force and led by so able a commander. —— *ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος, off Salamis;* literally, *above Salamis*, because, as Arnold says, the horizon line of the sea appears to be elevated above the shore. Salamis lay north-east of Citium, in the middle part of the eastern side of the island. —— *ἅμα* refers to the verbs which precede it = *they conquered in a sea and land engagement*, i. e. they fought the one battle after the other (deinceps). Some may prefer to construct *ἅμα* with *Φοίνιξι* and *Κίλιξιν, both with the Phœnicians and Cilicians.* Diod. says that Arta-

bazus commanded the naval, and Megabyzus the land forces of the Persians. —— ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες—ἐλθοῦσαι = αἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθοῦσαι. See N. on I. 18. § 1 (init.).

5. τὸν....πόλεμον, *called the* (= the so-called) *sacred war.* πολέμον follows ἐστράτευσαν, as denoting its abstract idea. See N. on ταῦτα, 1. 70. § 7. —— *lεροῦ.* S. § 189. —— παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς. "Because the noble families of the Delphians, in whose hands was the sole management of the temple and oracle, were of Dorian origin." Arnold. —— ὕστερον. "Tertio demum anno factum dicit Schol. Aristoph., quem refutat Clinton." Poppo. —— Ἀθηναῖοι. According to Plutarch, Pericles was their leader. —— παρέδοσαν Φωκεῦσι. The Phocians were always putting in claims for the custody of this temple, and hence as allies they were assisted by the Athenians. Müller (Dorians, I. p. 112) says that the management of this temple was given to the Phocians against all ancient right. So Boeckh (Pub. Econ. Athens, p. 600. N.) says that the temple, according to the agreement of the Greeks, was an independent sacred possession, the oversight of which was vested exclusively in the council of the Amphictyons and the sacred assembly at Delphi. Cf. Grote's Hist. Greece, IV. p. 85.

CHAPTER CXIII.

The Athenians take Chæronea from the Bœotian exiles who had got possession of it, and having placed a garrison in it, return homewards (§ 1); on their way they are attacked at Coronea by the Orchomenian exiles and others, and many are slain or made prisoners (§ 2); the Athenians evacuate the whole of Bœotia (§ 3), on which the Bœotians recover their independence, and their exiles return home (§ 4).

1. καὶ....ταῦτα is transposed for καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνου ἐγγενομένου, *some time after these things.* The events here spoken of took place A. C. 447. Olymp. 83. 2. —— Βοιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων refers to those who had been driven from their country, after the battle of Œnophyta. Cf. I. 108. § 3. —— Χαιρώνειαν was afterwards celebrated for the victory gained by Philip of Macedon over the Athenian forces. —— ἄττα for ἅτινα. We should have expected ἅττα (cf. K. § 93), nd indeed in two of the best MSS. it is so written. —— ὁπλίταις is the dative of accompaniment. —— ὡς ἑκάστοις (sc. ἐστράτευσαν). See N. on I. 107. § 5. Cf. also I. 3. § 5. —— ἐπὶ....ὄντα, i. e. against the places taken possession of by the Bœotian exiles. —— Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου. Cf. I. 108. § 5. —— καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες. These words,

which Haack and Arnold bracket with Bekker and Dindorf, are cancelled by Poppo and Goeller, but received as genuine by Bloomf. —— *καταστήσαντες*, *after having left*, *when they had left*. See N. on I. 13. § 6.

2. *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. the Athenians. —— *Κορωνείᾳ*. This Bœotian city lay S. E. of Chæronea, and directly in the homeward route of the Athenians. —— *ἐπιτίθενται οἵ τε....Βοιωτῶν*. "Ductu et auspiciis Spartonis. Vid. Plut. in Ages. t. III. 657." Gottl. —— *Λοκροὶ* Opuntii, as the Schol. rightly understands it, for these had doubtless rebelled with the Bœotians, as they had been subjugated at the same time. Cf. I. 108. § 3. —— *Εὐβοέων—φυγάδες*. Pausanias says, that Tolmides had previously led Athenian settlers into Eubœa, at which time probably these exiles left their country. —— *αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν*, *were of the same mind* (cf. K. § 273. 2; S. § 190). *γνώμης* refers to the feeling of hostility towards the Athenians. —— *τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν*. Among the slain were Tolmides the leader of the expedition, and Clinias the father of Alcibiades. —— *τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον*. The desire to redeem these prisoners, may have had some influence in disposing the Athenians to withdraw from Bœotia, and make no further attempts to subjugate it.

3. *ἐφ' ᾧ*. See N. on I. 103. § 1. —— *τοὺς ἄνδρας* refers to the Athenians, who had been taken captive as above related.

4. *οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες* refers to the Locrians and Eubœan exiles.

CHAPTER CXIV.

The Eubœans having revolted, Pericles comes over to their island, where he receives intelligence of the revolt of the Megareans, and of an invasion with which the Peloponnesians were threatening Attica, whereupon he returns with his army (§ 1); the Peloponnesians make an irruption into Attica and devastate the country, but having proceeded as far as Eleusis return homeward (§ 2); Pericles with his army then returns to Eubœa, which he soon reduces to submission (§ 3).

1. *μετὰ....Ἀθηναίων*. This took place A. C. 445. Olymp. 83. 3. —— *διαβεβηκοτος ἤδη* (*having already passed over*) *Περικλέους—ἠγνέλθη αὐτῷ* (i. e. Pericles). The genitive absolute is here employed, as being more emphatic than the more usual construction *Περικλεῖ διαβεβηκότι* with *αὐτῷ*. Cf. K. § 313. 2. —— *Μέγαρα*. Cf. I. 103. § 4. —— *ἀφέστηκε*. Cf. Müll. Dorians, II. p. 172, where this revolt is attributed to the return of the nobles, who had been banished and

their property confiscated, at the time when the democratic party gained the ascendancy and formed the alliance with the Athenians. —— *φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων.* Cf. I. 103. § 4. —— *διεφθαρμένοι εἰσίν.* The Athenians were so highly incensed at this revolt and massacre, that they excluded the Megareans from the Attic ports and markets (cf. I. 139. § 1), which caused them great distress, as their country was mountainous and barren, and incapable of giving support to a large population. —— *ἐς Νίσαιαν.* In this place also the Athenians had stationed a garrison. Cf. I. 103. § 4. —— *ἐπαγαγόμενοι, by calling in to their aid.* —— *Κορινθίους....Ἐπιδαυρίους.* These were the nearest states of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

2. *τῆς Ἀττικῆς....ἐσβαλόντες, invading Attica as far as Eleusis and Thria.* "Where place is designated by mentioning both the country and the town, the former as the whole may be put in the genitive and may precede the latter." Crosby, § 361. R. Cf. Mt. § 321. 6. It was on the Thrian plain that the Athenians proposed to the Lacedæmonians to fight the Persians, when, under Mardonius, they had possession of Athens the second time. Cf. Herod. IX. 7. Leake (Topog. Athens, II. p. 150) thinks that the site of Thria is indicated by some vestiges of antiquity on a height called Magúla, on the Sandáforo or *Eleusinian Cephissus*, about three miles above Eleusis. —— *Πλειστοάνακτος....βασιλέως.* See N. on I. 107. § 2. —— *τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες, advancing no further.* In II. 21. § 1, it is *ἐς τὸ πλεῖον οὐκέτι προελθών*, which seems the more preferable, since as Poppo remarks, valet *πορρωτέρω* non *μᾶλλον.* —— *ἀπεχώρησαν* being bribed, as Plutarch says, by Pericles.

3. *Ἀθηναῖοι....διαβάντες*, as Plutarch says, with 50 ships and 5000 hoplites. —— *ἄλλην*, i. e. other than the town inhabited by the Hestiæans. —— *ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο, they settled by treaty*, i. e. they adjusted the difficulties on terms of mutual agreement. —— *Ἑστιαιᾶς ἔσχον.* Plutarch says that the reason of this severity was, that the Hestiæans had captured an Athenian ship and put the crew to death. But perhaps it resulted, in part at least, from motives of policy, a twofold object being had in view, viz. to deter by an example of one town, the rest of the Eubœans from any attempt to gain their independence; and by placing colonists of their own in the town selected for punishment, to secure a footing on the island in case of another rebellion. For the form of the accusative *Ἑστιαίας*, cf. Mt. § 83. *Obs.* 1. —— *αὐτοί*, i. e. the Athenians.

CHAPTER CXV.

Thirty years' peace is concluded between the Athenians and Peloponnesians (§ 1); a war breaks out between the Samians and Milesians, in which the latter being worsted call upon the Athenians for aid (§ 2); in obedience to which call the Athenians proceed to Samos, establish democracy, and having taken hostages sail away (§ 3); some of the Samians belonging to the aristocracy cross over to the continent, and having concerted measures with their friends on the island, and with Pissuthnes the governor of Sardis, return to Samos by night (§ 4), and having overcome the democratical party, and got possession of their hostages in Lemnos, openly revolt from the Athenians (§ 5).

1. *σπονδάς.* The thirty years' truce was made A. C. 445. —— *τοὺς ξυμμάχους* of the Lacedæmonians. —— *ἀποδόντες*, *restoring* to independence, or more probably, to the Peloponnesian confederacy. —— *Ἀχαΐαν.* There is some doubt whether this refers to the country of Achaia, or to some town of the same name. Goeller adopts the latter of these opinions, on the ground that it stands connected with the names of towns, and that Cleon could never have asked as he did (IV. 21), that the Lacedæmonians should give back to Athens the country of Achaia, over which the Lacedæmonians had no control. He therefore thinks that it was some town of which the Athenians had taken possession, and which they now stipulated to give back. This opinion of Goel. is cited approvingly by Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 142). Müller is cited by Goel. as understanding by it some small town of Megara. But I find nothing in Müller's Hist. of the Dorians, on this point, except the following note (I. p. 212): "Achaia is the district on the north of Peloponnesus, which indeed did not belong to Athens, but was enumerated in the lists of the contending parties as belonging to the Athenian side, and at this time passed over to that of the Lacedæmonians." Arnold says that there can be no reasonable doubt, that Thucydides refers here to the country of Achaia in Peloponnesus. Such also is the opinion of Haack and Bloomf., and seems to be the true one. —— *Πελοποννησίων* depends on *ταῦτα.*

2. *ἕκτῳ δὲ ἔτει* of the thirty years' truce, i. e. A. C. 440. Olymp. 85. Some chronologists fix the date of the event here mentioned at A. C. 441. Olymp. 84. 4, and this computation Poppo follows, who affixes the date A. C. 440 (i. e. the year following the revolt) to the expedition of Pericles narrated in I. 116. —— *Πριήνης*, *Priene*, a town of Ionia, nearly east of Samos and not far from Miletus. It was in the vicinity of the Pan-Ionic temple, the sacred rites of which it administered,

and hence acquired considerable importance. —— *κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων*, *inveighed against the Samians.* —— *ξυνεπελαμβάνοντο*, *took part with* the Milesians. —— *ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται*, *private persons*, i. e. individuals of the Samians, who had no hand in the government which was aristocratical. This will account for their intrigues in favor of the Milesians, whose government was democratical. —— *νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν*, *wishing to revolutionize the government*, i. e. to introduce the democratical form of government. Cf. *δεμοκρατίαν κατέστησαν*, in the next section.

3. *πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον.* Plutarch says that the Samians, being commanded by the Athenians to cease from hostilities, refused to obey, whereupon a descent was made upon their island by Pericles. There is no need of attributing this war in behalf of the Milesians to the influence of Aspasia, inasmuch as it was the policy of Athens to side with democratical governments in their contests with such as were aristocratical. —— *ὁμήρους....ἄνδρας.* Diod. says that eighty talents were also exacted from the Samians. —— *ἐς Λῆμνον.* This island was subject to the Athenians. —— *φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες* in Samos. Cf. § 6 infra.

4. *τῶν δὲ Σαμίων, ἦσαν γάρ τινες = οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι, ἦσαν γάρ τινες ἐκείνων*, the principal word (*Σαμίων*) of the main proposition being attracted and governed by *τινὲς* in the dependent clause. Cf. Mt. § 630. h; K. § 824. R. 2. See N. on I. 72. § 1. Render *τῶν δὲ Σαμίων*, *the Samian exiles*, inasmuch as they were those *οἳ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον.* —— *ἐν τῇ πόλει* of the Samians. —— *τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις*, i. e. the aristocratical party. —— *ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε.* Pissuthnes is called satrap by Diod. —— *ἐπικούρους.* Bloomf. thinks that these were mercenaries sent by Pissuthnes, but paid by the Samian exiles. —— *διέβησαν* refers to the subject contained in *τῶν δὲ Σαμίων.* —— *ὑπὸ νύκτα* in order to conceal their movements.

5. *τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν*, *they rose up against the democratical party.* —— *ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων.* Diod. says *ῥᾳδίως ἐκράτησαν τῆς Σάμου, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας αὐτοῖς ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.* —— *ἐκκλέψαντες*, *bringing away by stratagem*, *removing by stealth.* —— *ἀπέστησαν*, sc. *τῶν Ἀθηναίων.* —— *τοὺς....σφίσιν*, i. e. the officers having command of the garrison. —— *ἐπὶ....στρατεύειν* in order to put down democracy in that city also. —— *Βυζάντιοι.* Byzantium fell under the Athenian control, after the Lacedæmonians retired from the command of the allies (cf. I. 96. § 1), but still retained its Doric customs and laws, and hence its readiness to unite in the support of the aristocratical form of government.

CHAPTER CXVI.

The Athenians sail to Samos with 60 ships, sixteen of which being detached from the fleet, with the remainder they obtain a victory over the Samian fleet consisting of 70 ships (§ 1); afterwards being reinforced by 40 ships from Athens, and 25 from Lesbos an Chios, they make a descent upon Samos, and invest the city with a triple wall and blockade it by sea (§ 2); Pericles taking 60 ships from the blockading fleet sails for the Carian coast, having received intelligence of the approach of the Phœnician fleet (§ 3).

1. ἐπὶ Σάμου. See N. on I. 30. § 2. —— ἐς προσκοπήν, *for a reconnoitering.* —— περιαγγέλλουσαι. Repeat ἔτυχον οἰχόμεναι from the preceding clause. The present participle instead of the future is sometimes put after verbs of motion, when the action of the participle is contemporaneous with that of the finite verb. Cf. Mt. § 566. 6; S. § 225. 5. περιαγγέλλουσαι corresponds to ἐς προσκοπήν in the first member. —— Περικλέους δεκάτου στρατηγοῦντος (see N. on I. 46. § 2). Among these was Sophocles the tragic poet. Cf. Müll. Lit. Anc. Greece, p. 338. —— Τραγίᾳ, *Tragia*, an island near Lesbos, and probably so called from having once abounded in goats. —— στρατιώτιδες, *military transports*, employed solely for the purpose of conveying troops from one place to another, and from their inefficiency never used in battle, except in emergencies. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 878.

2. Χίων....εἴκοσι. See αἱ δ'....βοηθεῖν, § 1 supra. —— τείχεσι. I am disposed to explain this, *fortifications, forts*, since it is hardly conceivable that the Athenians threw up these walls all around the city, when two would have answered all the purposes of circumvallation and contravallation. So the Schol. explains τείχεσι by τειχίσμασι.

3. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουσῶν, *from the blockading squadron.* The partitive genitive is here defined more distinctly by ἀπό. Cf. Mt. § 322. *Obs.* 1. This use of the preposition is however quite rare. —— ἐπὶ Καρίας, *towards Caunus and Caria*, "towards Caunus as the spot where he especially expected to fall in with the enemy; but also towards Caria generally, because he could not be certain at what particular place he might find them." Arnold. —— ἐσαγγελθέντων (sc. τῶν πραγμάτων), *information being received.* See N. on I. 74. § 1 (init.). —— Στησαγόρας. This was a Samian, which fact furnishes a key to the sentence. —— ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας, *for the Phœnician fleet*, i. e. to bring it to the assistance of the Samians. The preposition here denotes purpose, design. Cf. K. § 296. III. 3. a.

CHAPTER CXVII.

In the absence of this part of the blockading fleet, the Samians make a successful sally, and remain masters of their own seas for fourteen days (§ 1); but Pericles returning and a fresh reinforcement arriving from Athens, they again suffer a blockade (§ 2), and in th ninth month are forced to surrender and give up their fleet to the Athenians (§ 3).

1. *ἐν τούτῳ, at this time*, i. e. during the absence of Pericles (I. 116. 3). —— *ἔκπλουν* from their port. —— *ἀφρόκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, the unguarded camp*, refers to the naval camp pitched on the shore in front of the ships which were drawn up on the land. This camp was usually fortified, but seems here to have been left unguarded. The consequence was, as Arnold justly remarks, that when the look-out ships were taken, the enemy landed and attacked the ships drawn up on the shore, without being opposed by any artificial defence. —— *τάς τε προφυλακίδας ναῦς, the guard-ships*, i. e. vessels moored at a distance from the main fleet, and ready manned to check any sudden attack, until the other ships could be launched and prepared for action. Arnold remarks that "when the look-out ships were taken, the Athenians had no other resource but to launch their ships in haste, and endeavor to meet them before they could land; and this being done in confusion, and the ships being launched and brought into action separately and in small parties, they were successively overpowered and defeated." —— *τῆς καθ' ἑαυτούς, that which was near to them = neighboring.* —— *ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο*, i. e. they had in respect to their port, free ingress and egress.

2. *ἐλθόντος δὲ Περικλέους.* Cf. I. 116. § 3. —— *Θουκυδίδου.* Not Thucydides the historian, but the son of Milesias and rival of Pericles.

3. *ναυμαχίαν μέν τινα βραχεῖαν.* "Perhaps that in which Aristot. ap. Plut. says Pericles was defeated." Bloomf. —— *ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν, were taken.* It is said by Diod. that Pericles reduced this place by means of battering rams and other warlike machines, which he first invented and used. It is generally conceded, however, that Artemon of Clazomenæ was the inventor of these warlike machines. Bloomf. thinks that the city was taken by famine, and that Pericles employed his leisure time in making experiments upon military machines, and that thus the story of his invention of these, and his taking the city by means of them, took its rise. —— *χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα*, amounting, according to Diodorus, to 200 talents. But this estimate must have been far too small, since the greater part of the time, there were em

ployed according to this account of Thucydides not less than 199 triremes; and Isocrates (de Antidosi, p. 69) and Nepos (Timoth. 1) say that 1200 talents were expended on this war. —— *κατὰ χρόνους, at stated times.* The plural is used with certain abstracts considered in the plurality of their parts. K. § 243. 8 (8). *κατὰ* is here used distributively. K. § 292. II. 3. d.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

The rising power of the Athenians remained unchecked by the Lacedæmonians, partly on account of their natural slowness of action, and partly on account of their domestic dissensions (§§ 1, 2); after they decide that the treaty is broken, they consult the Delphic oracle from which they receive a favorable response (§ 3).

1. The thread of the history is now resumed from I. 88. *οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν* (S. § 204). The thirty years' truce was entered upon A. C. 445; and the dispute between the Corinthians and Corcyræans arose A. C. 436. This would make it about four years after the reduction of Samos that the events (*τά τε Κερκυραϊκὰ*) narrated in chaps. 24–55, took place, and eight years before the Potidæan war (chaps. 56–66). —— *ὅσα πρόφασις.* The Schol. says that reference is had to the profanity of Cylon (I. 126), and the treason of Pausanias (I. 128 et seq.).

2. *ταῦτα....Ἕλληνες—ἐγένετο, but all these things which the Greeks did—took place.* —— *ἐν οἷς*, i. e. in the fifty years. —— *μάλιστα.* See N. on I. 54. § 2. —— *ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο, had established more firmly.* —— *αὐτοὶ....δυνάμεως, they themselves had reached a high degree of power = had become very powerful.* For the construction of *ἐπὶ μέγα—δυνάμεως*, see N. on *ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης*, I. 49. § 7. —— *αἰσθόμενοι, although they perceived* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) the increase of Athenian power. —— *οὔτε—τε, neque—et, not—and.* K. § 321. 2. d. —— *εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, except for a short time, "for short intervals."* Bloomf. —— *τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου.* "Magis Thucydideum videtur *τὸν πλέονα* seu *πλέω τοῦ χρόνου*. Nostrum tamen non falsum." Poppo. Cf. Mt. § 442. 3. —— *πρὸ τοῦ.* See N. on I. 32. § 4. —— *μὴ ταχεῖς* (cf. Mt. § 608. 5. e) is defined by *ἴέναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, not hasty to go*, etc. —— *ὄντες* takes the time of *ἡσύχαζον* (S. § 211. 1), and hence is followed by *ἀναγκάζοιντο* in the optative (S. § 212. 3), which here denotes indefinite frequency (see N. on I. 49. § 3), *except when they were compelled by necessity.* —— *τὸ....ἐξειργόμενοι*, and in

some measure being prevented by wars at home. One of these domestic wars was the Messenian (I. 101–103), and that carried on with the Arcadians. Cf. Müll. Dorians, I. p. 212. —— πρὶν δή, *until at length* (Jelf's Kühn. § 720. 2. d), is to be constructed after ἡσύχαζον....χρόνου, the words ὄντες....ἐξειργόμενοι being parenthetic. —— τῆς ξυμμαχίας = τῶν ξυμμάχων, the abstract being put for the concrete. Cf. Mt. § 429. 1. —— αὐτῶν = Ἀθηναίων. —— οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, *they thought it no longer endurable.* —— ἐπιχειρητέα. We should have expected the singular, but cf. Mt. § 443. 1. After ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι supply αὐτοῖς referring to the Athenians, *that they should be taken in hand* = *should go to war with them.* —— καὶ καθαιρετέα ἡ ἰσχύς, *and that their power must be put down.* —— ἀραμένοις depends on αὐτοῖς understood, which pronoun depends on ἐδόκει and refers to the Lacedæmonians.

3. διέγνωστο (*it was decided*)....σπονδάς. Cf. I. 87. §§ 2, 4. —— εἰ (sc. αὐτοῖς) πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται, *whether it would be for their advantage to go to war.* The participle is used as a complement after certain expressions (mostly impersonal), e. g. *it is fit, useful, profitable, good,* etc., although the infinitive might be employed with equal correctness. Cf. K. § 310. 4. i; Mt. § 555. *Obs.* 2. ἄμεινον has the force of the positive. See N. on χείρους, I. 95. § 7. —— κατὰ κράτος, *with all their might.* —— καὶ αὐτὸς....ἄλλητος. How in their judgment the god fulfilled his promise appears in II. 54.

CHAPTER CXIX.

The Lacedæmonians refer to the assembled allies the question, whether there shall be an immediate declaration of war against the Athenians, to which a majority reply in the affirmative, after which the Corinthians address the assembly in favor of that measure (§ 1).

1. αὖθις....παρακαλέσαντες. Cf. I. 87. § 4. —— τῆς ξυμμαχίας. See N. on I. 118. § 2. —— εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο = *spoke their minds;* literally, *spoke what they chose.* —— οἱ πλείους, *the majority,* is in partitive apposition with οἵ τε ἄλλοι (see N. on I. 89. § 3). Notice that it is here accompanied by a participle. Cf. Xen. Cyr. III. 1. § 25. —— δεηθέντες—ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι. See N. on I. 84. § 3. —— κατὰ πόλεις, *city after city.* Reference is had of course to the deputies of these cities. —— ἰδίᾳ, *apart from.* —— καὶ τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι, *these also last at this time* as before. Cf. I. 67. § 5.

CHAPTERS CXX.—CXXIV.

The oration of the Corinthians, which is given to us in these chapters, has four general divisions; 1, the justice of the proposed war (chaps. 120, 121. § 1); 2, the probability of a successful issue (chaps. 121. § 2—122. § 1); 3, its utility and consentaneousness with the previous customs and habits of the Peloponnesians (chap. 122. §§ 2–4); 4, the necessity of speedy and vigorous action (chaps. 123, 124). In the manner of the Greek rhetoricians, it may be said that the τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ δυνατόν, and τὸ συμφέρον are proved, and then is added the παραινέσεις. The oration has strong points of resemblance to the preceding one spoken by the Corinthians (I. 68–71), being vehement, exciting, full of hostility to the Athenians, and breathing the spirit of war.

CHAPTER CXX.

The Corinthians praise the Lacedæmonians for their determination to go to war, and thus acting as became the ruling state in the confederacy (§ 1); the necessity of going to war, which presses upon the maritime states, bears with equal force upon the inland districts, because the interchange of commodities will suffer interruption, and the war itself will soon reach those states (§ 2); wherefore war ought to be declared, since it is the part of prudent men to remain at peace, unless when wronged, and of brave men suffering wrong to go to war (§ 3); indolence in repelling injury and insolence on account of success are alike injurious (§ 4); for many things turn out different from what was expected, inasmuch as the confidence and energy with which plans are formed, are not equalled in their execution (§ 5).

1. οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα. This they had done in their first oration (cf. I. 68, et seq.). —— ὡς....ξυνήγαγον, *as if* (= as we should censure them if) *they had not decreed the war, and convened us for this very purpose* (viz. that we should declare war). This use of ὡς οὐ, although unusual, is quite natural, and disencumbers the sentence of all difficulty. —— χρὴ γάρ. The ellipsis may be supplied: had they done otherwise we could rightly have blamed them, *for it is the duty*, etc. —— τὰ νέμοντας, *conducting their private affairs on an equality* (with their inferiors), i. e. in the administration of their private affairs, being on an equal footing with others, and showing their pre-eminence by providing for the public welfare (τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν). —— ὥσπερ....προτιμῶνται. In addition to the parallel sentiment, which Abresch finds in the words of Sarpedon (Hom. Il. 12. 315), Bloomf. very aptly cites Xen. Anab. III. 1. § 37. —— ἐν ἄλλοις, *in*

other things. The Schol. says ἐν προεδρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις. —— ἐκ πάντων = ὑπὲρ πάντας. Schol.

3. ἡμῶν....αὐτούς, *now such of us as have had intercourse with* (i. e. have trafficked with) *the Athenians, have no need of instruction to be on our guard against them.* ὅσοι = τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι. The verb ἐνηλλάγησαν has the middle signification. —— τὴν μεσόγειαν depends on κατῳκημένους = κατῳκηκότας, *those who inhabit* (Mt. § 496. 6). In ἵν' πόρῳ κατῳκημένους the passive signification is to be resumed, *those who are settled in, who dwell in.* τὴν μεσόγειαν is opposed to τοῖς κάτω, and refers to those states in the interior of Peloponnesus. —— μᾶλλον καὶ μή. See N. on καὶ....πλέον, I. 74. § 3. —— ἐν πόρῳ, *in the passage-way*, i. e. on the sea-coast (ἐν τῇ παράλῳ. Schol.) So we call the sea, *the high way* of commerce. The orator has especial reference to Corinth. Cf. I. 7. § 13. —— ἢν μή, *unless.* —— τὴν κατακομιδήν, *the conveying down to the sea-shore* for the purpose of exportation. It is opposed to ἀντίληψιν. —— τῶν ὡραίων, sc. τῶν καρπῶν. —— ὧν = ἐκείνων ἅ, of which the relative depends on δίδωσι. —— τῇ ἠπείρῳ refers here to *the inland region* as opposed to the maritime coast. The word has a similar use in I. 142. § 5; IV. 102. § 4. —— κακοὺς κριτάς, *careless judges*, as are those who feel no personal interest in the object of consideration. —— ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων = ὡς ἀλλοτρίων, μηδὲν εἰς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῶν τεινόντων. Poppo. —— εἶναι. Repeat χρὴ from the preceding context. —— εἰ τὰ κάτω πρόοιντο, *if they desert* (*leave in the lurch.* Liddell and Scott) *the maritime states.* Bekker reads προεῖντο, in which he is followed by Arnold. —— ἂν in κἂν belongs to προελθεῖν. S. § 215. 5. —— οὐχ ἧσσον, sc. ἡμῶν.

8. διόπερ, *wherefore*, i. e. in consequence of the danger which threatens them in common with the maritime states. —— αὐτοὺς refers to the inland states. —— τὸν....μεταλαμβάνειν, *to take in exchange war for peace.* The verb depends on μὴ ὀκνεῖν (*not to hesitate*). Cf. K. § 306. 1. a. —— ἀνδρῶν—ἐστίν. S. § 190. —— εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο. The more usual form would have been εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖνται. —— ἡσυχάζειν is the subject of ἐστί. —— ἀγαθῶν. Supply ἀνδρῶν and repeat ἐστί. —— ἀδικουμένους stands for ἀδικουμένων, it being made to conform grammatically with the omitted subject of πολεμεῖν. Cf. K. § 307. R. 2. —— ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, *to exchange peace for war;* literally, *to enter upon war from a state of peace*, ἐκ being here used to denote the immediate consequence or proceeding of one thing from another. Cf. K. § 288. 2 (2); Mt. § 574. —— εὖ δὲ παρασχόν, *but when an opportunity offers*, "*quum opportunum est.*" Mt. § 564. See N. on παρατυχόν, I. 76. § 2. —— ἐκ πολέμου. See N. on ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης supra. —— ξυμβῆναι, *to come to terms, to become friends.* ——

ἐπαίρεσθαι and ἀδικεῖσθαι have the same construction as πολεμεῖν and ξυμβῆναι, the subject, however, as it appears from ἡδόμενον, being changed to the singular. —— τῷ ἡσυχίῳ denotes the ground or reason of the mental state expressed in ἡδόμενον (*by being pleased*. See N. on I. 9. § 1). Cf. K. § 285. 1 (1). —— ἀδικεῖσθαι, "i. e. *se offendi pati*." Poppo.

4. ὅ τε—ὀκνῶν = ἐκεῖνος ὃς ὀκνεῖ. —— τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφαιρεθείη, *will quickly be deprived*. For the use of the optative, see N. on I. 71. § 5. The protasis may be found in εἰ ἡσυχάζοι. —— ῥαστώνης, "*otii, inertiæ*." Poppo. —— τὸ τερπνὸν depends on ἀφαιρεθείη, which in the active voice is followed by two accusatives (S. § 184. 1), and sometimes by the accusative and genitive. —— ὅ τε....πλεονάζων in consequence of its opposition to ὅ τε....ὀκνῶν, Poppo translates, *qui in bello felici successu frequentius utitur*. But the sense, required by the context (cf. μήτε....ἐπαίρεσθαι, § 3 supra) as well as by the antithesis, is best preserved in the translation, *he who is overbearing on account of his success in war*, or *he who presumes on his good fortune in war*. This translation harmonizes also with ἐπαιρόμενος, which is evidently a varied repetition of the idea contained in πλεονάζων. Haack without any good reason constructs πλεονάζων with ἐν πολέμῳ. —— ἐντεθύμηται (present in signification)—ἐπαιρόμενος (Mt. § 549. 3) = ἐντεθύμηται ὅτι ἐπαίρεται. K. § 310. 3. 4. a.

5. γὰρ introduces a reason why no one should be elated by that which may prove disastrous in the end. The success which attends an enterprise is no certain evidence that it was well planned, nor want of success, that the plans were not well laid, since these plans often are affected favorably or otherwise by the counter operations of the enemy. To rely, therefore, on past successes is to be buoyed up by a false confidence. —— κακῶς γνωσθέντα, *badly planned*. —— ἀβουλοτέρων....κατωρθώθη, *have turned out successful by being formed against* (literally, *meeting with*) *enemies more ill-advised*. Haack, Bothe, and Goeller retain the vulgar reading τυχόντα, but Bekker, Poppo, Arnold, and Bloomf. (in his last edition) adopt τυχόντων as the genuine reading. The MS. authority is divided equally, but the Schol. reads τυχόντα. With τυχόντων as the reading, it will be necessary to supply ὄντων. See N. on I. 32. § 3. —— καὶ....ἄ, *and there are still more which*. Supply ἐστὶ after πλέω. "Si ἃ abesset, concinnior esset oratio." Haack. —— ἐς τοὐναντίον—περιέστη, "*in contrariam partem conversa sunt*." Gottl. cited by Poppo. —— ἐνθυμεῖται.... ἐπεξέρχεται, *for the activity with which plans are carried into execution, is not equal to the confidence with which they are formed = for the confidence in one's plans and their actual execution are very dis-*

similar; literally, *for no one plans with reference in like manner as he in fact executes.* The antithesis of this difficult and much discussed clause, lies evidently in *ἐνθυμεῖται τῇ πίστει* and *ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται*, and not as Poppo and Goeller suppose, in *ἐνθυμεῖται* and *ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται*, the words *τῇ πίστει* pertaining to both members. The order of the words hardly admits of this, nor is any argument furnished, as they suppose, from the following context, *ἀλλὰ....ἐλλείπομεν*, but the very contrary. The comparison lies between the confidence of success with which plans are formed, and their realization. *ἀλλὰ....ἐλλείπομεν* denotes the reason or ground of the dissimilarity spoken of, viz. that plans are devised in a state of security (*μετ' ἀσφαλείας*), but in a measure fail in their execution through the influence of fear (*μετὰ δέους*). —— *ὁμοῖα* (= *ὁμοίως*) and *καὶ* are to be joined in construction = *pariter ac.* Poppo and Goel. read *ὁμοίᾳ* on the authority of Reiske, but there is no substantial reason for this. —— *δοξάζομεν* is a varied repetition of *ἐνθυμεῖται.* —— *μετὰ δέους* stands opposed to *μετ' ἀσφαλείας*, and as the latter signifies *a state of security*, I am inclined with Bloomf. to take *μετὰ δέους* in the general sense of, *in a situation calculated to inspire terror.* —— *ἐλλείπομεν*, sc. *ὧν ἐνθυμούμεθα* from the context.

CHAPTER CXXI.

The Corinthians express their readiness to lay down their arms, after having avenged their wrongs (§ 1); the prospects of success on the part of the allies are highly encouraging (§ 2); a navy can be raised from their private resources, and the public treasures deposited at Delphi and Olympia, and this they can man with seamen hired from abroad after the manner of the Athenians (§ 3); practice in nautical affairs will enable them in time to rival the Athenians in this respect, while in natural courage they will always remain their superiors, and this will ensure them the victory (§ 4); their resources must be provided by contributions, which no one will refuse to furnish in so just a cause, especially, when it is remembered that contributions are made by the states confederated with the Athenians for their own enslavement (§ 5).

1. Having laid down some general principles, which should regulate the redress of grievances, the Corinthians now proceed to show their readiness to act in accordance with these principles. They take up arms because they have suffered injury (*ἀδικούμενοι.* See N. on I. 9. § 4), but when their wrongs are duly avenged, they are ready to cease from war. —— *τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν, we engage in war;* literally, *we excite war.* The expression is poetical, being borrowed, as some think, from Hom. Il. 11. 213. —— *ἐν καιρῷ, at the proper time.*

2. Poppo well remarks, that with this section the chapter should have commenced, since the first section belongs to the preceding

chapter, which contains the τὸ δίκαιον. See remarks on the general plan and divisions of the oration. κατὰ πολλά, *for many reasons, on many accounts.* Some of these reasons are given in what follows. —— πλήθει....πολεμικῇ. We are told by Archidamus (I. 81. § 1) that the Peloponnesians relied upon these things. προὔχοντας, *because we excel* (see N. on I. 9. § 4), conforms in case with ἡμᾶς. —— ὁμοίως ἰόντας, *because we shall all alike render obedience to orders.* Cf. II. 11. § 9. The translations of this passage are very diverse, and some commentators have taken no notice of it. The translation here given seems to satisfy the verbal demands, and how characteristic in the Doric armies was the obedience spoken of, is known to all.

3. ναυτικὸν depends on ἐξαρτυσόμεθα, and constitutes the third ground of success advanced by the speaker. The order is πρῶτον μὲν —ἔπειτα—τε. —— ἰσχύουσιν refers to the Athenians. —— ἑκάστοις depends on ὑπαρχούσης. S. § 201. 8. In respect to the resources (οὐσίας) here spoken of, cf. I. 80. § 4, where Archidamus asserts that the Peloponnesians were even more deficient in treasures than in ships. —— ἐν Δελφοῖς. Bloomf. thinks that in consequence of the thirty years' truce, Delphi was again brought under the Lacedæmonian influence. —— δάνεισμα. Money could be borrowed from these sacred treasuries, but only in cases of urgency, and on condition of their being faithfully repaid. —— μείζονι than was paid by the Athenians. —— τοὺς ξένους—ναύβατας refers not, as Bloomfield thinks, to seamen enlisted from the Euxine, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Italy, as no mention is made of these barbarians in the Athenian fleet, but to those drawn by superior pay from the maritime states and islands friendly to the Athenians. —— γὰρ implies an ellipsis: and this is practicable, *for the Athenian* (naval) *forces are mercenary rather than native.* —— ἡ δὲ....πάσχοι, *but ours would be subject in a less degree to this*, i. e. the Peloponnesians having comparatively few mercenaries in their service, would be less liable to the mischiefs resulting from the employment of such forces, such as defection in the time of battle, treacherous intercourse with the enemy, and desertion to the highest bidder. This appears from the next sentence, where it is said, that the Peloponnesian strength consisted in *persons* (τοῖς σώμασι) rather than in *money* (τοῖς χρήμασι), i. e. in native troops rather than in the wealth which would enable them to employ foreign mercenaries. δύναμις is to be supplied with ἡμέτερα.

4. Having thus shown how a naval force could be created, the speaker proceeds to show the comparative effect on the parties of the loss of engagement. —— μᾶ....ἁλίσκονται, *in a single victory gained over them by sea, they most likely will be conquered*, i. e. unable to

prosecute the war any further. The Schol. assigns as the reason for this, that the Athenians had no land forces adequate to repair a defeat by sea, while the Peloponnesian forces, if conquered in a naval engagement, were still strong on land. *ἁλίσκονται* is used for the future to designate certainty of event. S. § 211. N. 4; K. § 255. R. 4. —— *ἀντίσχοιεν, should they hold out against us*, i. e. be able to carry on the war after a defeat. There is such a marked antithesis, that I am almost inclined to regard *ἀντίσχοιεν*, as euphemistically used for *should they defeat us*. This would give more point and energy to the argument. Notice that the indicative in the apodosis (*μελετήσομεν*) follows *εἰ* with the optative in the protasis. Emphasis is thereby given to the certainty designated in the apodosis. Cf. K. § 339. 3. b; S. § 215. 1. —— *μελετήσομεν....ναυτικά*. Their ability to prolong the war, would give time to the Peloponnesians to attain by practice a skill in nautical affairs equal to that of the Athenians. "Hoc ipso argumento deterrere suos a bello studuit Archidamus, I. 80. § 4, et spem Corinthiorum vanam esse arguit Pericles, I. 142. §§ 6–8." Poppo. —— *ὅταν....καταστήσωμεν, when we have attained to equal skill* (with the enemy); literally, *when we shall have placed our skill on an equality*. —— *εὐψυχίᾳ*. "In every action in the open field, up to the battle of Leuctra, Sparta had nearly a certainty of success, since the consciousness of skill in the use of arms was added to the national feeling of the Doric race, that victory over the Ionians was not a matter of doubt." Müll. Dorians, II. p. 260. The remarks of Müller, however, must receive some abatement from his evident partiality to the Dorians. —— *ἀγαθὸν* refers to *τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ* employed in the sense of the abstract (see N. on I. 68. § 1), and properly the antecedent of *ὅ*, and the subject of *γένοιτο* (see N. on I. 33. § 2). —— The protasis of *γένοιτο* (see N. on I. 71. § 5) lies in *διδαχῇ, by teaching = even if they are instructed*. —— For the construction of *ὅ* (= *ἐκεῖνο ὅ*)—*προὔχουσι*, cf. S. § 182; of *ἡμῖν*, cf. S. § 206. 4.

5. *ἐς αὐτά, for these purposes*, i. e. for equipping a fleet, hiring mercenaries, etc. —— *οἴσομεν*. Cf. *οὔτε....φέρομεν* at the close of the speech of Archidamus (I. 80. § 4), and also the assertion of Pericles *καὶ οὔτε....αὐτοῖς*, I. 141. § 3. —— *ἤ, otherwise*. —— *ἐκείνων* refers to the Athenians. —— *ἐπὶ....αὐτῶν, to promote their own servitude = to rivet their own chains*. See N. on I. 116. § 3 (end). —— *φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, do not refuse to contribute*. S. § 225. 8. —— Of the propositions *εἰ οἱ μὲν—ἡμεῖς δ'*, the latter only is to be taken with *δεινὸν ἂν εἴη*, since it was not the contribution of the Athenian confederates which was *δεινόν*, but the refusal of the Peloponnesians to do the same for a nobler purpose. Cf. Butt. § 149. p. 446; Mt. § 622. 4. —— *τιμωρού-*

μενοι by attraction with ἡμεῖς is put for τιμωρουμένους. The same is true of αὐτοί. —— καὶ....πάσχειν, *and in order that we may not, by being deprived of this very property* (αὐτὰ) *by them, suffer by means of it*, i. e. that our possessions being wrested from us by the enemy, may not become the means and instrument of our ruin. After repeated examinations of this passage, I am quite satisfied that this is the true meaning. Arnold translates αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς πάσχειν, *to suffer in that part in which we are the most sensitive, namely, in our property.* But this seems to me to be less forcible, as well as less harmonious with the scope of the argument. The allies of the Athenians are said in the previous context, to be forward in making contributions even ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν. Now the orator says, that it would be δεινόν, if the Peloponnesians should grudge to contribute in order to save themselves from suffering—not the loss of property (for then the antithesis would be destroyed)—but the same catastrophe for which the Athenian allies were said to be laboring, viz. *slavery*, and which would be effected by the means which the possession of their property, wrested from them in war, would give their victorious enemy. ἐπὶ τῷ μή, therefore, belongs to πάσχειν, and ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες is a participial clause denoting the means (see N. on I. 9. § 1).

CHAPTER CXXII.

The orator proceeds to show other ways of annoying and reducing the power of the enemy, to which will be suggested many expedients in the prosecution of the war (§ 1); if the controversy was between equally matched states about territorial limits, that were to be borne, but the Athenians were a match for their united forces, and unless they wished to become slaves, they must engage in the war with all their strength (§ 2); that so many states should be oppressed by one was highly disgraceful, since evidence was thus furnished that they suffered deservedly, or that their spirit was degenerated from that of their ancestors, who gave liberty to Greece (§ 3); such conduct in suffering a single state to play the tyrant among them, was referable to stupidity, cowardice, or indifference, three most pernicious faults (§ 4).

1. ἄλλαι than the ways just mentioned. —— ὁδοί, *ways, expedients.* —— πολέμου = *for carrying on war.* —— ἀπόστασις is in apposition with ὁδοί, and is to be taken actively = τὸ ἀφιστάναι, *the exciting to revolt.* In respect to the feasibility of causing the Athenian allies to revolt, Archidamus thought otherwise. Cf. I. 81. § 3. —— οὖσα, *which is.* See N. on I. 8. § 1. —— ἰσχύουσι refers to the Athenians. —— ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ. Some think that this is put into the mouth of the Corinthian orator by the historian, since Alcibiades suggested it to the Lacedæmonians when he revolted from his country. But the

declaration of Thucydides (I. 22. § 1) forbids any such supposition, and there is nothing wonderful that the suggestion should have been made, and yet overlooked, until proposed in a subsequent stage of the war, from another source. For the construction of τῇ χώρᾳ (of the Athenians), cf. Mt. § 390. —— ἄλλα.... προίδοι, *and many other devices such as one cannot now foresee.* —— ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, *on set terms, fixed plans.* —— αὐτὸς.... παρατυγχάνον, *but this of itself contains many things to suit the emergency*, i. e. in the process of war many things will be suggested by the occasion, which cannot possibly be foreknown or predetermined. πρὸς denotes fitness or conformity. K. § 298. III. 3. b. —— ἐν ᾧ = διὸ (*wherefore*). Schol. The interpretation of Haack is preferable, *qua in re, unter diesen Umständen, in these circumstances.* —— εὐοργήτως, literally, *in good temper.* Here as opposed to ὀργισθείς, *coolly, with deliberate resolution.* The speaker takes great pains to avoid the imputation of uttering these vehement appeals for immediate war, in a state of undue excitement. He therefore disclaims here, as in the former part of his oration (I. 120. §§ 4, 5), that he acts under the influence of passion. —— περὶ αὐτὸν belongs to ὀργισθείς, and thus the expression responds to εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας. —— οὐκ ἐλάσσω = μᾶλλον. Bloomf. constructs περὶ αὐτὸν with πταίει, and with Bekker (2d edit.) edits αὐτόν.

2. ἡμῶν ἑκάστοις, i. e. to individual states of our confederacy. —— οἰστὸν ἂν ἦν, *it would be endurable, might be borne*, i. e. the contest would be such, that the individual state engaged in it could endure the struggle, and perhaps maintain it successfully. —— πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς depends on ἱκανοὶ (*a match*). —— κατὰ πόλιν (= ἑκάστης πόλεως in dependence on δυνατώτεροι) is opposed to ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς. —— ἀθρόοι.... γνώμῃ. This grouping of terms, expressive of united and vigorous action, is exceedingly forcible, and seems to have been suggested by the previous antithesis between the states taken collectively and individually. —— μιᾷ γνώμῃ is to be constructed with ἀμυνούμεθα. —— τὴν ἧσσαν—ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσαν. Construct ἴστω τὴν ἧσσαν φέρουσαν οὐκ ἄλλο τι. For the construction of ἴστω with the participle, see N. on I. 69. § 5. —— εἰ καὶ δεινόν τῳ ἀκοῦσαι, *though this may be hard for any one even to hear.* The idea is that defeat, so unwelcome a word to one's ears, is still more to be deplored, when its effects are taken into account. —— ἄντικρυς, *right on, direct*, and hence, *certain, open*, "aperte." Betant.

3. ὃ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι. Poppo and Goel. approve of Haack's explanation; "sensus igitur est: turpe est Peloponnesiis de servitute tamquam de re, quæ possit ex clade ipsis accidere, vel oratione ambigere, i. e. dubitanter loqui." This explanation refers ὃ not to δουλείαν,

but to τὴν ἧσσαν φέρουσαν δουλείαν. Arnold paraphrases: it is an affront to Peloponnesus, that the very name of slavery should be pronounced as within possibility applicable to it; much more, when it is not only the name but the actual evil itself, which is directly falling on us." Bloomf. refers ὁ to ἧσσαν. It appears to me that Arnold has reached more truly the idea in his explanation. —— καὶ πόλεις.... κακοπαθεῖν is added as an aggravating circumstance, and is therefore to be connected with αἰσχρόν. —— δοκοῖμεν ἂν—φαίνεσθαι. Goel. says that we should expect δοκοῖμεν ἂν—καὶ φαινοίμεθα. A similar conjunction of these verbs is found, I believe, nowhere else in Thucydides, yet Born. (ad Xen. Mem. II. 1. § 22), taking φαίνεσθαι in the sense of *esse*, does not regard it as an unusual construction. —— ἠλευθέρωσαν. "Maxime Lacedæmonii. Vide supra, c. 18." Haack. —— αὐτὸ in gender refers *ad sensum* to τὴν ἐλευθερίαν implied in ἠλευθέρωσαν. Cf Jelf's Kühn. § 373. *Obs.* 1. —— τύραννον is employed as an adjective. —— ἐγκαθεστάναι, *to be constituted, to establish itself* (amongst us). —— ἐν μιᾷ, sc. πόλει. —— μονάρχους = τυράννους. —— ἀξιοῦμεν καταλύειν. From the former conduct of Sparta in ridding the Grecian states of tyrants (cf. I. 18. § 1), is shown the inconsistency of now suffering a single state to lord it over the rest, as did the Athenians.

4. The consequences of such an abject submission to a single state, are still further descanted upon in this section. οὐκ....ἀπήλλακται, *we do not know how such conduct can be cleared of three of the greatest faults.* For the construction of the genitive, cf. S. § 197. 2. —— οὐ.... κεχωρήκατε, *for you have not avoided these faults when you have come* (literally, *for not having avoided these faults you have come*) *to a contempt* (of the enemy), *which has already* (δὴ) *proved injurious to many.* Poppo refers γὰρ to τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν as introducing the proof of their being the greatest evils, viz. because they beget a contempt of the enemy, which is productive of the most fatal consequences. But why not make γὰρ explicative of the general thought in the preceding sentence? The argument would then be: our conduct shows that we have fallen into three very great faults—and from this imputation we cannot be screened by the contempt for the enemy into which we have come, since that, by its ruinous tendency, is itself folly. ——ἐκ σφάλλειν, *from its having ruined many.* —— ἀφροσύνη. In the quotation of a name the nominative is used with ὄνομα, although sometimes the accusative is found in apposition. Cf. K. § 269. R. 8; Mt. § 424. 1 (end). There is a sort of play on the words καταφρόνησιν and ἀφροσύνη, which Arnold has hit in a measure in his paraphrase: "A *sense* of your adversary's inferiority is so fatal a feeling to those who entertain it, that it more fitly deserves to be called nonsense."

CHAPTER CXXIII.

Regret for the past is of no avail, only as it lends assistance to the affairs in hand; the main business is to take care of the present, provide for the future, and forsake not hereditary customs; the oracle promises success, and the sympathies of Greece are with them, for they are not violators of the treaty, but the avengers of its infraction (§§ 1, 2).

1. *μακρότερον....ξυμφέρει*, *further than* (literally, *further than so far as*) *it may conduce to the service of present affairs.* —— *παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας*, *by a watchful defence of* (literally, *by bringing aid to*) *the present.* "Cum e præsentibus futura gignantur, illis operam dare oportet, ut bene comparata sint." Haack. —— *πάτριον γὰρ ἡμῖν*, *for it is hereditary with us.* *πάτριον* qualifies *κτᾶσθαι* the subject of the sentence. *γὰρ* is explicative of *χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν*, since it introduces the reason why the labor spoken of was not to be shunned. —— *τὰς ἀρετάς*, *the reputation for glory.* —— *μεταβάλλειν.* Repeat *χρή.* —— *τὸ ἔθος* refers to *ἐκ....κτᾶσθαι.* —— *προφέρετε*, sc. *τῶν πατέρων.* —— *ἃ* = *ἐκεῖνα ἅ.* —— *ἐκτήθη* has the passive signification, *were acquired.* K. § 252. R. —— *εἶναι* has the same construction as *μεταβάλλειν.* —— *κατὰ πολλά*, *on many accounts*, refers to *θαρσουντᾶς.* —— *τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος.* Cf. I. 118. § 3 (end). —— *καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος* is an oratorical exaggeration, unless, as Bloomf. suggests, the supposition was indulged that the allies of the Athenians would speedily desert them. —— *φόβῳ* of being enslaved by the Athenians.

2. *σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι.* Cf. I. 67. § 1, where the Corinthians *κατεβόων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι σπονδὰς λελυκότες εἶεν.* —— *αἷς γε παραβεβάσθαι.* The idea is, that the god would not have recommended the war, unless he regarded the treaty as broken. *ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει* is therefore equivalent to, *the god by commanding to go to war showed that he considered.* *παραβεβάσθαι* is the infin. perf. pass. of *παραβαίνω.* Cf. K. § 252. R. 6; Mt. § 226. 1. —— *οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες· οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν.* Schol.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

In conclusion, they ought not to delay to render assistance to the Potidæans, and to vindicate the liberty of the other Grecian states (§ 1); despising present danger, and looking for a more lasting peace as the result of it, they should decree war (§ 2), and break down the power of that state, which is aiming to subjugate all the rest (§ 3).

1. *πανταχόθεν*, *on all sides*, i. e. in every respect. —— *καλῶς.... πολεμεῖν*, *inasmuch as you can go to war honorably.* *ὑπάρχον*, *quum*

liceat. See N. on παρατυχόν, I. 76. § 2. —— τάδε refers to πολεμεῖν, after the analogy of adjectives in the neuter plural, although referring only to one thing. Cf. Mt. § 482. 5. —— κοινῇ, *in common, unitedly.* —— εἴπερ....εἶναι, *if indeed* (as is the fact). Cf. Hoog. Gr. Part. p. 56. II.) *that cities and individuals should be alike profited by these things, is the most stable* of all grounds of reliance. ἐστὶ is to be supplied as the copula (S. § 150. 4), the subject of which is τὸ—εἶναι. The pronoun ταῦτα may be referred to πολεμεῖν as was τάδε, or with Goel., we may perhaps better refer it prospectively to ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν and μετέλθειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. The clause εἴπερ....εἶναι denotes the reason why the speaker exhorts to these things. For the construction of πόλεσι and ἰδιώταις, cf. S. § 201. 1. —— μὴ μέλλετε (S. § 218. 2). The protasis is contained in ὑπάρχον....παραινούντων. —— οὖσι Δωριεῦσι because they were a Corinthian colony (cf. I. 56. § 2). —— ὑπὸ Ἰώνων to which race the Athenians belonged. Nothing was more common than for the Dorians to reproach the Ionians with effeminacy. Cf. VI. 77. § 1; VII. 5. § 3; VIII. 25. § 5. —— πολιορκουμένοις. Cf. I. 64. § 1. —— τῶν ἄλλων states. —— μετελθεῖν, *to seek for,* "*vindicate.*" Bloomf.

2. ὡς....βλάπτεσθαι, *for* (ὡς) *it is not befitting* (ἐνδέχεται, *it may be, it is lawful*), *that while waiting* (for our aid) *some should be suffering injury at the present time* (ἤδη). περιμένοντας denotes time (see N. on I. 13. § 6) and refers to the whole, τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δὲ being put in partitive apposition. See N. on I. 80. § 3 end. —— τοὺς μὲν refers to the Potidæans, and τοὺς δὲ to the Peloponnesians and their other allies. —— γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες (cf. I. 69. § 3, end), *shall be known to have come together.* See N. on I. 25. § 1 (init.). —— τὸ αὐτὸ as that which the Potidæans were suffering. —— ἀλλὰ stands opposed to μὴ μέλλετε, § 1, and introduces the course which the speaker advises the assembly to adopt. —— ἐπ' ἀνάγκην. The only edition which thus reads besides Dindorf's is Haack's. All the rest which are before me have ἐς. —— ἀφῖχθαι, sc. τὰ πράγματα. —— καὶ ἅμα τάδε (sc. ἃ εἴπομεν) ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, *and that the counsel we have given is the best;* more literally, *what we have said is spoken as the best.* See N. on I. 42. § 1. —— τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, *the immediate evil,* which is of short duration. With this is contrasted διὰ πλείονος in the following sentence, which serves to heighten the value of the peace resulting from bold and vigorous measures. —— ἀφ' ἡσυχίας, *on account of ease,* or perhaps *for the sake of peace,* to correspond with εἰρήνη in the preceding member. —— οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον, *is not in like manner removed from danger,* i. e. is more dangerous than to obtain peace by a vigorous and well conducted war.

8. *πόλιν τύραννον.* Notice the repetition of this odious epithet (cf. I. 122. § 3), which must have tingled in the ears of all, especially of the Lacedæmonians who were the avowed enemies of tyrants. —— *ἡγησάμενοι* refers to *ἡμεῖς* the omitted subject of *παραστησώμεθα.* —— *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*, i. e. to the injury of all. See N. on *ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ*, I. 102. § 4. —— *ὥστε....ἄρχειν* defines *ἐπὶ....καθεστάναι.* —— *τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι*, sc. *τὸ ἄρχειν* from the preceding context. —— *παραστησώμεθα ἐπελθόντες, let us go forth and overcome it.* There is great energy in these words. —— *καί, and thus.*

CHAPTER CXXV.

After this speech of the Corinthians, the Lacedæmonians put the question, and the majority vote for war (§ 1); whereupon they commence preparations for its prosecution (§ 2).

1. *ἀφ' ἁπάντων—γνώμην, an opinion from all = the opinions of all.* Cf. Mt. § 373. 3. —— *ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον, put the question, called on the assembly to give its vote.* This was done by the presiding officer. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 804. —— *καὶ....πόλει.* It appears from this that the states voted in order, according to the rank of each. —— *τὸ πλῆθος, the majority.* Cf. Müll. Dorians, I. p. 200. N. e. See also V. 30. § 1, where it is written *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων.*

2. *δεδογμένον δέ, but although* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *it was decreed.* See N. on *παρατυχόν*, I. 76. § 2. —— *αὐτοῖς* is to be constructed with *δεδογμένον.* S. § 206. 4. —— *ἀπαρασκεύοις οὖσιν, inasmuch as* (see N. on I. 9. § 4, end) *they were unprepared.* The dative depends on *ἀδύνατα.* *ἃ* = *ἐκεῖνα ἅ*, of which the antecedent is the subject of *ἐκπορίζεσθαι.* —— *ὅμως δὲ* refers back to *εὐθὺς μέν*, and is employed because the time consumed in preparing for so great a war, was much less than might have been anticipated. —— *καθισταμένοις ὧν ἔδει, for the arranging of those things which were necessary.*

CHAPTERS CXXVI.—CXXXIX.

The mutual recriminations of the belligerent parties, and the pretexts for engaging in the war are comprised in these chapters. First in order is

lution of Cylon (chaps. 126, 127); then follow the affair of Tænarus and Chalcioecus (128. §§ 1, 2), the treason and death of Pausanias (128. § 3—135. § 1), the flight, exile, and death of Themistocles (135. § 2—chap. 138), and in conclusion, other charges and demands of the Lacedæmonians (chap. 139). These stories and sketches should by no means be regarded as unmeaning digressions, inasmuch as they show the ostensible ground of the commencement of the hostilities. They are drawn with great life and spirit, and are deservedly celebrated as models of their kind. The story of Cylon has such an air of playfulness, that it was said by the ancients that *here the lion laughed*, referring to the departure of Thucydides from his usually severe and sober mood. But it might better have been said that *the lion grimly smiled*, as there is only a gleam of pleasantry now and then discernible in the story, a slight relaxation of the rigid and sober features, which every where else in the history look sternly upon us.

The account of the closing fortunes of Pausanias and Themistocles, is to the highest degree graphic and interesting. No superfluity remains to be pruned off—no incident wanting to give completeness to the narration. In the most concise and artless manner the story proceeds, nor are we conscious, until its close, of the mighty power which it has to stir up the deepest emotions of the soul. We rise from its perusal with a feeling of sadness at the avarice and ambition, which brought one of these heroes to die the miserable death of a traitor; and at the envy and ingratitude, which drove the other into exile, far away from the land he had so nobly defended.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

The Lacedæmonians make various charges against the Athenians, in order to obtain the strongest pretext for going to war (§ 1); they demand that the Athenians shall drive away "the pollution of the goddess," which had happened after this sort (§ 2); Cylon, a noble Athenian of former days, at the advice of the oracle at Delphi to seize upon the citadel on the greatest festival of Jupiter (§§ 3, 4), did this by the aid of his friends, on the day when the Olympic games commenced (§ 5), not thinking to what great festival of Jupiter the oracle had reference (§ 6); the Athenians run together and besiege him in the citadel (§ 7); but the siege being protracted, the most of them depart and leave the business of guarding the place to the nine archons (§ 8); the besieged suffering from the want of water and food, Cylon and his brother secretly escape, and the rest dying with hunger seat themselves as suppliants by the altar of the citadel (§§ 9, 10); by false promises the Athenians on guard induce them to come forth, after which they slay them, some even at the altars of the goddesses where they had seated themselves (§ 11); for which impiety they are expelled from their country (§ 12).

1. ἐν τούτῳ—τῷ χρόνῳ, i. e. A. C. 432. Olymp. 87. 1. —— ὅπως is here employed τελικῶς. See N. on I. 65. § 1. —— ὅτι μεγίστη, *as great as possible.*

2. καὶ πρῶτον μέν. Their next demand is given in I. 139, et seq. —— τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ, *to drive away the pollution of the goddess* = *to expel those* (i. e. the descendants of those) *who had polluted the temple of Minerva.* ἄγος ἐλαύνειν = ἀγηλατεῖν, *to drive out an* ἄγος, i. e. one who is guilty of polluting a sacred place, or of sacrilege. What this ἄγος was is told in the sequel.

3. Ὀλυμπιονίκης, *a conqueror in the Olympic games.* He won the prize for the double course (δίαυλος. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 895) A. C. 640. —— τῶν πάλαι depends upon ἀνήρ.

4. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι κ. τ. λ. His ambitious designs were engendered most likely by his success in the Olympic games, his advantages of birth and fortune, and his alliance with Theagenes; and he consulted the oracle to ascertain his probabilities of success and the way to secure it. —— ἐν τῇ....ἑορτῇ is put for ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἑορτῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ. For the repetition of the article, cf. K. § 245. R. 7; Mt. § 277. a.

5. ὁ δὲ παρά τε κ. τ. λ. This took place, as Corsini conjectures, A. C. 612. Cf. Müller's Chron. Tab. (Hist. Dorians, II. p. 453). Others fix the date at A. C. 620. —— ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια, *when the Olympic games came on.* Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 385. b) reads ἐπῆλθον, and cites this passage as illustrative of his rule, that the idea of plurality is signified by plural verbs. The same reading is adopted by Poppo and Goeller. But Arnold has pretty conclusively shown that ἀπῆλθεν is the best reading. —— ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ is added, says the Schol., because there were other games of the same name both in Attica and in Macedonia. —— ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι = *in order to become a* τύραννος. A preposition and its case following ὡς is often put for a participle, as ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν = ὡς ναυμαχήσων. See N. on I. 48. § 1. —— καὶ....νενικηκότι, *and that it had something to do with him, inasmuch as he had been victor in the Olympic games.* For the construction of Ὀλύμπια, cf. S. § 181. 2. See N. on I. 70. § 7.

6. εἰ δὲ—ἤ, *but whether—or.* —— Poppo expresses great doubt whether ἔτι signifies, *ad illud usque tempus* (= prius quam rem aggrederetur), or *jam.* In his Suppl. Adnot. he adds, "fort. τι. An est *præterea*, i. e. ad oraculum?" It may be translated *yet.* Cylon afterwards learned by bitter experience the true import of the oracle, which, as usual, was couched in ambiguous language. —— Διάσια. This was a great festival celebrated at Athens in honor of Jupiter, in which all the people took part. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 333. It took place without the walls of the city, a circumstance favorable to Cylon, as those who would have opposed him were thus drawn out of the city. —— Μειλιχίου (μειλίχιος, *mild, gracious*)

was an epithet given to Jupiter, because he protected those who invoked him with propitiatory sacrifices. Hence *μειλίχια ἱερά, propitiatory offerings.* —— *πολλοὶ....ἐπιχώρια, many* [offered] *not victims but sacrifices peculiar to the country.* This passage has caused much trouble to the commentators. *πολλοὶ* evidently refers to the poorer class, who were unable to offer *ἱερεῖα* (i. e. bloody sacrifices). Hence, with the best editors, I have placed a comma after *θύουσι*. It is also evident by the antithesis, that *θύματα ἐπιχώρια* denotes a less costly kind of sacrifices than *ἱερεῖα*, viz. such as were bloodless, i. e. the fruits of the earth. Arnold and Bloomf. concur with the Schol., who explains it, *cakes made in the shape of animals.* Schmitz (Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 833) says that this explanation of the Schol. is erroneous, and refers it to the incense which the poorer class furnished. But I am unable to see on what argument he bases this idea, and certainly it would be very natural for those, whose means did not enable them to bring an animal, to bring of the fruits of the earth, either in a raw or unprepared state, such as cakes, fruit, wine, etc. Arnold cites Herodot. II. 47, where it is said, that on a certain festival in Egypt, in which swine were necessarily sacrificed, the poorer people offered little figures of dough or paste, made into the shape of swine and baked. —— *γιγνώσκειν* the oracle. —— *τῷ ἔργῳ*, i. e. the taking possession of the acropolis.

8. *χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου, but after some time had elapsed = in process of time.* —— *τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ, being worn down by the siege. προσεδρείᾳ* refers to the labors, watchings, and anxieties of those who were conducting the siege. —— *αὐτοκράτορσι, with full powers.* Cf. V. 27. § 2; 45. § 1; VI. 8. § 2, where this word is used in a similar sense. —— *τότε δέ, for then.* The power of the archons was much abridged after the time of Solon.

9. *οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος*, i. e. Cylon and his party. —— *φλαύρως εἶχον, were in a bad condition.*

10. *ἐκδιδράσκουσιν, escaped by stealth.* Cf. VI. 7. § 2. See N. on I. 128. 5 (end). —— *καί τινες καί, and some even.* —— *ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, at the altar* of Minerva. —— *ἱκέται, as suppliants.*

11. *ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτούς*, "*having raised them*, i. e. induced them to rise." Bloomf. —— *οἱ τῶν....φυλακήν, those of the Athenians* (partitive genitive) *who had been intrusted with the guard. τὴν φυλακὴν* is the accusative of the thing after *ἐπιτετραμμένοι*, according to the formula *τρέπω τινί τι.* Cf. K. § 281. 3; S. § 184. 3. —— *ὡς ἱερῷ.* They thought the sacred ground would be polluted by the bodies of the dead, and hence, by false promises of protection, they prevailed on the suppliants to quit the place. —— *ἐφ' ᾧ* (on condition

that) μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν (sc. αὐτοὺς) is to be constructed with ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτούς. —— ἀπέκτειναν. The subject is contained in οἱ—ἐπιτεταμμένοι. —— ἐπὶ....βωμοῖς, "*ad aras in conspectu Eumenidum.*" Abresch. whom Goel. follows in his last edition. —— τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν is euphemistically put for *the Erinnyes.* The temple of these goddesses was between the citadel and the Areopagus, which illustrates the use of ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ. —— ἐναγεῖς—τῆς θεοῦ, *accursed of the goddess.* —— τὸ γένος of the Alcmæônidæ.

12. στασιαζόντων, *divided into factions.* This was when Isagoras was leader of the oligarchy in Athens, in opposition to Cleisthenes. Between Isagoras and Cleomenes there had been previously formed a connection of friendship and hospitality, and hence the Spartan king came to the aid of his friend. Cf. Herodot. V. 70, et seq. —— κατῆλθον refers to those who had been driven out. —— ἔτι, i. e. in the time of Thucydides.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

The object of the Lacedæmonians in requiring the Athenians to remove the pollution, was to excite odium against Pericles, who belonged to the family of the Alcmæonids, and who was the most powerful man at Athens, and opposed in all respects to the Lacedæmonians (§§ 1–3).

1. ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευον· μετὰ τὸν Κλεομένην. Schol. —— δῆθεν, *forsooth* (see N. on I. 92. § 1), belongs to τιμωροῦντες. —— πρῶτον = *before all things else.* —— εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα—προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ, *knowing that Pericles was implicated in it* (see N. on εἰδέναι, I. 69. § 5). —— μητέρα, i. e. Agariste, the granddaughter of Megacles the son of Alcmæon, a direct descendant of Alcmæon the founder of the family, who flourished A. C. 1100. —— ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ, *if he were exiled.* —— προχωρεῖν. See N. on I. 109. § 3 (init.).

2. τοσοῦτον—ὅσον, *so much—as.* —— τοῦτο, i. e. banishment. —— οἴσειν refers to the subject of ἤλπιζον. —— ὡς....ὁ πόλεμος, *as though the war were in part occasioned by his misfortune.* The Lacedæmonians knew well that the Athenians would refuse to banish Pericles, and by making this one of the grounds of the war, they hoped to place him in the odious position of being, in a manner, the author of all the calamities which would result from it. The article in τὸ μέρος, as Arnold remarks, is employed in reference to the relative term, τὸ ὅλον, or τὸ πᾶν, *the* part being opposed to *the* whole.

3. τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν, *of those in his time = of his contemporaries.* K. § 292. II. 2. —— ἄγων, *while conducting.* See N. on I. 18. § 6. ——

πάντα, *in all respects.* —— ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. This opposition of Pericles to the Lacedæmonians, is ascribed by the Athenian comic writers to the influence of Aspasia. But the bitterness of spirit with which the charge was made, shows its falsehood, or at least its gross exaggeration. The reasons which Pericles himself assigns for persuading the Athenians to go to war with the Lacedæmonians, may be seen in his speech (I. 140 144).

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

The Athenians retort upon the Lacedæmonians, that they shall put away the pollution of which they had been guilty in profaning the sanctuary of Tænarus (§§ 1, 2), and also that of Minerva, by the death of Pausanias. This leads the historian to narrate the circumstances of the treason and death of Pausanias, who, when he had been recalled from his command at the Hellespont and brought to trial, was acquitted, and returned to the Hellespont in a private capacity (§ 3); the first step in his treasonable career had been the sending back some of the king's relations who had been taken prisoners (§§ 4, 5), which thing he had effected by the aid of Gongylus an Eretrian, who had also carried a letter of Pausanias to the king (§ 6), in which an offer was made to betray to Xerxes the whole of Greece (§ 7).

1. ἀναστήσαντες. See N. on I. 126. § 11. —— πότε, *formerly.* —— ἐκ....Ταινάρου, *from the temple of Neptune at Tænarus.* —— ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν. It was probably the memory of this outrage, which occasioned in part the third Messenian war. —— καὶ before σφίσιν belongs to the whole sentence. Krüg. —— νομίζουσι refers to the Athenians. —— τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν. Cf. I. 101. § 2. If the opinion obtained currency, that this earthquake was sent as a judgment for the outrage here spoken of, it will readily be seen how this apparent interposition of the gods in their behalf, must have excited the Helots to strike once more for freedom.

2. Χαλκιοίκου, *dwelling in a brazen house*, was an epithet of Minerva at Sparta.

3. μεταπεμφθεὶς....Ἑλλησπόντῳ. Cf. I. 95. § 3. This event took place A. C. 478. Olymp. 75. 3. —— ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν. "Accuratius res supra I. 95. § 5 relata." Poppo. —— δημοσίᾳ, *by public authority*, opposed to ἰδίᾳ in the next member. —— Ἑρμιονίδα. Some with Hudson regard this as the name of the ship, but it is better to refer it to the place to which the trirème belonged. —— ἄνευ, i. e. without the authority of. —— τῷ μὲν λόγῳ, *in pretence*, is opposed to τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ in the next clause. —— πράσσειν (*to transact*) depends on ἀφικνεῖται. S. § 222. 5. —— τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, i. e. before his recall to

Sparta from his command at the Hellespont. The historian now goes back, and furnishes us with the reason of this recall. This explanatory parenthesis extends to the end of chap. 180, where the history is resumed from his return to the Hellespont as a private person. —— *ἐφιέμεν ἀρχῆς.* S. § 192. 1.

4. *εὐεργεσίαν—ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο, he laid the king under obligation;* literally, *he laid up a favor with the king* (see N. on I. 129. § 3), the metaphor being taken from a deposit of money or any valuable, for safe-keeping in the hands of another. —— *ἀπὸ τοῦδε* relates to the circumstance about to be mentioned. —— *πράγματος*, i. e. the treason.

5. *Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἑλὼν κ. τ. λ.* Cf. I. 94. —— *τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ, on his first arrival.* Bloomf. renders, *on his first approach*, but for what reason it does not appear. The dative denotes time when (S. § 204). —— *βασιλέως προσήκοντες, relations of the king.* The participle here has the force of a substantive. Cf. Mt. § 570. —— *ξυγγενεῖς* refers to relationship by consanguinity, as opposed to *προσήκοντες*, which denotes relationship by affinity. Poppo suggests that the words are placed together here with no difference of signification, in order that the idea of relationship may be more forcibly expressed. —— *ἑάλωσαν.* S. § 207. N. 2. —— *αὐτῷ*, i. e. Byzantium. —— *ἄλλων* than Gongylus to whom Pausanias had confided his secret. —— *ξυμμάχων.* S. § 195. 1. —— *τῷ δὲ λόγῳ.* See N. on § 3 supra. —— *ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, had escaped from him.* This verb signifies *to escape* so as not to be found (cf. Xen. Anab. I. 4. § 8), and in prose is often followed by the accusative.

6. *Γογγύλου.* After the apprehension of Pausanias, Gongylus settled in Mysia, where the king bestowed upon him several towns, as the reward of his treachery. Xenophon, on his arrival in Mysia with the Cyrean forces (A. C. 399), found the widow of Gongylus still living and in the vigor of age. She must therefore have been much younger than her husband. His sons, Gorgion and Gongylus, on Thibron's arrival with the Lacedæmonian forces, surrendered their towns to him and joined the Greeks. —— *ἔπεμψε....Γόγγυλον.* It is probable that Gongylus left Byzantium soon after the pretended escape of the prisoners, although some think that he went in company with them. As he was their keeper, he could better connive at their escape by remaining behind and continuing in command, than though he had left with them. He could easily overtake them, after they had got beyond the reach of the Greeks. —— *αὐτῷ*, i. e. the Persian king.

7. *τούσδε* refers to the captives as being present when the letter was read to the king. See N. on I. 53. § 2. According to Dahl. this negotiation took place A. C. 477. Cf. Class. Mus. I. p. 188. —— *δορ-*

is a poetic form for δόρατι, and is retained by the Attic prose writers in the phrase, δορὶ ἑλεῖν, *to take a prisoner of war*. Cf. K. § 68. 8; S. § 56. —— γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, *I have it in mind = it is my intention*. Notice the change from the third to the first person. —— σὲ—ἀρέσκει. The dative construction is the more common. Cf. K. § 279. 1. —— ἐπὶ Θάλασσαν est *in Asiam Minorem*. Goel. —— τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, *we may in future correspond*.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

Xerxes joyfully receives the proposal of Pausanias, and sends Artabazus to him with a letter (§ 1); in which the king expresses his obligations to him for the return of the captives, accedes to his proposals, and exhorts him to spare no pains to bring the affair to a prosperous issue (§§ 2, 3).

1. Ἀρτάβαζον, *Artabazus*. He was the son of Pharnaces, and one of the most faithful and distinguished of the generals of Xerxes. He accompanied the king in his retreat, as far as the Hellespont, and then returned to Pallene, took Olynthus, and laid siege to Potidæa. Being unsuccessful in his attempt to take the place, he joined Mardonius, and after the battle at Platæa, which was fought contrary to his advice, he fled with 40,000 men across the Hellespont into Asia. The king could not have intrusted to better hands this important and delicate negotiation with Pausanias. —— τήν τε Δασκυλίτιν σατραπείαν, *the satrapy of Dascylitis*. "The satrapy of Dascylium comprehended the cities of the Hellespont, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, extending along the southern shore of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Euxine. It took its name from Dascylium, an inconsiderable town on the shore of the Propontis, where the satrap resided and had a castle surrounded by a park or chase, such as was commonly possessed by the Persian governors. This was the province of which Pharnabazus was afterwards satrap." Arnold. —— Μεγαβάτην, *Megabates* is thought by many to be the same as the person of that name, belonging to the royal family of the Achæmenidæ, and cousin of Darius and Artaphernes, and whose daughter Pausanias designed to marry. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol. II. p. 1006. —— ἀπαλλάξαντα, *having dismissed* from the government. —— ἐπιστολὴν ἀντιπετίθει, *gave a letter in reply*. —— αὐτῷ, i. e. Artabazus. —— διαπέμψαι depends on ἀντεπετίθει which has in it the sense of ἐκέλευε. We might construct ἐπιστολὴν in dependence on διαπέμψαι, as it belongs in sense to both verbs. —— τὴν σφραγῖδα is here taken in the sense of σφράγισμα, the

impression of the signet, which was affixed to letters giving them the stamp of royal authority. Of course the king would not intrust his signet to be carried to such a distance, and which might be used for purposes prejudicial to his interests. The Schol. says that the seal of the Persian king had the image of the king, or of Cyrus the founder of the empire, or of the horse of Darius by whose neighing he obtained the kingdom. —— *ἀποδεῖξαι* to Pausanias. —— *παραγγέλλῃ* is here employed for the optative. See N. on I. 26. § 2; 52. § 3. —— *πράσσειν* depends on *ἀντεπετίθει*.

2. *τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν*, i. e. he dismissed Megabates and assumed his government.

3. *ὧδε....Παυσανίᾳ*. In respect to the simplicity of this exordium, Bloomf. remarks, that it is of the most remote antiquity, and such as occurs not unfrequently in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Cf. Herodot. III. 40. —— *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* may depend on *οὓς* (cf. Mt. 442. 1), *whomsoever of the men = the men whom*. Perhaps it is better with Poppo to regard it as the objective genitive after *εὐεργεσία*. —— *κεῖται οἴκῳ, your good deeds are laid up in our house*. Those who had done the king a service were called Orosangæ (i. e. *εὐεργέται*), and their names were recorded in a book (cf. Esth. 6 : 1), which Haack thinks to have been the historical annals, whence Ctesias derived the materials of his history. —— *μήτε νὺξ μήτ' ἡμέρα κ. τ. λ.*, i. e. labor incessantly, making no distinction between day and night. The expression is probably adagial, like our *he labored day and night*. —— *ὥστε ἀνεῖναι* (from *ἀνίημι*) *πράσσειν, so that you shall be remiss to perform*, gives emphasis to the foregoing proposition, by showing its effect. Cf. K. § 841. 8. —— *τι ἂν = τι ἐκείνων ἄ*. —— *δαπάνη* in almost all the editions before me is *δαπάνῃ*, which seems to conform better to *πλήθει* which follows. —— *κεκωλύσθω*. The imperative 3 pers. perf. pass. (if the reading be *δαπάνη*) is employed to denote the complete termination of the action. Cf. S. § 211. N. 7; Mt. § 500. p. 841. Bloomf. with Poppo and Krüg. supplies *τι ἂν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνῇ*, and Goel. directs us to understand *τὸ παραγίγνεσθαι*. The former of these criticisms is based on the assumption, that *δαπάνῃ* is the true reading. Goel. follows the reading of Dindorf, and of course treats the verb as active. —— *εἴ ποι, if any where*. —— *ἀγαθοῦ, brave and faithful*. —— *ὅπῃ, in what way, how*, qualifies *ἕξει*.

CHAPTER CXXX.

On the receipt of the king's letter, Pausanias becomes vain and arrogant, and adopts the Median dress (§ 1); his imitation of the Persian habits, and extreme haughtiness, betray his ambitious purposes and alienate the allied forces (§ 2).

1. *τὰ γράμματα.* This letter is said to have been accompanied with 500 talents of gold. —— *ὧν....Ἑλλήνων.* The noun *ἀξιώματι*, being derived from the verb *ἀξιόω*, is taken in a passive sense, and is therefore followed by *ὑπὸ* with the genitive. The same construction occurs in VI. 15. Cf. Mt. § 496. 3. See also Xen. Cyr. III. 3. § 2, with my note. —— *πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο* shows that before this time Pausanias had begun to manifest his arrogance. —— *ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ*, i. e. in the Lacedæmonian manner. —— *σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδυόμενος.* The Median robe was much more splendid than the Persian. Allusion is here made to the *κάνδυς*. Cf. Xen. Cyr. I. 3. § 2, with my note. See Also Xen. Anab. I. 5. § 8. Perhaps he put on the *ἀναξυρίδες* and other Median articles of dress, yet it is quite unlikely that he should have so far outraged the feelings of the Greeks, as to have adopted in this stage of the proceedings the entire Persian dress. To have imitated the Persian manners in the least, at a time when he ought to have appeared plain in his dress and affable in his deportment, shows him to have been a weak-minded man, wholly unequal to the achievement of his ambitious designs.——*ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.* This journey was probably undertaken to further his treasonable plans. —— *αὐτὸν—ἐδορυφόρουν = δορυφόροι ἦσαν αὐτοῦ.* Cf. Mt. § 412. 2.

2. *παρετίθετο, he caused to be set for him.* For the force of the middle, cf. K. 250. R. 2; S. § 209. 2. Bloomf. thinks that Pausanias adopted the Persian table as less luxurious than that of the Medes, and holding a midway place between that and the Grecian. In respect to this, Poppo remarks, "temere conjecit. Bloomf." —— *τὴν διάνοιαν* refers to his purpose to betray his country. —— *ἔργοις βραχέσι, in small matters*, such as his costume and mode of living. —— *ἃ.... πράξειν, what greater things he intended to accomplish hereafter. μειζόνως* is an adverb formed from the comparative adjective (S. § 134. 3), and qualifies *πράξειν*. —— *δυσπρόσοδον, difficult of access.* Nepos thus translates, "*aditum patentibus non dabat.*" Pollux (1. 42) places *δυσπρόσοδος* among the epithets of tyrants. —— *ὀργῇ—χαλεπῇ, bad temper, violent passion.* —— *ὥστε* responds to *οὕτω*. —— *διόπερ, on which account.* —— *οὐχ ἥκιστα.* The frequency of the litotes in the writings of Thucydides has been noticed in N. on I. 3. § 1. —— *ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη* (see N. on I. 107. § 7). Cf. I. 95. § 4.

CHAPTER CXXXI

In consequence of these things the Lacedæmonians had recalled Pausanias, and when, on his return to Byzantium, he was found pursuing the same line of conduct, they again summoned him to Sparta (§ 1); this mandate he obeys in order to shun suspicion, at the same time trusting that he could free himself from condemnation by bribery (§ 2).

1. *τό τε πρῶτον.* Cf. I. 95. § 8. —— *καὶ ἐπειδή.* The narrative is now resumed from I. 128. § 4. The apodosis begins with *οὕτω δὴ* infra. —— *τοιαῦτα*, i. e. the same misdemeanors which caused his first recall. —— *βίᾳ—ἐκπολιορκηθείς.* Bloomf. thinks it not improbable that a scene took place, similar to that recorded between Charles XII. and the Turks at Bender. —— *Τρφάδας* is put adjectively as *Ἑλλὰς* for *Ἑλληνικός*. Cf. Mt. § 429. 4; S. § 186. N. 3. —— *πράσσων τε ἐσηγγέλλετο, he was announced as practising.* "*ἀγγέλλειν* with a participle is used of the annunciation of actual events; with an infinitive, of the annunciation of things still uncertain." K. § 311. 10; Cf. Mt. § 555. *Obs.* 2 (end). —— *ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, for the public good.* —— *σκυτάλην, scytale.* "When a king or a general left Sparta, the ephors gave him a staff of a definite length and thickness, and retained for themselves another of precisely the same size. When they had any communication to make to him, they cut the material, upon which they intended to write, into the shape of a narrow riband, wound it round the staff, and then wrote upon it the message which they had to send him. When the strip of writing material was taken from the staff, nothing but single letters appeared, and in this state the strip was sent to the general, who after having wound it around his staff, was able to read the communication." Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 845. —— *τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι*, i. e. that he should return with the herald to Sparta. —— *πόλεμον....προαγορεύειν* = that he should be judged an enemy.

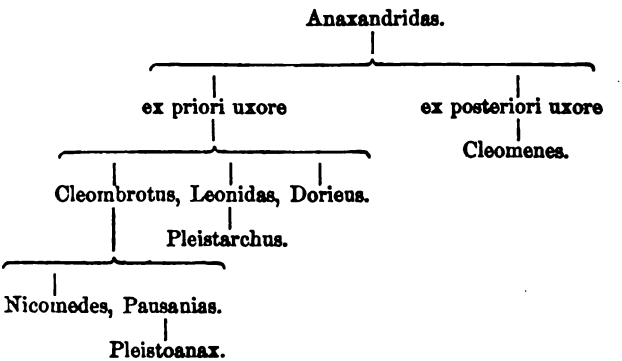
2. *χρήμασι* = *by bribery.* It was probably by this means, that he escaped condemnation when recalled and tried before. Had he been possessed of the sagacity of Themistocles, he would never have adventured himself the second time in Sparta. —— *ἐσπίπτει—ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων.* Intransitive verbs are used as passives, when they are combined with *ὑπὸ* and *πρὸς* with the genitive. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 359. 3. —— *διαπραξάμενος* (sc. *τὸ ἐξελθεῖν*) implies some underhand management in the transaction. —— *περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχειν.* "Usitatius quidem est *ἐλέγχειν τινα* quam *περί τινα*." Haack. Didot would either ex-

punge περὶ or read αὐτοῦ. But the correctness of the text as it now stands, is proved from περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐλέγχων, I. 135. § 2. In respect to the construction of this sentence, τοῖς βουλομένοις limits καθίστησιν and is limited by ἐλέγχειν.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

The Lacedæmonians had not yet evidence sufficient to convict a person of such high dignity (§ 1); but his imitation of the barbarian customs, and his arrogance, especially as evinced in the inscription which he caused to be made upon the tripod at Delphi, excited suspicion that he would not remain quiet (§ 2); the Lacedæmonians had effaced the inscription, but yet it was remembered as a delinquency of Pausanias (§ 3); reports too were in circulation, that he was tampering with the Helots (§ 4); but even thus, the ephors thought it not proper to proceed to extreme severity against him, until one of his emissaries betrayed him, and presented to the ephors his last letter to the king (§ 5).

1. σημεῖον, *proof, evidence.* —— I have followed Krüg. in constructing βεβαίως with πιστεύσαντες. —— γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου, *of the royal family.* —— Πλειστάρχου—ἐπετρόπευεν, *was guardian to Pleistarchus.* Cf. K. § 279. 1. —— ἔτι belongs to ὄντα—νέου. —— ἀνεψιὸς ὤν. For the following genealogical table I am indebted to Goeller.



2. μὴ....παροῦσι, *he was unwilling to be an equal* (as he was) *in the present state of things* = *he wished to be superior to all*, i. e. to be a king in his own right. —— εἴτι που, *if in any way whatever.* —— ἐξεδεδιήτητο....νομίμων, *he had departed in his manner of living from*

the customs of his country. The meaning of this verb will readily be seen in its composition. —— *ἀνέθεσαν, consecrated, dedicated.* See N. on I. 13. § 6. —— *ἀκροθίνιον, as the first fruits.* —— *ἰδίᾳ, of his own authority.* —— *τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε, this distich.* It contains an hexameter and a pentameter, which is the metre of elegy.

8. *ἐξεκόλαψαν, erased.* According to Demosthenes (*κατὰ Νεαίρας*, 1378), the Lacedæmonians were compelled to do this, being cited before the Amphictyons by the Platæans. In addition, they were fined 1000 talents, and ordered to engrave in the place of the effaced inscription, the names of the states taking part in the battle. —— *τότε*, i. e. immediately after it was written. —— *ὅσαι....ἀνάθημα, as many as having united in the defeat of the barbarian presented the offering.* —— *τοῦτ'* refers to the inscription of the distich by Pausanias. —— *ἐν τούτῳ = in the present situation.* —— *παρόμοιον, corresponding with*, is limited by *διανοίᾳ*. —— The subject of *ἐφαίνετο* is *τοῦτο*.

4. *καὶ—δέ, and also, and even.* Cf. Herm. ad Vig. p. 847. —— *οὕτως, thus* in reality. —— *ἐλευθέρωσιν, enfranchisement.*

5. *τῶν....πιστεύσαντες, on any testimony of the Helots;* literally, *by believing any informers of the Helots.* —— *νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν, to take any new step* in the prosecution. For the comparative instead of the positive, see N. on I. 95. § 7. —— *μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι κ. τ. λ.* explains *τῷ τρόπῳ* in the preceding member. —— *βουλεῦσαί* (depending on *ταχεῖς*) *τι ἀνήκεστον*, "*to take such a step as cannot be recalled*, a euphemism for capital punishment." Bloomf. —— *πρίν γε δή, until at last.* —— *αὐτοῖς* depends on *μηνυτὴς γίγνεται, becomes their informer.* —— *ἐπιστολάς*, although in the plural, refers only to one letter. —— *κομιεῖν*, see N. on I. 100. § 3. —— Ἀργίλιος, *an Argilian.* Argilius was a town in Macedonia. —— *παιδικὰ* is here to be taken in its worst sense. Cf. Nepos c. 4, "quem puerum Pausanias amore venereo dilexerat." Poppo and Goel., however, maintain that the term is to be taken in a good sense (= *ἐρώμενος*), but I am not satisfied with their reasons for this. —— *πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ.* If *ποτὲ* is to be repeated, then the idea is that the Argilian was faithful formerly to him, but not at the time here spoken of. But if, as I suppose, it is not to be repeated, then no impeachment is to be made of the fidelity of this man, but his betrayal of his master is to be attributed to the danger, which threatened him if he conveyed the letter to Artabazus. I disapprove therefore of Haack's explanation, "cui ille fidem maxime habebat, quem fidelissimum putabat." —— *δείσας....ὅτι, upon reflection becoming alarmed because.* —— *παραποιησάμενος, having counterfeited.* —— *ἵνα* (telic. See N. on I. 65. § 1) *μὴ ἐπιγνῷ, in order that he* (Pausanias)

might not know that the letter had been opened. For the subjunctive, see N. on I. 20. § 2; 52. § 8. —— ἦν....δόξῃς, *if he was deceived in his opinion* respecting the reason, why none of the former messengers to Artabazus had returned. —— ἐκεῖνος, i. e. Pausanias. —— τι τοιοῦτο προσπεπστάλθαι, *that some such thing had been enjoined.* —— αὑτὸν κτείνειν, *he found himself written therein to be put to death.* Mt (§ 277. p. 511) says that the construction is Ἀργίλιος ἐνεγέγραπτο κτεί νειν for ἐνεγέγραπτο Ἀργίλιον κτείνειν. So Bloomf. explains the con struction: εὗρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον (αὐτόν, i. e. Ἀρτάβαζον) καὶ αὐτὸν κτε νειν, *that Artabazus should put to death him also.*

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

In order that Pausanias may be convicted from his own mouth, the ephors contrive an interview between the accuser and the accused at Tænarus, where the former had been directed to take sanctuary. In this interview Pausanias acknowledges the truth of the accusation in the hearing of the ephors, who had concealed themselves in an adjoining apartment (§ 1).

1. αὐτήκοοι, *ear-witnesses.* —— ἔτι, *yet, in addition.* Against so great a man, nothing short of a confession made in the hearing of the ephors seemed to justify them in proceeding. —— ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς, *by an arrangement, a contrivance.* —— σκηνησαμένου....καλύβην, *having formed for himself a hut double by a partition wall.* Suppliants, instead of taking up their abode in the temple, oftentimes chose to construct for themselves a hut in the τέμενος or sacred precincts, which surrounded the temple and which was included in the *jus asyli.* See Bloomfield's note. καλύβην is what Kühn. (see Jelf's edit. §§ 548. b; 569) calls 'the accusative of cognate notion,' defining the particular nature of the production. —— ἐς ἣν—ἔκρυψε, *into which he brought and concealed.* For the constructio pregnans, see N. on I. 18. § 2. —— The particle τε in τῶν τε ἐφόρων has caused much trouble. Haack, Poppo, and Goeller have bracketed it, and Hart. (de part. I. p. 152) would expunge it, but it is said to be found in every MS. The sense certainly requires its omission, unless with Arnold we supposed a confused construction, and that after τῶν τε ἐφόρων τινὰς ἔκρυψε there should be added the words, καὶ Παυσανίας ὡς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας ἐρωτήσων, or else that τε may be rendered, *also, moreover,* and the clause be considered an interjectional one. In that case ἤσθοντο can be joined, as it should be, with αὐτήκοοι....γενέ σθαι. —— τὴν πρόφασιν, *occasion, cause.* —— τά τε....γραφέντα. Cf.

I. 132. § 5. —— *γραφέντα* is the 2 aor. of *γράφω*. Sophocles (Greek Verbs, p. 47) says the 1 aor. pass. *ἐγράφθην* does not occur, at least in good Greek. —— *καθ' ἕκαστον*, *severally*, *one by one*. —— *οὐδὲν—παραβάλοιτο*, *had never endangered him*, *risked his safety*. This is the interpretation of Poppo, Goel., and Arnold, and seems on the whole preferable to the usual rendering, *had never deceived him*. —— *βασιλέα* of Persia. —— *προτιμηθείη*, is spoken ironically. —— *ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων*, *just like the mass of his servants*. —— *ἀποθανεῖν* depends on *προτιμηθείη* as denoting the manner in which he was about to be honored. S. § 222. 6. —— *κἀκείνου* refers to Pausanias. —— *πίστιν....ἀναστάσεως*. The order is: *διδόντος πίστιν (περὶ) τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, *having pledged his faith that no danger should be incurred by his removal from the altar*. —— *τὰ πρασσόμενα* = *the business in hand*.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

Having thus obtained ample evidence of his guilt, the ephors proceed to apprehend Pausanias, but at the private intimation of one of them, he takes refuge in the temple of Minerva (§ 1), where he is starved to death (§ 2); just as he is about to expire, they carry him out of the sacred enclosure, after which he immediately dies (§ 3); at the command of the oracle his body, which has been buried elsewhere, is interred in the place where he died (§ 4).

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8. μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν, *when he was about to expire.* —— ὥσπερ εἶχεν, *as he was*, i. e. "eo habitu, quo hoc in tempore erat." Poppo. Perhaps it simply means, *blocked up as he was in the temple.* —— ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα, *being just alive;* literally, *while yet breathing*

4. τὸν Καιάδαν, *the Cæadas.* Bloomf. conjectures that this was originally a huge fissure into which dead bodies were thrown, and which was subsequently enlarged and converted into a subterranean prison. The Barathrum at Athens, and the Lithotomiæ at Syracuse may serve to illustrate its nature and use. —— οὗπερ, *where.* —— ἐμβάλλειν depends on ἐμέλλησαν. The context will readily show what words are to be supplied with τοὺς κακούργους. Haack and Bloomf., edit from what they conceive to be good MS. authority, τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἐμβάλλειν. Bloomf. however brackets it. —— πλησίον. There is much difficulty in determining the limiting word. The Schol. says, *near to the Cæadas.* With this, which appears to be the true interpretation, Bloomf., Goel., and Poppo accord. If, as Haack in his second edition supposes, we are to consider it as referring to the place where Pausanias died, then a new substantive must be introduced, since Καιάδαν was last mentioned. Besides, if he was buried near to the place of his death, why did the oracle give any direction for the removal of the body? —— ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, *in the precinct* or *entrance way to the τέμενος.* So Arnold. —— Bloomf. refers ὃ δηλοῦσι to μετενεγκεῖν οὗπερ ἀπέθανε. But it is better to refer it to the words immediately preceding. —— ὡς....πεπραγμένον, *inasmuch as a pollution had been perpetrated by them = as they had been guilty of a pollution.* The participle in the accusative often follows ὡς instead of the genitive. Cf. Mt. § 568. 3; S. § 226. a. —— ὡς ἀντὶ Παυσανίου, *in the stead of Pausanias.* Cf. K. § 290. R. 2.

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1. This is a repetition of what was asserted in I. 128. § 2. —— ὡς κρίναντος. S. § 226. a.

2. The account of the banishment of Themistocles, is not inserted here, because it has any immediate connection with the Peloponnesian war, but from its close relation to what has just been narrated of Pausanias. The fate of so illustrious a personage as Themistocles, was also worthy of a place in a history, which, though confined to the Peloponnesian war, had yet in its plan embraced the most prominent events that had transpired from the time of the Persian invasion under Xerxes. —— τοῦ—Μηδισμοῦ (cf. I. 95. § 5), *the Medism.* This term was used to designate a leaning towards the Median interest, or a partiality for the manners, customs, and dress of the Medes. The charge made against Themistocles followed immediately upon the conviction and death of Pausanias. The Lacedæmonians were stimulated to this, most likely, by a remembrance of the successful manœuvre of Themistocles in respect to the fortification of Athens (cf. I. 90, 91); or by a selfish desire to involve the Athenians in the disgrace, which they had incurred in the defection of their most eminent citizen. —— καί, *also.* —— ἐκ τῶν....ἐλέγχων. "Ex epistolis apud Pausaniam inventis." Poppo. —— τοῖς αὐτοῖς, *in the same manner*, i. e. by death.

3. ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος, *for he happened to be suffering banishment by ostracism.* —— δίαιταν, *residence, abode.* —— μετά, *in connection with.* —— ἑτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν, *who were* (see N. on ὄντες, I. 8. § 1) *ready to join with them in the pursuit.* —— ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν, *wherever they might find him.* K. § 336.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

Themistocles, being informed of his danger, takes refuge with the Corcyræans, by whom he is conveyed to the continent (§ 1); thither being pursued by his enemies, he is forced to throw himself upon the protection of Admetus king of the Molossi, who for certain reasons was hostile to him (§ 2); at the direction of the king's wife, he takes her child by the hand, and sitting upon the hearth awaits the coming in of Admetus, from whom he successfully entreats protection in this time of peril (§ 3).

1. αὐτῶν by constructio κατὰ σύνεσιν (cf. K. 241. 1; S. § 157. N. 1. b) refers to Κερκυραίων implied in Κέρκυραν which precedes. —— ὥστε—ἀπέχθεσθαι, *so as to incur the hatred of, become hateful to.* Λακεδαιμονίοις and Ἀθηναίοις follow as *Dativi incommodi.* ὥστε refers to ἔχειν, and not to the whole sentence δεδιέναι....αὐτόν, as then it would have been μὴ—ἀπέχθοιντο. —— ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, i. e. into Thesprotia. —— καταντικρύ, *over against* Corcyra.

2. διωκόμενος....χωροίη, *being pursued by those who were appointed* (to follow him) *for the purpose of inquiring where he might go*, i. e. being tracked thither by those who were sent to find out his place of retreat. Bloomf. renders κατὰ πύστιν ἢ χωροίη, "(directed) *by inquiry whither he had gone.*" Similar to this is the sense given by Baher: "simpliciter pro πυθόμενοι, *quum audissent.*" Goel. renders it *ex percunctatione*, and this appears to be the sense which Haack by his punctuation attaches to the words. Against such eminent authorities I would be slow to adopt an opinion, yet I cannot but think that the sense I have given is the true one. Cf. Liddell and Scott sub voce πύστις. The optative is explained in N. on I. 49. § 8. —— κατά τι ἄπορον, *in his great strait.* Jacobs explains it by ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀπορίᾳ γενόμενος. —— Μολοσσῶν. Along the sea-coast of Epirus lay in order, from north to south, the Chaones, Thesproti, Cassopæi, and Molossi, but the boundaries of these respective tribes cannot well be defined. Scylax states that the sea-coast of the Molossi was 50 stadia in length, but from this narrow basis their country widened far into the interior. The boundaries of the state were greatly enlarged by its enterprising kings, so that it was quite powerful at the time here spoken of. Cf. Leake's North. Greece, IV. pp. 174–184. —— ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον. Nepos by some oversight says, "cum quo ei hospitium fuerat." —— καταλῦσαι, literally, *to unloose* or *unbind* the beasts of burden, i. e. to *unharness* or *unload* them. This verb is followed by παρὰ Ἄδμητον, in the sense of *to stop with Admetus.*

3. οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, *happened not to be at home.* —— τὸν παῖδα. Nepos writes, "filiam ejus parvulam arripuit." This deviation from the text of Thucydides, would lead us to conjecture that he followed some other writer, unless he was grossly careless. —— καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν. The domestic fireplace, as the shrine of the household gods, was always regarded by the ancients with veneration and religious attachment. Hence, to sit down by the hearth was regarded as a posture making the strongest appeal for mercy and favor. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 427. —— δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι, *he discloses his name;* literally, *he makes known who he is.* For this use of the relative, cf. Mt. § 485; S. § 174. 1. —— οὐκ ἀξιοῖ = ἀνάξιόν φησιν εἶναι (cf. Mt. 608. 1). —— εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν, *if perhaps he had opposed.* The extenuating force of εἰ—ἄρα is here beautifully seen. —— τιμωρεῖσθαι referring to Admetus depends upon ἀξιοῖ. —— καὶ γὰρ.... πάσχειν, *for that he could be ill treated, at the present time, by one far less powerful than him* (i. e. Admetus). Most of the editors and critics prefer the reading ἀσθενεστέρος (conforming to αὐτὸς both before and after), although against almost all MS. authority. This would

give the sense: *for he would receive injury* (from Admetus) *now when he was far his inferior in power.* Both readings imply the same general idea, viz. the abject condition of Themistocles. —— γενναῖον belongs to τιμωρεῖσθαι the subject of εἶναι. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου = τοὺς ὄντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, *who are on equal terms.* —— καὶ ἅμα, *and at the same time.* —— αὐτὸς....ἐναντιωθῆναι, *he had opposed him* (i. e. Admetus) *in a matter of interest* (only), *and not in that which pertained to the saving of his life.* χρείας τινὸς depends on ἐναντιωθῆναι (= εἴργειν) as the genitive of separation. Cf. K. § 271. 2. Some commentators supply περὶ or ἕνεκα. Cf. Mt. § 868. 5. Bloomf. cites Xen. Anab. VII. 6. § 5. ἐναντιώσεται τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς, *will be opposed to the leading away.* At σῶμα Bloomf. unnecessarily supplies κατά. Poppo and Goel. consider the article to be taken twice with σῶμα and σώζεσθαι, and refer to Vig. p. 720. 20. —— ἂν in ἐκεῖνον δ' ἂν belongs to ἀποστερῆσαι, the second being a repetition in consequence of the parenthesis εἰπὼν....διώκεται. Cf. Mt. § 600. —— ἐφ' ᾧ, *for what reason.* —— σωτηρίας, "*means of preserving.*" Bloomf. —— ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας. Poppo and some others make this the beginning of chap. 137. —— ὥσπερ τοῦτο is enclosed by Poppo, Goeller, and Arnold, in the marks of parenthesis, and thus they connect ἀνίστησί τε and καὶ—οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν. —— ὥσπερ....ἐκαθέζετο, "*in the way that he had sat himself down,* i. e. with hands joined." Bloomf. "Nos sic intelligimus: ut puerum tenens sederat, ita cum puero surgere eum jussit." Poppo (Suppl. Adnot. p. 151). —— καὶ μέγιστον with the Molossians.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

Admetus refuses to give up Themistocles to his pursuers and sends him to Pydna (§ 1); thence embarking on board a merchant-ship bound for Ionia, on his passage he narrowly escapes the Athenian fleet lying before Naxos, and finally lands at Ephesus (§ 2); having rewarded the shipmaster, he proceeds into the interior and sends a letter to Artaxerxes (§ 3); in which letter he excuses the necessity he was under of opposing the Persian invasion, refers to the benefits he has conferred upon Xerxes, and promises to render to the king good service in return for his protection (§ 4).

1. πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν = *uttering many threats.* —— βασιλέα of Persia. τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν, i. e. the Ægean sea. —— πεζῇ, *by land.* —— Πύδναν. See N. on I. 61. § 2. —— τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, *belonging to Alexander* (I., the tenth king of Macedonia).

2. ἐν ᾗ, *where,* i. e. in Pydna. —— ὁλκάδος, *a ship of burden, a merchant-ship.* These ships were oval with broad bottoms. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 877. —— ἀναγομένης. See N.

on I. 48. § 1. —— *ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον.* Cf. I. 98. § 4. —— *ὅστις ἐστί.* See N. on *ὅς ἐστι*, I. 136. § 3, which would have been more in point for Matthiæ to have cited than this passage. —— *χρήμασι πεισθείς = being bribed.* —— *τὴν....εἶναι, and that it would be for his safety*, or *his only* (*τὴν*) *safety would consist in.* The subject of *εἶναι* is *μηδέν'.... γένηται.* —— *μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται, until there should be a fair wind for sailing.* Cf. Xen. Anab. VI. 1. § 22. Some erroneously translate, *as long as the voyage should last.* The object of this direction was to prevent any of the crew, who might happen to recognize him, from communicating with his enemies. —— *πεισθέντι δ' αὐτῷ, to him being persuaded = if he consented* to the proposal. —— *ἀπομηχήσεσθαι.* Repeat *φράζει.* —— *ἀποσαλεύσας, having rode at anchor in the open sea.* —— *ὑπὲρ = off*, probably as far to the windward as possible, in order that no one should board the vessel from the Athenian fleet. Nepos translates *ὑπέρ*, *procul.* In reading this account of the perilous position of Themistocles, in full sight of his enemies, we are reminded of those beautiful lines of Sir Walter Scott, in his Lord of the Isles:

So bore they on with mirth and pride,
And if that laboring bark they spied,
'Twas with such idle eye
As nobles cast on lowly boor,
When, toiling in his task obscure,
They pass him careless by.
Let them sweep on with heedless eyes!
But had they known what mighty prize
In that frail vessel lay,
The famished wolf that prowls the wold
Had scathless passed the unguarded fold,
Ere, drifting by these galleys bold,
Unchallenged were her way!

8. *ἐθεράπευσε, rewarded.* Port. renders *liberaliter prosequi.* —— *γὰρ* explains how it was that Themistocles had money to reward the shipmaster. —— *ἃ = τὰ χρήματα ἅ*, of which the antecedent is the subject of *ἦλθε.* —— *ὑπεξέκειτο, he had put safely away.* Perhaps *ὑπὸ-* imparts the idea of *privately* or *secretly* to the verb. After his condemnation at Athens, his property to the amount of 100 talents was seized and confiscated. —— *μετὰ....τινος, with one of the Persians dwelling on the coast.* According to Diod. his name was Lysithides, but Plutarch calls him Nicogenes. —— *ἄνω*, i. e. into the interior. —— *ἐσπέμπει γράμματα.* He probably sent the letter by Nicogenes.

4. *ὅτι* serves here as a mark of quotation. S. § 213. 1. "This brief

letter to Artaxerxes is as evidently the composition of Thucydides himself, as the celebrated oration which he puts into the mouth of Pericles. Each has the hard, rigid, grasping style so peculiar to the historian, and to which no other Greek writer bears the slightest resemblance. But the matter may be more genuine than the diction." Bulwer (Athens, II. p. 167. N). —— Θεμιστοκλῆς is in apposition with ἐγὼ understood. —— Ἑλλήνων limits ὃς taken partitively. —— τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, "*in domum tuam.*" Nepos. —— ἐμοὶ (= τῇ ἐμῇ πατρίδι) limits ἐπιόντα, and ἀνάγκῃ is to be taken with ἠμυνόμην. —— πλείω ἀγαθά. Repeat εἴργασμαι. —— ἐν....ἐμοί. The Schol. supplies τὰ πράγματα ἦσαν, but why may we not draw to this clause ἐγίγνετο from the next member, to be taken impersonally (= ἀσφαλὲς ἐμοὶ ἐγίγνετο)? —— Bothe refers ἀποκομιδῇ to both members, giving it the sense of *return*, when applied to Themistocles, and *retreat* as applicable to Xerxes. But this dilogia is harsh and unnecessary. —— γράψας.... διάλυσιν is parenthetically introduced, being the words of the historian, who briefly adverts to the reasons urged by Themistocles in favor of his being hospitably received by the king. γράψας is to be referred back to ἐδήλου δ' ἡ γραφὴ = ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς. Haack takes γράψας in an absolute sense for ἔγραψε γάρ. —— τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως of the Greeks. Arnold thinks that this refers to the admonition given to the king by Themistocles after the battle of Salamis, that he should retreat without delay, and as to the statement of Herodotus, that this warning was sent from Andros instead of Salamis, Thucydides may have had real grounds for his assertion, or it may have been an oversight. But I see no reason to suspect that Xerxes was ever acquainted with the real object of the message, informing him of the intended flight of the Greek fleet. If he had become aware of it, how could he be induced to receive (as he did) the second message from Themistocles as an act of kindness? And how could Themistocles at this time urge the second message as a proof of his good will to the king, if the treacherous design of his first message had not been misunderstood? It may also be added, that the same person is said to have conveyed both messages to the king, which appears to me to be conclusive that the latter was blind to the real design of the transaction. I must think therefore that τὴν....προάγγελσιν refers to the message sent to the king before the battle of Salamis. —— τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν— οὐ διάλυσιν (*the not breaking down*) = γράψας ὃ (*that*) αἱ γεφυραὶ οὐ διελύθησαν. Cf. K. § 318. 3; Mt. § 608. 1. Haack so punctuates as to connect τότε with προσεποιήσατο, but the best sense is yielded by the order, τὴν τότε οὐ διάλυσιν τῶν γεφυρῶν. Poppo and Goel. read for δι' αὐτόν, *through him* (i. e. by the instrumentality of Themistocles),

δι' αὐτόν, *on account of him* (i. e. for the sake of Xerxes). —— καὶ νῦν ἔχων (= *being able*) recommences the direct words of Themistocles. —— ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχών, *having tarried a year.* S. § 186. 2. —— περὶ ὧν = ἐκεῖνα περὶ ὧν, of which the antecedent is governed by δηλῶσαι.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

The king approving of what he said, Themistocles applies himself to the study of the Persian language and customs (§ 1); after which, proceeding to the court he soon gains an unbounded influence over the king (§ 2), which was the result of his talents (§ 3); his death (§ 4); a monument is erected for him at Magnesia (§ 5), but his relations say that his bones were privately conveyed to Athens (§ 6); thus ended the fortunes of Pausanias and Themistocles (§ 7).

1. τὴν διάνοιαν, *understanding, prudence.* Some render, *spirit, boldness*, and others, *plans, intentions.* —— οὕτως as he had said. See I. 137. § 4 (end). —— ὃν ἐπέσχε. Cf. ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχών supra. —— γλώσσης....κατενόησε. The order and construction is: κατενόησε γλώσσης τοσοῦτα ὅσα ἠδύνατο καταμαθεῖν, *he learned as much of the language as he could.* The proficiency in the Persian language attributed to him by Cor. Nepos, is highly exaggerated.

2. παρ' αὐτῷ, i. e. with Artaxerxes. —— ὅσος....Ἑλλήνων explains and makes emphatic the preceding μέγας, and therefore καὶ is *etsi.* —— ἀξίωσιν, *dignity.* Cf. II. 34. § 6. —— δουλώσειν, sc. αὐτὸ (i. e. τὸ Ἑλληνικόν), which is wanting here because by attraction it has already appeared in the previous proposition (τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα), to which ἦν....δουλώσειν is added by way of explanation. Cf. K. § 847. 2; Mt. § 296. 3. αὐτῷ limits ὑπετίθει and not δουλώσειν as Bloomf. asserts Krüg. makes δουλώσειν depend on ἐλπίδα, as though it were written ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα δουλώσειν. —— ἀπὸ τοῦ and ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι are to be joined, and so Jacob explains, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ξυνετὸς ἐφαίνετο, οὗ πεῖραν ἐδίδου. But διδοὺς is *quum daret* and not *dedisset*, as Poppo and Haack, after Kistem., rightly remark.

3. Thucydides in this section sketches with a masterly hand the prominent characteristics of this eminent man, of whom Bulwer says (Athens, II. p. 170), "after him the light of the heroic age seems to glimmer and to fade, and even Pericles himself appears dwarfed and artificial beside that masculine and colossal intellect, which broke into fragments the might of Persia, and baffled with a vigorous ease the gloomy sagacity of Sparta." —— ἦν—δηλώσας = *was a man who showed.* —— δὴ gives emphasis to βεβαιότατα. K. § 815. 2. —— διαφερόντως

τι, *somewhat remarkably*. Cf. Mt. § 487. 4. —— *ἐς αὐτό*, i. e. *εἰς τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς φύσεως*. Schol. "Accuratius Schol. *ἐς τὸ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλοῦν* dixisset." Poppo. —— *ἄξιος θαυμάσαι*, *worthy to be admired*. Cf. K. § 306. R. 10; Mt. § 535. *b. Obs.* —— *οἰκείᾳ* (= *ἰδιᾳ*), *his own, native*. —— *οὔτε προμαθὼν—οὔτ' ἐπιμαθών*, "*without the aids of early culture or after study*." Bloomf. The idea is, that he had no special training for public life, nor did he, after he entered upon public duties, attempt to fit himself by study for their proper discharge. *αὐτὴν* refers to the preceding *οἰκείᾳ ξυνέσει*. —— *τῶν τε παραχρῆμα*, *of present emergencies*, is opposed here to *τῶν μελλόντων*, *of future measures*. Bloomfield gives to *τῶν τε παραχρῆμα* the idea of measures, which call for immediate action and admit of little time for deliberation. So we say, *on the spur of the moment*. —— *γνώμων* = *κριτής*, *judge*. —— *τῶν μελλόντων εἰκαστής*. There are four methods of constructing this sentence, either to make *τοῦ γενησομένου* depend on *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, and *τῶν μελλόντων* upon *εἰκαστής*; or *τοῦ γενησομένου* upon *εἰκαστής*, and *τῶν μελλόντων* upon *τοῦ γενησομένου*; or *τῶν μελλόντων* upon *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* and *τοῦ γενησομένου* upon *εἰκαστὴς* (Krüger's construction); or to place *τοῦ γενησομένου* in epexegetical apposition with *τῶν μελλόντων*. The first of these methods is adopted by the best critics, and is thus rendered by Bloomfield, "*and of the future even far forward he was the best conjecturer*." I was at first inclined to follow the fourth method of construction, which is adopted by Jacobs, but a more close examination of the passage has satisfied me that the first is the true interpretation, inasmuch as it accords with the natural order of the words, and annexes *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου* to *τῶν μελλόντων* by way of emphasis, which is far better than to suppose some subtle distinction between *τῶν μελλόντων* and *τοῦ γενησομένου*, or that the latter is epexegetical of the former, which is so plain a term as to be beyond the need of explanation. —— *ἃ....ἔχοι*, *whatever he might have in hand*, i. e. whatever business he might undertake. Wyttenb. places *μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι* in opposition to *ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη*, and therefore gives it the sense of *μεταχειρίζοιτο*, *frequenti usu tractare soleret*. So Arnold: *what things he was practically versed in*. —— *ἐξηγήσασθαι*, *to discuss it, make it plain by discussion*, is a better translation than Arnold's, *to conduct* (matters) *to their issue*, since it is more consentaneous with the oppositional clause *κρῖναι....ἀπήλλακτο*, *he was not without the ability to judge with sufficient accuracy* (*ἱκανῶς*). In respect to this latter clause, *κρῖναι* may be regarded as a genitive after *ἀπήλλακτο* (S. § 197. 2), the article *τοῦ* being omitted (S. § 222. 2). —— *ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι* (sc. *ὄν*), *being yet in uncertainty*, i. e. the issue of which being yet uncertain. —— *τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν*, *to sum up the whole*. Cf. K. § 341. R.

8; S. § 223. 2. —— *κράτιστος δή*. See N. on *βεβαιότατα δή* supra. —— *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, to plan off-hand, "ex tempore agere."* Betant.

4. *νοσήσας, by sickness*, opposed to a violent death. This account of Thucydides is far more rational and worthy of credit, than that which attributes his death to poison administered by himself. —— *καὶ also*) belongs to the whole sentence and not to *ἑκούσιον* alone. —— *ἐπιτελέσαι* is the subject of *εἶναι*.

5. *οὖν, therefore*, i. e. in consequence of his having died at Magnesia (*Μαγνησίᾳ—τῇ Ἀσιανῇ*, i. e. *Magnesia* on the river Mæander). —— *Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον* (= *εἰς ἄρτον*. Cf. *εἰς ζώνην*, Xen. Anab. I. 4. § 9) *Magnesia for bread.* The last of these substantives shows the design of the former. Cf. Mt. § 433. *Obs.* 3. —— *προσέφερε* to Themistocles. —— *Λάμψαχον*. Repeat mentally *δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ*. —— *τῶν τότε, of the cities of that time.* S. § 169. 1.

6. *τὰ δὲ....οἴκαδε*. The order is: *οἱ προσήκοντές φασι τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ κομισθῆναι οἴκαδε*. —— *γὰρ* explains why his bones were conveyed to Attica unbeknown to the Athenians (*κρύφα Ἀθηναίων*).

7. *τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν*, "*res Pausaniæ.*" Mt. § 272. 4. *b*. —— *οὕτως* as has been described in chaps. 128–138.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

This demand for the expulsion of the sacrilegious having been made, the Lacedæmonians require the Athenians to retire from Potidæa, restore Ægina to independence, and rescind the decree concerning Megara (§ 1); to none of which demands the Athenians accede, but recriminate the Megareans (§ 2); the Lacedæmonians then send an embassy of three persons to Athens, requiring the Athenians to permit every Greek state to be governed by its own laws (§ 3); an assembly of the Athenians having been convened on this occasion, some give their opinion in favor of war, and others against it, upon which Pericles delivers a speech in which he strongly urges the necessity of war (§ 4).

1. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κ. τ. λ.* The narration is now resumed from I. 126. § 2. —— *ἐπί, by.* —— *περὶ....ἐλάσεως, concerning the expulsion of the accursed.* See N. on I. 126. §§ 2, 11. —— *Ποτιδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι*. See N. on I. 61. § 3. Cf. I. 64–67. § 1. —— *Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι*. See N. on I. 67. § 2. —— *τὸ....πόλεμον, if they would revoke the decree concerning the Megareans* (cf. I. 67. § 4), *there should be no war;* literally, *to them revoking—there should be no war.* In respect to the protasis, see N. on I. 71. § 6 (init.). *μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι* = *μὴ γενήσεσθαι*. See N. on I. 71. § 5.

2. *τἆλλα* in respect to the decree against the Megareans especially

τι, *somewhat remarkably*. Cf. Mt. § 487. 4. —— *ἐς αὐτό*, i. e. *εἰς τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς φύσεως*. Schol. "Accuratius Schol. *ἐς τὸ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλοῦν* dixisset." Poppo. —— *ἄξιος θαυμάσαι*, *worthy to be admired*. Cf. K. § 306. R. 10; Mt. § 535. *b. Obs.* —— *οἰκείᾳ* (= *ἰδιᾳ*), *his own, native*. —— *οὔτε προμαθὼν—οὔτ' ἐπιμαθών*, "*without the aids of early culture or after study*." Bloomf. The idea is, that he had no special training for public life, nor did he, after he entered upon public duties, attempt to fit himself by study for their proper discharge. *αὐτὴν* refers to the preceding *οἰκείᾳ ξυνέσει*. —— *τῶν τε παραχρῆμα*, *of present emergencies*, is opposed here to *τῶν μελλόντων*, *of future measures*. Bloomfield gives to *τῶν τε παραχρῆμα* the idea of measures, which call for immediate action and admit of little time for deliberation. So we say, *on the spur of the moment*. —— *γνώμων* = *κριτής*, *judge*. —— *τῶν μελλόντων εἰκαστής*. There are four methods of constructing this sentence, either to make *τοῦ γενησομένου* depend on *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, and *τῶν μελλόντων* upon *εἰκαστής*; or *τοῦ γενησομένου* upon *εἰκαστής*, and *τῶν μελλόντων* upon *τοῦ γενησομένου*; or *τῶν μελλόντων* upon *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* and *τοῦ γενησομένου* upon *εἰκαστὴς* (Krüger's construction); or to place *τοῦ γενησομένου* in epexegetical apposition with *τῶν μελλόντων*. The first of these methods is adopted by the best critics, and is thus rendered by Bloomfield, "*and of the future even far forward he was the best conjecturer*." I was at first inclined to follow the fourth method of construction, which is adopted by Jacobs, but a more close examination of the passage has satisfied me that the first is the true interpretation, inasmuch as it accords with the natural order of the words, and annexes *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου* to *τῶν μελλόντων* by way of emphasis, which is far better than to suppose some subtle distinction between *τῶν μελλόντων* and *τοῦ γενησομένου*, or that the latter is epexegetical of the former, which is so plain a term as to be beyond the need of explanation. —— *ἃ....ἔχοι*, *whatever he might have in hand*, i. e. whatever business he might undertake. Wyttenb. places *μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι* in opposition to *ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη*, and therefore gives it the sense of *μεταχειρίζοιτο*, *frequenti usu tractare soleret*. So Arnold: *what things he was practically versed in*. —— *ἐξηγήσασθαι*, *to discuss it, make it plain by discussion*, is a better translation than Arnold's, *to conduct* (matters) *to their issue*, since it is more consentaneous with the oppositional clause *κρῖναι....ἀπήλλακτο*, *he was not without the ability to judge with sufficient accuracy* (*ἱκανῶς*). In respect to this latter clause, *κρῖναι* may be regarded as a genitive after *ἀπήλλακτο* (S. § 197. 2), the article *τοῦ* being omitted (S. § 222. 2). —— *ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι* (sc. *ὄν*), *being yet in uncertainty*, i. e. the issue of which being yet uncertain. —— *τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν*, *to sum up the whole*. Cf. K. § 341. R.

8; S. § 223. 2. —— *κράτιστος δή*. See N. on *βεβαιότατα δή* supra. —— *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, to plan off-hand, "ex tempore agere."* Betant.

4. *νοσήσας, by sickness*, opposed to a violent death. This account of Thucydides is far more rational and worthy of credit, than that which attributes his death to poison administered by himself. —— *καὶ also*) belongs to the whole sentence and not to *ἑκούσιον* alone. —— *ἐπιτελέσαι* is the subject of *εἶναι*.

5. *οὖν, therefore*, i. e. in consequence of his having died at Magnesia (*Μαγνησίᾳ—τῇ Ἀσιανῇ*, i. e. *Magnesia* on the river Mæander). —— *Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον* (= *εἰς ἄρτον*. Cf. *εἰς ζώνην*, Xen. Anab. I. 4. § 9) *Magnesia for bread.* The last of these substantives shows the design of the former. Cf. Mt. § 433. *Obs.* 3. —— *προσέφερε* to Themistocles. —— *Ἀμψαχον*. Repeat mentally *δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ*. —— *τῶν τότε, of the cities of that time.* S. § 169. 1.

6. *τὰ δὲ....οἴκαδε*. The order is: *οἱ προσήκοντές φασι τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ κομισθῆναι οἴκαδε*. —— *γὰρ* explains why his bones were conveyed to Attica unbeknown to the Athenians (*κρύφα Ἀθηναίων*).

7. *τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν*, "*res Pausaniæ.*" Mt. § 272. 4. *b*. —— *οὕτως* as has been described in chaps. 128–138.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

This demand for the expulsion of the sacrilegious having been made, the Lacedæmonians require the Athenians to retire from Potidæa, restore Ægina to independence, and rescind the decree concerning Megara (§ 1); to none of which demands the Athenians accede, but recriminate the Megareans (§ 2); the Lacedæmonians then send an embassy of three persons to Athens, requiring the Athenians to permit every Greek state to be governed by its own laws (§ 3); an assembly of the Athenians having been convened on this occasion, some give their opinion in favor of war, and others against it, upon which Pericles delivers a speech in which he strongly urges the necessity of war (§ 4).

1. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κ. τ. λ.* The narration is now resumed from I. 126. § 2. —— *ἐπί, by.* —— *περὶ....ἐλάσεως, concerning the expulsion of the accursed.* See N. on I. 126. §§ 2, 11. —— *Ποτιδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι*. See N. on I. 61. § 3. Cf. I. 64–67. § 1. —— *Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι*. See N. on I. 67. § 2. —— *τὸ....πόλεμον, if they would revoke the decree concerning the Megareans* (cf. I. 67. § 4), *there should be no war;* literally, *to them revoking—there should be no war.* In respect to the protasis, see N. on I. 71. § 6 (init.). *μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι* = *μὴ γενήσεσθαι*. See N. on I. 71. § 5.

2. *τἄλλα* in respect to the decree against the Megareans especially

referred to in the next clause. —— *ἐπεργασίαν* is the accusative of that wherein the blame consists (cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 568; Mt. § 370. *Obs.* 2). In respect to the charge here brought against the Megareans, land that was *ἀόριστος* (*without boundaries*) might be used for pasturage, but could not be fenced off and applied to purposes of agriculture, as in the case of private property. On the boundaries of states and nations, strips of land were thus left as a common, in order to prevent disputes about boundary lines. That this common might remain such, it was consecrated to the gods, and hence to enclose and till it was regarded as a sacrilegious act. The *καὶ* before *τῆς ἀορίστου* is epexegetical, *even*. Goeller without reason, thinks that two kinds of land are referred to, viz. the land dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses (Ceres and Proserpine), and that on the confines of the state. —— *ἀνδραπόδων*. The slaves of Aspasia are supposed to be here meant. Cf. Athen. 570, and Aristoph. Acharn. v. 525, cited by Wass.

3. *λεγόντων....εἰώθεσαν*, *repeating nothing else of the things which they were wont to speak of*, i. e. they waved all the other points of dispute, and confined themselves to one requisition, which indeed was so broad as to cover the whole ground. *ὧν* = *ἐκείνων ἅ*, of which the antecedent depends on *ἄλλο οὐδέν* taken partitively, and the relative upon *λέγειν* to be supplied with *εἰώθεσαν*. Some with Matthiæ (§ 366. *d*) construct *ὧν* in dependence on *ἄλλο* implying comparison, and render, *nothing different from the demands formerly made*. But this is less natural, and does not harmonize with *αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε* (sc. *λεγόντων*), which is adversative = *but saying these things only*. —— *ὅτι*. See N. on I. 137. § 4 (init.). —— *τὴν εἰρήνην* = *the peace which now is*. —— *εἴη δ' ἄν*, sc. *εἰρήνη*. The protasis is *εἰ....ἀφεῖτε*, with which the quotation ends. The general construction is *πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων—καὶ λεγόντων—ποιήσαντες—οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—προυτίθεσαν*. The quotation *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀφεῖτε* is properly in apposition with *αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε*. —— *γνώμας προυτίθεσαν*, *they freely exchanged their sentiments*. —— *ἅπαξ*, *once for all*. —— *ἁπάντων* the demands of the Lacedæmonians and the points of dispute. These words are to be taken with *ἀποκρίνασθαι*.

4. *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα*. Bloomf. supplies *μέρη*, and remarks that the phrase is a very rare one. —— *ταῖς γνώμαις*. S. § 202. 4. —— *καὶ ὡς χρὴ....εἰρήνης* contains the two conflicting opinions of the assembly, and is to be constructed with *ἔλεγον*. I have therefore followed Bekker, Poppo, Haack, and Arnold in placing a comma after *γνώμαις*, which Dindorf and Goel. omit. —— *τὸ ψήφισμα* concerning Megara. Cf. § 1 supra. —— *εἰρήνης* depends on *ἐμπόδιον*. —— *καθελεῖν*. Repeat mentally *τὸ ψήφισμα*. —— *λέγειν....δυνατώτατος* = *a most eloquent speaker and able statesman*. S. § 222. 6.

CHAPTERS CXL.—CXLIV.

These chapters contain the oration of Pericles, which has for its leading idea, that war should be preferred to making any concessions to the Peloponnesians. After a brief exordium (140. § 1), he enters upon his argument, which has two divisions: the cause of the war, or the τὸ δίκαιον 140. § 2—141. § 1), and the means of carrying it on, or the τὸ ὠφέλιμον (141. § 2—chap. 143). This second division is opposed to the words of the Corinthians (chap. 121, et seq.), and is subdivided into two parts, in the first of which (141. § 2—143. § 2) the resources of the Peloponnesians and their method of carrying on war are considered; and in the second (143. §§ 3—5) are shown in advantageous contrast, the circumstances and condition of the Athenians. Then follows the response which the orator would have them give to the Lacedæmonians (144. §§ 1, 2), and to this is subjoined a short peroration (144. §§ 3–5). This is one of the most finished and elaborate speeches in the whole history, and in dignity and loftiness of sentiment, is but little inferior to the celebrated funeral discourse of the same orator and statesman (II. 35–46). It seems to have carried all before it, and so broken down opposition, that a decree was forthwith made conformable to the counsel given in the speech.

CHAPTER CXL.

The orator begins by advising the Athenians to make no concessions to the Peloponnesians, premising at the same time, that the ardor with which a war is commenced, is abated in proportion to the increase of difficulties which may attend its prosecution, and hence those who resolve on war should vigorously support it even in the event of disastrous occurrences (§ 1); the Lacedæmonians are charged with endeavoring to do the Athenians harm, a proof of which is their refusal to submit the differences to fair arbitration, according to the mode of adjusting difficulties stipulated in the treaty (§ 2); their desire for war is evinced in their dictation concerning Potidæa, Ægina, and Megara, and especially in their last imperious demand (§ 3); no one should think that the rescinding of the decree concerning Megara was a small matter (§ 4), for if they yielded to this, greater demands would be made upon them (§ 5).

1. τῆς....ἔχομαι, *I still adhere to the same opinion.* For the genitive, see N. on γνώμης, I. 22. § 1. —— μὴ εἶκειν Πελοποννησίοις explains τῆς γνώμης. —— καίπερ....πράσσοντας, *although I know* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *that men carry on war not with the same ardor* (ὀργῇ) *which they feel when persuaded to engage in it;* literally, *that men are persuaded to go to war with an ardor not the same as* (= much greater than) *that with which they carry it on.* Cf. ἐνομίσθησαν....

ἐπεξέρχεται, I. 120. § 5. τε and καὶ respond to each other, and ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας, like πολεμεῖν, is modified by τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους. —— πρός, *according to.* —— γνώμας depends on τρεπομένους (mid. voice) the preceding καὶ being *also.* —— ὁρῶ—ξυμβουλευτέα μοι ὄντα. S. §§ 225. 7; 206. 4. The subjects of ὄντα are ὁμοῖα and παραπλήσια. The καὶ which connects these nouns has the sense of ἤ, *or.* —— δικαιῶ, *I think it just* = I wish as a matter of justice. —— τοῖς—δόξασιν depends on βοηθεῖν which has for its subject τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους. —— ἢ....μεταποιεῖσθαι, *or if we are successful* (κατορθοῦντας, a varied construction for ἢν κατορθῶμεν), *not to lay claim to superior discernment.* τῆς ξυνέσεως has the same construction as γνώμης in § 1. —— γὰρ after ἐνδέχεται introduces the reason for the exhortation contained in τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους....σφαλλώμεθα, as if the writer had said: and reverses must be expected, *for the issue of events is no less uncertain than the counsels of men.* ἀμαθῶς refers to events, the issue of which is beyond the power of calculation, i. e. which take an unforeseen and uncertain course. —— διόπερ, i. e. on account of the uncertainty of human plans. —— τύχην—αἰτιᾶσθαι. The genitive denoting the crime is τοσούτων the omitted antecedent of ὅσα. —— εἰώθαμεν, 2 perf. of ἔθω, with the signification of the present.

2. πρότερον. The Schol. refers this to the time when the Lacedæmonians endeavored to hinder the Athenians from walling their city. But that event is too remote to have been made use of by Pericles, and reference must be had, in the expression, to more recent instances of Lacedæmonian interference. —— δῆλοι ἦσαν. See N. on I. 93. § 2 (init.). —— καὶ νὺν responds to πρότερόν τε. —— εἰρημένον γάρ, *for although* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *it had been agreed upon* (see N. on I. 76. § 2). The apodosis begins with οὔτε αὐτοὶ δίκας κ. τ. λ. —— ἔχειν....ἔχομεν, *and that each shall remain in possession of what we have,* until it is judicially decided that the possession is illegal. Bloomf. remarks that this is one of the most ancient examples of the stipulation called the *uti possidetis.* —— αὐτοί, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. —— δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε. Archidamus advised them to do this, but his advice was rejected. Cf. I. 85. § 2. —— ἡμῶν διδόντων (sc. δίκας), *when we offered to submit to trial.* —— λόγοις = διαδικασίαις. Schol. —— ἐπιτάσσοντες, *issuing orders, dictating.*

3. Ποτιδαίας—ἀπανίστασθαι. Cf. I. 139. § 1. —— γὰρ introduces the proof of what is charged upon the Lacedæmonians in ἐπιτάσσοντες. —— τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν. Cf. I. 139. § 1. The genitive denotes the relation *in respect to.* Cf. Mt. § 342. 1; S. § 195. 1. —— οἱ δὲ....ἥκοντες. Cf. I. 139. § 3. —— προαγορεύουσιν is a stronger term than κελεύουσι. —— ἀφιέναι has for its object τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

4. περὶ βραχέος, *for a trifling matter.* This is referred to in τὸ βραχύ τι τοῦτο, *this small something* (τι), *this trifling affair* (i. e. what some consider of small importance). —— ὅπερ belongs to προὔχονται by attraction, the natural construction being ὅπερ εἰ καθαιρεθείη μάλιστα προὔχονται (= προβάλλονται. Schol.) μὴ—πόλεμον. —— μηδ'....ἐπολεμήσατε is an emphatic repetition of ὑμῶν....πολεμεῖν, the course of thought being interrupted by the intermediate clauses.

5. ὑμῶν—πεῖραν τῆς γνώμης, *a trial of your spirit, a test of your resolution.* —— οἷς. Arnold says that this relative has no regular antecedent, and is to be resolved in English into the demonstrative pronoun. But, as Bloomf. remarks, there is an antecedent to it in the subject of προὔχονται, i. e. Λακεδαιμόνιοι found in § 2. The remoteness of the antecedent, in such sentences as Thucydides constructs, should cause no one to stumble. —— ἄλλο τι μεῖζον depends on ἐπιταχθήσεσθε as the accusative of the thing, the dative of the person having become the subject in the passive construction. Cf. K. § 281. 8. In respect to the sentiment we are reminded of the remark of James Otis, in his celebrated speech at the commencement of the American revolution: "But the right to take ten pounds, implies the right to take a thousand, and what must be the wealth, that avarice, aided by power, cannot exhaust." —— καὶ τοῦτο is referred by Poppo, Haack, and Goeller, to τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο, *as if you yielded this even* (small as it is) *through fear.* —— ἀπισχυρισάμενοι, *by giving a firm denial.* —— μᾶλλον belongs to προσφέρεσθαι instead of ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου: *rather to treat you on terms of equality* than with an affected superiority.

CHAPTER CXLI.

The Athenians should make up their minds to submit at once to the Lacedæmonians, or else make no concession whatever to them (§ 1); in respect to the means and mode of carrying on the war, they are by no means inferior to the Peloponnesians (§ 2); for besides that the latter have no wealth, they have little experience in long continued or transmarine wars (§ 3); they can neither man their fleets, nor be absent themselves from their domestic concerns on expeditions by land (§ 4); wars are sustained by wealth possessed in superabundance, and not by forced contributions (§ 5); the Peloponnesian government is not of a kind favorable to speedy or decided measures, the states having equal suffrages and diverse interests (§ 6); for which reason but little attention to the public weal will be given in their assemblies, called together at long intervals, and the most of their time being spent in promoting each his own interest (§ 7).

1. αὐτόθεν δὴ = ἐκ τούτων, *ex his igitur.* —— ὑπακούειν the Lacedæmonians. —— πρίν τι βλαβῆναι, *before you suffer any injury.* ——

εἰ πολεμήσομεν—μὴ εἴξοντες. Regularity of construction would have required εἴξειν, in dependence upon διανοήθητε. After εἴξοντες Poppo supplies the infinitive πολεμεῖν from πολεμήσομεν. But Arnold and Goel. refer εἴξοντες to διανοήθητε, in the sense of παρασκευάζεσθε ὡς μὴ εἴξοντες, which Poppo (Suppl. Adnot.) says that he would approve of "si cogitandi verbum intelligi posset, et si οὐκ εἴξοντες οὐδὲ—ἴξοντες legeretur." —— ἐπὶ....προφάσει should be constructed, I think, with εἰ πολεμήσομεν, *if we determine to go to war for any cause great or small* (i. e. however it may be estimated). Pericles had just affirmed, that the demand of the Lacedæmonians in respect to the Megarean decree was no trifling one, inasmuch as it involved a great principle. Others, however, might think differently. But whatever estimate might be placed upon the cause of their taking up arms, if such a course was determined on, no concessions were to be made to their enemies. Some, however, may prefer the more usual method of construction, by which these words are joined with μὴ εἴξοντες, *to make no concession on any account great or small.* I am free to acknowledge that this mode of construction harmonizes better with τὴν γὰρ....ἐπιτασσομένη. —— ἃ = ἐκεῖνα ἅ. —— τὴν....δούλωσιν, *implies the same subjection, signifies a like subjection.* δούλωσιν is what Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 578) calls the accusative of valuation, or that which defines the notion of value contained in the verb. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 548. *c.* —— δικαίωσις, *postulatio.* —— ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων, sc. ἀνθρώπων. —— πρὸ....ἐπιτασσομένη, *made upon their neighbors before a judicial decision.*

2. Here the orator enters upon the consideration of the means and resources of the two parties, and replies to what was brought forward by the Corinthians in the second division of their oration (I. 121. § 2, et seq.). —— τὰ....ὑπαρχόντων, *now as to what pertains to the war and the means for carrying it on which each party possesses.* —— τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων is a varied construction for τὰ ἑκατέροις ὑπάρχοντα. —— ὡς depends on γνῶτε. —— ἀκούοντες, *by hearing.*

3. αὐτουργοί, *those who do their own work;* here, *farmers who till their own ground,* for in I. 142. § 7, they are called γεωργοί. This term refers principally to the other Peloponnesian states than Lacedæmon, and so far as it applies to them, it does not mean that they did all their work themselves (since much of it was performed by slave labor), but refers to their personal supervision of their affairs, and personal labor as occasion might demand. There were more slaves in Lacedæmon than in all Peloponnesus besides. —— οὔτε....αὐτοῖς. Cf. I. 80. § 4 (end). —— ἔπειτα, *furthermore.* —— πολέμων—ἄπειροι. S. § 187. 2. —— διὰ τὸ....ἐπιφέρειν contains the reason why they were

πολέμων ἄπειροι. The adverb βραχέως refers to time and qualifies ἐπιφέρειν. —— αὐτοὶ conforms in case to ἄπειροι.

4. ναῦς depends on ἐκπέμπειν, and πληροῦντες belongs to the subject of δύνανται, *are not able having manned ships* (= to man ships and) *to send them forth.* —— ἀπὸ τῶν αὑτῶν, *from their private resources*, or *at their own expense.* From the time of Pericles, the Athenians were paid for their military service (cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Athens, p. 291), but not so the Lacedæmonians, which circumstance, in addition to the neglect of their own affairs, occasioned by absence on military expeditions, made war a grievous burden to them. —— θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι does not refer, as Bloomf. supposes, to οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες, but to the exclusion of the Peloponnesians from the sea by the superior naval force of the Athenians.

5. περιουσίαι, *surplus treasures.* —— βίαιοι εἰσφοραί, *forced* (and therefore *burdensome*) *contributions.* Boeckh (Pub. Econ. Ath. p. 471) says that the *property-tax* (εἰσφορὰ) had not yet been imposed at Athens, since it appears from our author (III. 19), that it was first levied in consequence of the exhaustion of the public treasure at the siege of Mitylene (A. C. 428). But Tittmann thinks that all the passage cited by Boeckh means, is that the amount before collected had never been so great as 200 talents, which was raised at the time referred to. The latter writer cites the present passage in proof, that the extraordinary property-taxes levied in war were general throughout Greece before the Peloponnesian war, particularly in Sparta and probably at Athens also. Cf. N. on Boeckh (l. c.) by the translator, G. C. Lewis. —— χρήμασι, *money* contributed for the expenses of the war, here opposed to σώμασι = *personal services.* —— τὸ μὲν πιστὸν κ. τ. λ. contains the reasons why men prefer to expose their persons, rather than expend their substance in war. They hope to live through the contest (τῶν....περιγενέσθαι), but have faint expectation that their money will not be exhausted, especially if the war is protracted. The words τὸ μὲν and τὸ δὲ represent *ad sensum*, the two things compared, viz. their bodies and their treasures. At οὐ βέβαιον repeat mentally ἔχοντες. —— ἄλλως τε κἄν, *especially if.* —— ὅπερ εἰκός, *as is probable* in the present case.

6. δυνατοὶ—ἀντισχεῖν. See N. on ἀντίσχοιεν, I. 121. § 4. —— μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν is put for πρὸς μὴ ὁμοίαν (cf. I. 91. § 7; Jelf's Kühn. § 904. *Obs.* 3). The disparity here spoken of consisted in the superior advantages which Athens derived from its ships, treasures, transmarine territories, etc. —— ὅταν....ἐπιτελῶσι, *since* (ὅταν. Cf. Mt. § 624. 2) *by not using one general council, they can do nothing on the spur of the moment* (παραχρῆμα) *with dispatch.* μήτε is to be referred

to both the participle and the verb. Poppo translates *βουλευτηρίῳ*, *concilium perpetuum*, *Bundesrath*. Without such a council, which by continued sittings could provide for any sudden emergency, of course nothing efficient could be done, and no advantage taken of the chances of war which in its progress might turn up. —— *τε* responds to *μήτε*, and introduces another defect in the internal administration of the Peloponnesian affairs, viz. that all the states were equal in suffrage (*ἰσόψηφοι*), but not of the same race (*ὁμόφυλοι*), and therefore self-interest would be the predominating principle of action in their assemblies (*τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ*). The reader will notice the paronomasia in *ἰσόψηφοι* and *ὁμόφυλοι*. In respect to the latter word Poppo remarks: "præter Dorienses plerosque etiam nonnulli populi Æolici, Achaici, Pelasgici fœderis Laconici consortes erant." *ἕκαστος* is in partitive apposition with *πάντες*. In such a case the verb as here sometimes follows in the singular. Cf. Mt. § 802. *a*. Obs.; K. § 266. 3. —— *ἐξ....γίγνεσθαι*, *for which reason nothing is usually accomplished*. *φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι*, *is wont to happen*. See N. on I. 78. § 1.

7. *καὶ γὰρ* shows why no efficient and decided measures are taken by a council of states which are *ἰσόψηφοι* and not *ὁμόφυλοι*, viz. the diversity of views and interests tending to distract and impede their deliberations. —— *φθεῖραι*. The Schol. adds, *ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ*. —— *χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες*, "cunctabundi convenientes in *ξυνόδοις* seu *ξυλλόγοις*." Poppo. —— *μορίῳ*, sc. *τοῦ χρόνου* elicited from the preceding *χρόνιοι*. So Bothe translates *ἐν βραχεῖ μορίῳ*, *parvo temporis momento*. —— *τῷ πλέονι* stands opposed to *βραχεῖ μορίῳ*, and *τὰ οἰκεῖα* to *τὶ τῶν κοινῶν*. The preposition *ἐν* is to be mentally repeated before *τῷ πλέονι*. It is quite rare that in the second of two antithetical sentences, the omission of the preposition takes place. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 650. 4. —— *παρά*, *by means of*, *through*. Cf. K. § 297. III. 3. d. See also Dunbar's remarks on the use of *παρά*, in Clus. Mus. IV. p. 98. —— *βλάψειν* the common weal. —— *μέλειν.... προϊδεῖν*, *but thinks* (*οἴεται* repeated) *that some one else will take care to provide* (for the public good) *in his place*. For the construction of *μέλειν* with the dative and genitive, cf. S. § 201. N. 4. The genitive of the thing is *προϊδεῖν*. —— *ὥστε*, *so that* (*ἐκβατικῶς*. See N. on I. 65. § 1), denotes the result of the thing just before spoken of. —— *λανθάνειν—φθειρόμενον*, *is insensibly brought to ruin*. —— *τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον*, *the common interest taken collectively*, or *the commonwealth as a whole*.

CHAPTER CXLII.

The operations of the Peloponnesians will be retarded for the want of funds (§ 1); no apprehension need be entertained of their occupying posts or building a navy, the former of which they could hardly do in the time of peace (§§ 2, 3); and even if they succeeded in constructing a fortress in Attica, it would not prevent the Athenians from retaliation by ravaging their coasts with a fleet (§ 4); the Athenians are better fitted for land service by their naval skill, than are the Lacedæmonians for naval warfare by their experience in land engagements (§ 5); nautical skill they will not easily acquire, since the Athenians, although practised in it from the time of the Persian war, are by no means perfect in it, and how too can it be acquired by husbandmen, hindered from going to sea by a blockading fleet (§§ 6, 7); a few of the blockading ships they may dare to encounter, yet will be held in awe by a superior fleet (§ 8); thus they can acquire no skill in nautical affairs by practice, and will remain ignorant of that species of warfare, and to an equal degree without courage in respect to it (§ 9).

1. *μέγιστον δέ, but what is greatest* (cf. Xen. Anab. II. 5. § 7), is in apposition with the proposition with which it is connected (cf. Mt. § 432. 5. p. 710). In such cases the article is rarely omitted. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 580. *Obs.* 2. —— *κωλύσονται* has a passive signification. Cf. Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 37; K. § 251. R. 1. —— *σχολῇ* = *βραδέως*. Schol. Perhaps the signification *ægre* which Portus gives would suit the passage better, as the sense given it by the Schol. would require to be followed by nothing but *πορίζονται*. Haack interprets *σχολῇ*, *in otio*, which is unsuitable to the context, since it is no argument against a liberal and cheerful contribution of funds to carry on a popular war, that they are furnished slowly and reluctantly in time of peace. —— *αὐτὰ πορι-ζόμενοι*. "Scil. *ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἑκάστοις οὐσίας* (quæ sunt *al βίαιοι ἐσφοραί*, I. 141. § 5), *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρη-μάτων*, I. 121. § 3." Poppo. —— *τοῦ....μενετοί, for the opportunities* (i. e. the right points of time) *of war will not wait*, i. e. in war things must be done in the very nick of time, or the favorable opportunity will slip away and be lost for ever. Cf. Xen. Cyr. VIII. 5. § 7.

2. *ἡ ἐπιτείχισις* (sc. *ἐστί*). Compare the threat of the Corinthians, I. 122. § 1). —— *φοβηθῆναι* is to be taken passively. Cf. Mt. § 535. *b. Obs.*

3. *πόλιν ἀντίπαλον*. The following note of Arnold (abridged by Bloomf.) fully illustrates the use of this term in connection with *ἡ ἐπι-τείχισις*. "Our author is here distinguishing between two different modes of fortifying (*ἐπιτείχισις*)—the one by founding a city (so *ἐποι-κίζειν*, VII. 27) in the neighborhood of Athens, strong enough to be a check upon her power (*πόλιν ἀντίπαλον*, a city equal in power to another. Cf. III. 9)—the other by erecting forts in Attica, as strong-

holds for plundering parties to issue forth from and alarm or ravage the country. Of the former sort of *ἐπιτείχισις*, instances are found in the case of Megara, founded by the Dorians as a check on the Athenians, and of Heraclea in Trachinia built to curb the Thessalonians (cf. III. 92; V. 31); of the latter, Decelea forms an example." Arnold also remarks that *πόλιν ἀντίπαλον* is the accusative after *παρασκευάσασθαι*, the construction being *τὴν μὲν γὰρ (ἐπιτείχισιν) χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ παρασκευάσασθαι.* —— *ἦπου δή*, *certainly*, *indeed*, *much more*. Mt. § 604.—— *ἐκείνοις* is the *dat. incommodi*. —— *ἀντεπιτειχισμένων*, "*occupying ground with forts in return.*" Liddell and Scott. The perf. pass. has here a middle signification. Cf. Mt. § 493. *d*.

4. *φρούριον δ'*. See Arnold's note on *πόλιν ἀντίπαλον*. —— *γῆς* limits *μέρος*. —— *καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις*, *by inroads* (made from the fort) *and by desertions*, i. e. by furnishing a refuge for fugitive slaves and deserters. This was fully verified in the case of Decelea —— *οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε κ. τ. λ.* Bloomf. makes *ἐπιτειχίζειν* the subject of *ἔσται*, by removing the following *τε* (which he thinks was interpolated by editors, who wished to make the sentence *bimembris*), and by prefixing *τὸ* to the infinitive. But it is better to make *ἐπιτειχίζειν* depend on *κωλύειν*, and to supply *φρούριον* as the subject of *ἔσται*, *notwithstanding that fortress would not be sufficient to keep us from sailing to their territory and erecting forts there*. I see that Bloomf. in his last edition translates the passage, as though he had given up his previous criticism. *πλεύσαντας* belongs to *κωλύειν* as the participle of the means (see N. on I. 9. § 1).

5. *πλέον....ἐμπειρίας*. The order is: *πλέον γὰρ ἐμπειρίας τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*, *we have from our naval service more skill in land-warfare*. This sentence illustrates the ability of the Athenians to execute the act of retaliation just spoken of, and hence is introduced by *γὰρ* (*illustrantis*). —— *ἐκεῖνοι*, sc. *ἔχουσιν*.

6. *τὸ—γενέσθαι* is the subject of *προσγενήσεται*. The subject of the infinitive is *ἐκείνους* understood referring to the Peloponnesians, with which *ἐπιστήμονας* agrees.

7. *μελετῶντες αὐτό*, *who have been in the practice of it*. For the translation of the participle by the relative and verb, see N. on I. 8. § 1. —— *ἐξείργασθέ πω*, *have not* (*οὐδὲ*) *brought it yet to perfection*. —— *πῶς δή*, *how then*. —— *θαλάσσιοι*. See N. on I. 7. § 1. —— *προσέτι....ἐασόμενοι*, *in addition not being suffered to practise* and thus acquire skill. The Corinthians said (I. 121. § 4): *μελετήσομεν.... τὰ ναυτικά*. Cf. also I. 80. § 3, where Archidamus says: *εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν....ἐνέσται*. —— *ὄρφενι* refers to *ἄνδρες* as its subject.

8. *ὀλίγας*, sc. *ναῦς* from *ναυσὶν ἐφορμεῖσθαι* going before. —— *καὶ*

....θρασύνοντες, *they might perhaps adventure an engagement, taking courage in their ignorance from their number;* literally, *emboldening their ignorance by number.* This is exceedingly beautiful as well as forcible. —— πολλαῖς ships. —— εἰργόμενοι (sc. τῆς θαλάσσης), *if they are shut up from the sea* —— ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι, *by their want of practice;* literally, *in their not practising.* See N. on τὸ δεδιός, I. 86. § 1, and on τὸ πιστόν, I. 68. § 1. —— δι' αὐτό, i. e. their want of skill resulting from their want of practice.

9. ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, *as much as any other thing.* Cf. Mt. § 117. e. —— καὶ οὐκ....μελετᾶσθαι, *and does not admit of being practised occasionally* (ὅταν τύχῃ) *as a subordinate affair,* "*as a bye-job.*" Pickering. With ὅταν τύχῃ supply from the context μελετώμενον or μελετᾶσθαι. —— γίγνεσθαι depends on ἐνδέχεται (in this place = δεῖ), and has for its subject πάρεργον.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

If the Peloponnesians should seize on the treasures at Delphi, and by outbidding attempt to draw the foreign seamen from the Athenian service, it would be fruitless, since Athens has of herself more naval officers and seamen than all the rest of Greece put together (§ 1); nor would seamen be induced by higher wages for a short period, to serve on a side where they must incur the greatest peril (§ 2); thus it appears that the Athenians are free from the disadvantages of the Peloponnesians, and possess advantages far above them (§ 3): an invasion of the Peloponnesian territory (which could be made by sea) would be far more disastrous to the Peloponnesians, than an irruption into Attica would be to the Athenians, for Peloponnesus constitutes the whole of their territory, while the Athenians have much territory besides Athens (§ 4); therefore as though they were islanders, the Athenians should be regardless of their country-possessions, and, hazarding no engagement by land, be intent only on fortifying their city and maintaining their naval supremacy (§ 5).

1. κινήσαντες....χρημάτων, *having removed* (literally, *having moved, meddled with*) *the treasures at Olympia and Delphi.* The genitive is employed on account of the partitive force of the verb. —— μισθῷ μείζονι. Pericles here replies to what the Corinthians said, I. 121. § 3. —— τοὺς ξένους refers to the mercenaries drawn from other countries, and are to be distinguished from the μέτοικοι (*residentiâ aliens*), their service being limited mostly to the fleet, although they were sometimes employed as garrison soldiers and in campaigns. Cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Ath. p. 261. —— μὴ ὦσι....ἦν, *if we ourselves and the resident foreigners having embarked were not a match for them, it would be a thing to be feared.* For the construction of ὄντων, see N. on I. 71. § 6. —— τόδε refers to what has just been said about being a match for

the Peloponnesians. —— *ὅπερ* is in apposition with the sentence *κυβερνήτας....Ἕλλὰς* which follows, *ἐστὶ* being understood. —— *ἄλλην* is here employed as in *παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκεύην*, II. 14. § 1. This use of *ἄλλην* is merely distinctive. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 5. § 5; VII. 3. § 48; Odyss. 6. 84. —— *ὑπηρεσίαν* (abstract for the concrete) is used collectively, and therefore takes *πλείους* and *ἀμείνους* in the plural. Cf. Mt. § 434. 2; S. § 157. 3.

2. *καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ κ. τ. λ.* constitutes the second reason, why the attempt of the Peloponnesians to draw away the Athenian mercenaries would prove abortive. *ἐπὶ* is here used *τελικῶς* (see N. on I. 65. § 1), *for the sake of danger*, and belongs to *δέξαιτο—τήν τε αὑτοῦ φεύγειν*. Cf. K. § 296. II. 3. c. The rendering *on account of danger*, would make *μετὰ....ἐλπίδος* a needless repetition. —— *τήν τε αὑτοῦ φεύγειν*. The Schol. supplies *κατοικίαν*, which Bloomf. pronounces to be harsh, and understands *γῆν*, not in the sense of *country*, but of the French *sejour* (Engl. *sojourn, temporary residence*). —— *καὶ* responds to *τε*, and is strengthened by *ἅμα*. —— *ἡμερῶν* depends on *μισθοῦ*, and *δόσεως* (*a giving*) is governed by *ἕνεκα*. This succession of genitives is rather unusual in Thucydides. —— *ἐκείνοις* refers to the Peloponnesians.

3. *τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια*. See N. on I. 140. § 1. —— *τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα* (sc. *δοκεῖ*)....*ἀπηλλάχθαι, but our affairs seem to be free from the disadvantages* (S. § 197. 2), *with which I have charged them. ὧνπερ ἐκείνοις ἐμεμψάμην*. Verbs of blaming are followed by the accusative of the thing in which the reproof consists, and the dative of the person who is blamed. *ὧνπερ* is therefore put in the genitive by attraction with its antecedent *τοῦτων*. Cf. K. § 284. 3 (6); Mt. § 384. 3. Some may prefer to regard *ὧνπερ* as the genitive denoting the cause of blame (Mt. § 368. 5), and then there will be no occasion of constructing it as the genitive by attraction. The orator having discussed the condition of the Peloponnesians in relation to the approaching war, now proceeds to set forth, by way of contrast, the superior advantages of the Athenians, which he proposed to do, I. 141. § 2. —— *ἄλλα* advantages. —— *οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου*, "*non ex æquo* (sed longo magis)." Poppo.

4. *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων*, sc. *χώραν*. —— *ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, the same thing* (= equally disastrous), is a predicate adjective-phrase in agreement with *Πελοποννήσου....ἅπασαν*, the subject of *ἔσται*. Cf. Mt. § 574. p. 998. —— *ἄλλην* territory. —— *ἀμαχί, without fighting* = unless acquired by arms. This word is written *ἀμαχεὶ* in all the editions before me except Dindorf's. —— *ἡμῖν....πολλή*. Archidamus refers to this I. 81. § 2. —— *κατ' ἤπειρον*, i. e. in Thrace and Ionia. —— *δέ, for.*

5. *σκέψασθε δέ.* "A formula requesting attention = *consider* (what I say)." Bloomf. —— *ἁλιπτότεροι, more impregnable* than we. *ἅλιπτος, not to be caught* or *laid hold of.* —— *ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας, forming our plans as far as possible in reference to this* (i. e. to the state of islanders); "*entertaining views and feelings as near as possible to the state of actual islanders.*" Arnold. —— *οἰκίας* refers to villas and country residences, as is evident from the next sentence, which is parenthetical. —— *αὐτῶν*, i. e. *τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν.* —— *ὀλλῷ πλείοσι.* The Peloponnesians boasted of their numerical superiority, and to this Archidamus alluded, I. 81. § 1. —— *μὴ* belongs in sense to *ὀργισθέντας* as well as to *διαμάχεσθαι* (see N. on I. 12. § 1), and therefore Poppo remarks, that it properly should have been placed immediately after *καί.* —— *κρατήσαντες, if we should be victorious.* See N. on I. 71. § 6. The participle so often contains the protasis, that except in special cases no allusion in these notes need be made to it. —— *οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι, not inferior* to our own. —— *τὰ....προσαπόλλυται, the aid derived from our allies, in which our strength consists, is* (= will be) *lost also;* or, *our allies* (*τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων*), *whence we derive our strength, will at the same time* (*προσ–*) *be lost to us*, i. e. will desert us. Compare what is said by the Corinthians, I. 122. § 1. This shows how little dependence Pericles placed upon the attachment of the allies to the Athenian cause. The defection did not take place, however, till after the disastrous Sicilian expedition, although previously the Athenians had been defeated in a land engagement at Delium (IV. 96). —— *ἡσυχάσουσι* refers to the allies and not to the Lacedæmonians as the Schol. thinks. —— *μὴ....ὄντων, unless we are able.* —— *στρατεύειν* depends on *ἱκανῶν.* —— *οἰκιῶν.* S. § 194. 1. —— *τῶν σωμάτων, for the persons*, opposed to *οἰκιῶν*, and superior in value, as being the possessors of these houses and villas. —— *αὐτοὺς....δηῶσαι, I would exhort you yourselves to go forth and lay them waste.*

CHAPTER CXLIV.

Other things might be mentioned which promise a successful termination of the war (§ 1); the discussion of which things is promised at another time. The orator then dictates an answer to the Lacedæmonians (§ 2); which answer he deems just and in accordance with the dignity of the state (§ 3), and also worthy of their ancestors, who with far less resources resisted the Median invasion, and advanced the prosperity of the state (§ 4); thus they ought to resist the encroachments of their enemies, and hand down their possessions unimpaired to posterity (§ 5).

1. *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα.* The Schol. says that Pericles hints here at the acquisition of Sicily and Italy. But how is this consistent with *ἦν*

....προστίθεσθαι which follows? —— ἐς....περιέσεσθαι, *tending to inspire hope of victory.* —— ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι, *not to acquire additional dominion = to enlarge dominion by making fresh acquisitions.* This prudent advice was lost sight of in the ill-fated expedition to Sicily. καὶ responds to τε. —— κινδύνους....προστίθεσθαι, *not to add self-incurred dangers* (to those which are necessary).

2. ἐκεῖνα refers to πολλὰ ἄλλα, § 1 (init.). —— ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις = "*dum res ipsæ gerentur*, i. e. *in ipso bello.*" Poppo. —— τούτοις.... ἐάσομεν. The order is, ἀποπέμψωμεν (αὐτοὺς) τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι Μεγαρέας μὲν ἐάσομεν. The position of Μεγαρέας before μὲν ὅτι gives it prominence = *as it respects Megara, that we will permit it.* —— ξενηλασίας—ἡμῶν, *an expulsion of us as strangers = alien acts by which we are expelled.* The Spartans took this course, in order that the pure Doric character and customs, handed down by their ancestors, might not be contaminated by the introduction of foreign novelties. The plural form (ξενηλασίαι) is employed in reference to the various regulations attending its practice. Cf. Müll. Dorians, II. p. 4. N. g. —— ἐκεῖνο refers to the Megarean decree, and τόδε to the alien act of the Lacedæmonians. —— κωλύει is taken by some in the sense of κωλύεται. Hermann governs the pronoun by κατὰ understood. Haack takes οὐ κωλύει in the sense of οὐδὲν κωλύει. I prefer to take it impersonally, and thus Arnold translates, *it forbids neither the one nor the other in the treaty.* —— δὲ responds to the preceding μέν, and introduces the second concession which the Athenians would be willing to make, provided the Lacedæmonians would give independence to their own states. —— εἰ....ἐσπεισάμεθα, *if they were independent when we made the treaty;* literally, *if we made the treaty having them independent.* —— κἀκεῖνοι, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. —— μὴ....ἐπιτηδείως, *not in a manner subservient to the Lacedæmonians* (cf. I. 19. § 1; 76. § 1). Bloomf. remarks that instead of the more recondite μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, we should have expected ἀποδῶσιν αὐτονομίαν. The subject of αὐτονομεῖσθαι is omitted because it is the same as the object of the preceding proposition. —— δίκας δὲ ὅτι introduces the third, and δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν the fourth and last division of the response, the words of which end with ἀμυνούμεθα. —— ἀποκρίνασθαι is the subject of the propositon in which it stands. Some make the peroration to begin with this sentence. But it evidently commences with § 8.

3. πολεμεῖν, sc. ἡμᾶς. —— ὅτι—περιγίγνονται (*result, accrue to*), depends on εἰδέναι δὲ χρή.

4. ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὁρμώμενοι = *proceeding* (to the war) *with such abundant resources* (as we possess). ὁρμώμενοι happily expresses the

eagerness and ardor with which Pericles represents their Grecian ancestors as rushing to battle. —— *γνώμῃ* and the following datives denote *means*. —— *ἐς....αὐτὰ* (sc. *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*), *advanced the state to its present greatness.*

5. *ὧν* (i. e. *τῶν πατέρων*) depends on *λείπεσθαι*, *to be inferior to.* —— *τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις*, *to our posterity.* —— *μὴ ἐλάσσω*, *not worse, unimpaired.*

CHAPTER CXLV.

The Athenians approving of the advice of Pericles, reply to the Lacedæmonians that they will do nothing at their command, but are ready to submit their differences to a fair arbitration (§ 1).

1. *τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ*, *in conformity with his counsel.* —— *οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσειν*, *that they would do nothing upon command.* —— *κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας*, *according to treaty.* —— *οἱ μέν*, i. e. the Lacedæmonian ambassadors. Cf. I. 139. § 3.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

Such were the mutual criminations and grounds of complaint, which preceded the war, and which commenced with the affair of Epidamnus and Corcyra (§ 1).

1. *αἰτίαι....ἐγένοντο.* Cf. 1. 23. § 4. —— *ἀπὸ....Κερκύρᾳ.* Cf. I. 24—55. —— *ἐπεμίγνυντο—ἐν αὐταῖς* = *they had intercourse with one another.* —— *ἀκηρύκτως*, *without a herald* = *without a flag of truce.*

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

After the return of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, all intercourse is broken off and hostilities commence.

1. ἐνθένδε, i. e. from this time. The Schol. explains it: ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας, referring it to the Platæan affair which was about to be related. Haack approves of this. —— οὔτε—τε. As the second of these connectives has its own verb, it has an affirmative meaning. Cf. Mt. § 609. p. 1080; S. § 229. N. 1. —— ἀκηρυκτί. See N. on I. 146. § 1. —— καταστάντες....ἐπολέμουν is elliptically put for καταστάντες (= καταστάθέντες. Bloomf.) εἰς πόλεμόν τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν. —— κατὰ....χειμῶνα. "Nomine θέρους comprehendit ver et æstatem, χειμῶνος autumnum et hiemem." Petav. X. de Doctrin. Temp. 28, cited by Arnold.

CHAPTER II.

In the fifteenth year of the thirty years' truce, some Thebans make an entrance by night into Platæa (§ 1); this was done by the connivance of certain Platæans, with a view to their own aggrandizement and the bringing over of the city to the Theban confederacy (§ 2); in this movement the Thebans were influenced by a desire to preoccupy Platæa, before the hostilities (which now seemed inevitable) between the Athenians and Peloponnesians had actually begun (§ 3); having entered the city they prudently refrain from deeds of violence, and seek to bring over the city by negotiation (§ 4).

1. γὰρ is employed in reference to ἄρχεται in chap. 1. —— ἐνέμειναν = διέμειναν. —— Εὐβοίας. Cf. I. 114, 115. —— ἐπὶ....ἱερωμένης (*being priestess*). The Schol. remarks that it was the Argive custom to reckon time by the years of their priestesses. Cf. Smith's Dict Antiq. p. 471. —— δυοῖν δέοντα. So we say, *fifty wanting two*, or *wanting two of fifty*, i. e. forty-eight. Cf. C. § 140. β. —— ἔτι δύο

μῆνας, *yet two months* (accus. of time), i. e. two months remained before the time of his office expired. —— μετὰ....ἕκτῳ. Cf. I. 62. § 5. —— ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, *at the beginning of spring.* "To define more clearly the notion of coincident time, ἅμα is added to the dat. absolute." Jelf's Kühn. § 699. *Obs.* 2. The affair at Platæa took place in March or April (A. C. 431. Olymp. 87. 1). Cf. Dahlmann's Tab. Chron. Class. Mus. I. p. 189. —— ἄνδρες....τριακοσίων, 300 *men and upward.* Demosthenes briefly touches upon this affair, κατὰ Νεαίρας, p. 1578. —— βοιωταρχοῦντες. There were eleven of these officers elected annually by the independent cities and states of Bœotia. Some, however, so interpret IV. 91 as to make Thucydides speak of twelve, and others, thirteen Bœotarchs. If the last mentioned number is the true one, as Arnold thinks it is, there must have been twelve states, since each state elected one Bœotarch, and Thebes two. According to Plut. (Pelop. 13), after the return of the exiles with Pelopidas, there were three of these officers at Thebes. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 151. —— περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον, *about the first sleep = the first watch.* Thebes was 70 stadia (cf. II. 5. § 2), i. e. about two hours' march from Platæa. Cf. Leake's North. Greece, II. p. 359. —— ἐς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας, *into Platæa of Bœotia.* See N. on I. 114. § 2. Cf. I. 108. § 1; III. 105. —— Ἀθηναίων = Ἀθηναίοις. C. § 389. R.

2. ἐπηγάγοντο, *called in.* —— Ναυκλείδης and οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ are in apposition with ἄνδρες. —— ἄνδρας depends on διαφθεῖραι. —— τῶν πολιτῶν is the partitive genitive. —— σφίσιν, i. e. Nauclides and his faction. —— προσποιῆσαι, *to bring over* (cf. Xen. Cyr. III. 3. § 26). Platæa had formerly belonged to the Bœotian confederacy, and now was to be reunited to it.

3. Λεοντιάδου. This was the Leontides who went over to Xerxes with the Theban forces which he commanded at Thermopylæ. —— γάρ, *indeed.* Cf. K. § 324. 2. c. —— ὅτι ἔσοιτο. The optative is here used in the dependent clause, because the statement is made not as by the speaker himself, but as it passed in the mind of the Thebans. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 885. *Obs.* 1; S. § 218; C. § 587. 2. —— ἠβούλοντο. This verb sometimes takes the temporal in addition to the syllabic augment. Cf. C. § 189. 1. —— ἀεὶ—οὖσαν, *which had always been.* See N. on I. 8. § 1. —— ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *while yet there was peace.* —— προκαταλαβεῖν, *to preoccupy.* —— ᾗ, *on this account* (cf. I. 11. § 1; 25. § 4), i. e. because hostilities had not yet actually commenced. —— ῥᾷον ἔλαθον ἐσελθόντες, *they effected their secret entrance more easily = it was more easy for them to enter unobserved.* —— προκαθεστηκυίας, *had yet been set.* C. § 556. II.

4. θέμενοι....ὅπλα, *piling their arms in the market-place.* Re-

... concinnate. —— ἐς ἑαυτήν. —— φιλίαν is a noun. —— εἴ τις βο is used to give emphasis to the expression. —— κατὰ Βοιωτῶν, *according to the ancie Bœotians* (= the Bœotian confederacy). To tional usages the Thebans appeal, in their re III. 61. § 2; 65. § 2; 66. § 1). —— τίθεσθαι. the Platæans to pile their arms with them, th they should come in arms from their several ho thus naturally pile their spears and shields with to be taken up together with theirs, whenever t either to march or to fight." Arnold. —— τοῦ the proclamation just spoken of. —— προσχωρή *to, would join.*

CHAPTER III.

The Platæans, ignorant of the number who had entered, and f opposition, enter into a treaty with the Thebans (§ 1), but wh entered, conceive the idea of attacking and overcoming them (to effect this (§ 3), and when their plans are all arranged, at th sally forth from their abodes and commence an attack upon th

1. ἔδοξαντο—ὄντας. See N. on I. 26. § 3. — really entered. —— πρὸς ξύμβασιν. See N. on I τε καί, *especially.* —— ἐς ἀνωτέριζον, *than c nobody any injury;* more lit[illegible]

partition walls. —— *τῶν ὑποζυγίων, the draught-animals.* —— *ἵν'.... ᾖ, in order that they* (i. e. the wagons) *might serve as a rampart.* The singular verb is here used for the plural, by way of accommodation to the appositional phrase *ἀντὶ τείχους* (= *τείχος*), or *τοῦτο*, referring to *καθιστάναι τὰς ἁμάξας*, may be supplied. Mt. (303. 1) refers this construction to what grammarians call the *schema Pindaricum* et *Bœoticum*, by which, with plural subjects masculine and feminine, the verb put in the singular as with neuters.

4. *ὡς* (sc. *ἐδύναντο*) *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, according to their ability*, or perhaps, *according to their means* would better suit this passage. —— *ἑτοῖμα* is here employed in an absolute sense. —— *φυλάξαντες....περίορθρον, waiting for just the beginning of dawn;* literally, *waiting for the time when it was yet night and the day was just dawning.* This was a time most favorable for surprise. —— *προσφέρωνται* (see N. on I. 13. § 5, and Poppo's Proleg. I. p. 282) refers to the Platæans, and *γίγνωνται* to the Thebans. —— *ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου* = *ἴσοι.* C. 449. *β.* —— *φοβερώτεροι, in greater consternation.* The adjective *φοβερὸς* may signify *feeling fear* as well as *causing fear.* —— *ἐμπειρίας* is the genitive of cause denoting *by reason of, on account of* (K. § 272; b. § 194. 1), and does not depend upon the comparative *ἧσσους.*

CHAPTER IV.

The Thebans seeing that they are deceived, form themselves in close order and at first repel the enemy, but the Platæans with their women and servants, assisted by a sweeping tempest and the darkness of the night, rush upon them and kill many, as ignorant of the streets of the city they attempt to flee from their pursuers (§§ 1, 2); at the same time a Platæan contrives to fasten the gate through which they had entered, so that they have no place of egress (§ 3); thus hunted up and down the city, some throw themselves over the wall, others by the compassion of a woman effect an escape through a gate, and others wandering up and down the city are butchered (§ 4); of those who remained the major part throw themselves into a large edifice (§ 5), and there being intercepted, the Platæans debate whether they shall burn them in the building (§ 6); at last the Thebans give themselves up (§ 7).

1. *οἱ δ'* refers to the Thebans. —— *ἔγνωσαν ἠπατημένοι.* See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— *ξυνεστρέφοντο....αὐτοῖς, formed themselves into a close body*, as Bloomf. and Poppo think, in the form of the *πλινθίον.* —— *τὰς προσβολὰς* of the Platæans. —— *προσπίπτοιεν* refers to the Platæans. —— *ἀπεωθοῦντο, attempted* (see N. on I. 57. § 4) *to repel.*

2. *ἀπὸ* in *ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν* is employed in reference to the standpoint of the Thebans. —— *ὀλολυγῇ* refers to the shouts of the women

and is imitative of the sound. —— λίθοις as denoting the missile is put in the dative. —— κεράμῳ is here used collectively for *tiles*. —— ὑετοῦ —πολλοῦ, *a violent tempest*. It was not the rain which had fallen and by which they may be supposed to have been wet, which incommoded them, but the continuance of the storm in all its fury. —— ἄπειροι μὲν is opposed to ἐμπείρους δὲ infra. —— ᾗ, *where*. —— τῶν διόδων depends on ἄπειροι. —— γὰρ explains why the night was dark. —— τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός, *at the end of the month* (i. e. the lunar month, the year being reckoned in lunar time. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 178) = *when there was no moon*. —— ἐμπείρους—τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, "*well acquainted with the means of preventing their escape*; literally, *skilful in* or *for their not escaping*." Crosby. Bloomf. renders, *those who pursued them that they might not escape*. But why add τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, for who would suppose that the Platæans pursued them for any other purpose? Such a tautology is not to be presumed in a writer like Thucydides. —— ὥστε (ecbatic, see N. on I. 65. § 1) is here followed by the indicative, because the result or effect is indicated as a fact. Cf. K. §§ 341. 2. 3; 306. R. 3. —— πολλοί, *many*. As the captives were 180 (cf. II. 5. § 7), and the whole number 300, not quite one-half perished.

3. τὰς πύλας is the object of ἔκλεισε. —— στυρακίῳ, "*the spike at the lower end of the spear-shaft*." Liddell and Scott. The στύραξ (whence the diminutive στυρακίον) was a pointed cap of bronze, in which the bottom of the spear was enclosed, and by forcing which into the ground, the spear was made to stand erect (cf. Virg. Æn. 12. 130). See Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 467. —— βαλάνου—ἐς τὸν μοχλόν. The gate was fastened on the inside by a bar (μοχλός), which was kept in its proper position by a cylindrical piece of iron (*a pin, bolt*, βάλανος), passing through the bar perpendicularly and entering a hole in the gate, so that, unless it was taken out, the bar could not be removed and the gate opened. To extract this bolt another piece of iron, fitted to it and called βαλανάγρα (*a thing to catch the bolt of a* βάλανος), was employed. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 776. Bloomf. finds an obscurity in ἐς τὸν μοχλόν, which he would remove by supplying καὶ αὐτὸ ἐμβαλὼν before these words. —— μηδὲ—ἔτι, *no longer*.

4. ἐς τὸ ἔξω, *over the outside*. —— οἱ πλείους of those who leaped from the wall. —— ἐρήμους, i. e. unguarded. —— λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες = ἔλαθον διακόψαντες καί. As the words now stand Port. renders, *clam et effracto vecte*. —— οὐ πολλοί. The reason is given in the next sentence introduced by γὰρ (*explicantis*). —— ἄλλοι.... ἀπώλλυντο, *but others scattered about in different parts of the city perished*.

5. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον of those who were left. —— ὅσον μάλιστα, *most especially such as.* —— ἐσπίπτουσιν is put in the plural because τὸ πλεῖστον is taken collectively. Mt. § 302; C. § 548; S. § 151. 2. —— ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους (see N. on I. 134. § 1). Bloomf. with Port. translates, *which was contiguous to the wall.* But εἶχετο instead of ἦν would in that case have been employed, and it seems unwarrantable to supply ἐχόμενον. —— αἱ πλησίον (to the Thebans) θύραι. For this interchange of the relative and the demonstrative, in the continuation of a proposition, cf. Mt. § 472. 3. p. 782. In consequence of this change, Haack encloses αἱ....αὐτοῦ in a parenthesis. The same critic remarks: "αἱ πλησίον θύραι nihil amplius est, quam *propinquæ januæ* [quæ] sane in adversa ædificii, quod ad murum pertinebat, parte erant." —— οἰόμενοι....εἶναι, *thinking that the doors of the edifice were the city gates* (πύλας). —— ἄντικρυς, *straight, plain.*

6. ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν—εἴτε—χρήσωνται. The use of the indicative instead of the optative in the dependent clause, gives life and energy to the narrative, and makes the subordinate proposition emphatic. Cf. K. § 327. R. 2.

7. χρήσασθαι....βούλωνται, *to be treated as they* (the Platæans) *might please*, i. e. they surrendered at discretion. For the passive signification of χρήσασθαι, cf. Mt. § 532. *a.*

CHAPTER V.

A Theban reinforcement which should have reached Platæa in the night, now arrives (§ 1), but, in consequence of the rain and the difficulty of crossing the Asopus, too late to assist their companions (§§ 2, 3); the Thebans meditate retaliation upon such of the Platæans as lived in the country, but the Platæans in the city anticipating this, threaten to put the Theban prisoners to death, in case any injury is done to those without, but promise to restore the prisoners, if the Thebans will evacuate their territory (§§ 4, 5); which promise the Platæans deny that they ever made (§ 6); the Thebans retire from the territory, whereupon the Platæans remove their friends from the country into the city, and put all the prisoners to death (§ 7).

1. οὓς ἔδει—παραγενέσθαι, *who were to come* according to previous arrangement. —— τῆς νυκτὸς is the genitive of time, and παναστρατιᾷ is the dative of accompaniment. —— εἴτι ἄρα μὴ προχωροίη (sc. τὰ πράγματα), *if perchance success should not attend.* The apodosis takes the indicative (ἔδει) because the assertion is positive, but the protasis is put in the optative to denote the possible occurrence of the thing spoken of. Cf. Mt. § 524. 3. ——ἐπεβοήθουν, *came to their aid.* The imperfect is here employed *de conatu* (see N. on I. 57. § 4), as no aid

was really furnished. Poppo however remarks, that βοηθεῖν frequently has the signification *auxilio proficisci*, ἐπὶ τόνων τισὶ being sometimes added.

2. τῶν Θηβῶν. S. § 197. 2. —— τὸ ὕδωρ, *the rain*. Cf. II. 4. § 2. —— ἐῤῥύη μέγας, *flowed deep* = *was swollen*.

3. πορευόμενοι....παρεγένοντο, *by their marching in the rain, and the difficulty with which they crossed the river, they arrived too late*. —— ἤδη, *already*. —— ἀνδρῶν limits τῶν μὲν and τῶν δὲ taken partitively.

4. τοῖς....Πλαταιῶν, *against such of the Plataeans as were without the city* (i. e. living in the country). τῶν Πλαταιῶν depends on τοῖς ἔξω. —— ἦσαν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. explains τοῖς ἔξω, and ἐβούλοντο γὰρ is epexegetical of ἐπεβούλευον at the beginning of the section. —— οἷα γενομένου, *inasmuch as the evil came upon them unexpectedly* (it being) *in a time of peace*. Cf. S. § 226. a; C. § 662. —— εἴ τινα λάβοιεν—ἦν ἄρα τύχωσί τινες ἐζωγρημένοι, "*could they succeed in taking any prisoner—should any happen to have been taken alive.*" Arnold. This translation is based on the distinction which he lays down in the use of the moods, that the optative expresses uncertainty, with no intimation on the part of the speaker or actor in respect to the probability or improbability of the event; whereas the subjunctive shows that an impression is entertained of its probability, although the thing is yet uncertain. See N. on I. 95. § 1 (end). But Mt. (§ 525. 6) seems to regard the moods as used together here in an equivalent sense. —— ὑπάρχειν depends on ἐβούλοντο.

5. οἱ μὲν is opposed to οἱ δὲ in the next sentence. —— ἔτι.... αὐτῶν, *while they were yet deliberating*. —— περὶ τοῖς ἔξω, i. e. for the safety of those without the city. —— ὅτι....δράσειαν, *that they had acted unjustly in what they had done*. τὰ πεποιημένα is the accusative denoting the abstract of the verb. S. § 181. 2. For the optative, cf. S. § 218. 2. —— πειραθέντες has an active signification. —— τά τε ἔξω is written as though ὅτι οὐ, and not ὅτι οὔτε, had preceded. —— ἔλεγον is to be connected with ἐξέπεμψαν. —— αὐτοῖς refers to the Thebans. —— εἰ δὲ μή = εἰ δέ, *otherwise*, inasmuch as it follows a negative sentence (cf Jelf's. Kühn. § 860. 5). There is properly a partial ellipsis in this phrase, to be mentally supplied: *but if they did not abstain from doing injury, they said*, etc. —— οὓς ἔχουσι ζῶντας = *whom they held prisoners*. —— ἀναχωρησάντων contains the protasis (see N. on I. 71. § 6). —— ἀποδώσειν. Repeat ἔφασαν.

6. ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς, *affirm that they* (the Plataeans) *swore to* (ἐπι-) *the observance of this agreement* (ταῦτα). —— οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι, *deny*. οὐ is used where a single word in the sentence is to be made

negative. Cf. K. § 818. R. 1. —— *εὐθύς*, *immediately*, qualifies *ἀποδώσειν*, and is opposed to the time designated in *λόγων πρῶτον γενομένων* (sc. *ἀποδιδόναι*) which follows. —— *οὔ φασιν*. See N. on *οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι*.

7. *οὖν* serves here as a particle of reference = *as for that matter*, (however the truth may have lain with either party) *the Thebans withdrew*, etc. —— *ἐσεκομίσαντο* refers to the Thebans. —— *ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς*. That this atrocious deed was performed in violation of the stipulations expressed and implied in the treaty, is very manifest. The perfidy as well as cruelty of the act so exasperated the Thebans, that they could be satisfied with nothing short of the utter destruction of the Platæans. —— *Εὐρύμαχος*. Cf. II. 2. § 3. —— *πρὸς ὅν*, *with whom*. K. § 298. 3. b. —— *οἱ προδιδόντες*, *proditores*.

CHAPTER VI.

The Platæans having sent a messenger to Athens, put their affairs on as good a footing as possible (§ 1); the Athenians on the receipt of the intelligence, apprehend such of the Bœotians as were in Attica, and direct the Platæans to make no disposition of the prisoners until they had consulted with them (§ 2), for they had learnt nothing of the state of things subsequent to the defeat of the Thebans (§ 3); the herald finds on his arrival that the prisoners have been put to death. The Athenians place a garrison in Platæa, and remove the women and children to Athens (§ 4).

1. *τοῦτο* refers to the slaughter of the captives, and the messenger (*ἄγγελον*) was the third one sent to Athens on this occasion (cf. § 2 infra). Poppo is disposed to refer *τοῦτο* to the whole transaction. —— *ὑποσπόνδους*. See N. on I. 63. § 3. —— *πρὸς τὰ παρόντα*, *according to the present state of things*, belongs to *ᾗ ἐδόκει*.

2. *ἠγγέλθη* has the force of the pluperfect. —— *εὐθὺς—καί*, *as soon as*. So the Latins employ, *statim atque—simul atque*. —— *τὰ.... γεγενημένα* = *the situation of the Platæans*. This refers to the news brought to Athens by the first messenger, relating to the surprise of the city by the Thebans (II. 2. § 1). Upon this the Athenians apprehended all the Bœotians within their city. Before they had time, however, to reply to this first message, a second messenger reported the defeat of the Thebans, whereupon an answer was returned respecting the treatment of the prisoners, which did not reach Platæa until the captives had been slain. A third messenger was then despatched to inquire of the Athenians the course to be pursued in the existing state of things. I am indebted to Bloomf. for the substance of this note. —— *ὅσοι* = *τόσας ὅσοι*, of which the antecedent is followed by Rous-

...ows why the Athenians directed
viz. because they were ignorant that they h
death; and the next γάρ explains why they
ligence of the death of the prisoners. —— ἅμ
as the entrance (of the Thebans) *took place.* –
peat ἐξῆει. —— ἅρτι νενικημένων (sc. Θηβαίων),
had been conquered. ἅρτι is often used to de
place immediately after some other event. ——
1), i. e. the parley with the Thebans (I. 5. § 5),
the prisoners. —— οὕτω δή, *thus then.*

4. μετὰ ταῦτα. The interval could not have
was necessary to put Platæa immediately in a po
ἐσήγαγον from the country of the Platæans, and
Attica. —— τοὺς ἀρχειοτάτους in respect to war.

CHAPTER VII.

**After this affair at Platæa, the Athenians and the Lacedæmon
the approaching war, both parties forming alliances as they w
Barbarians, and the surrounding states (§ 1); the Lacedæmonia
for increasing their navy (§ 2); the Athenians carefully exa
send embassies to the places around Peloponnesus (§ 3).**

1. ὡς πολεμήσοντες = *for the approaching w*
§ 225. 5). I have placed a comma instead of a
after πολεμήσοντες. ...

nold, Bloomf. and others, and studying the passage itself, I have come to the conclusion that this translation is the least liable to serious objections: *those states in Italy and Sicily, which had espoused their* (i. e. Peloponnesian) *cause, were commanded by the Lacedæmonians to build ships, in addition to those already on hand there, according to the size of the states.* In this translation Λακεδαιμονίοις is put for the dative of the agent (= ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), and αὐτοῦ = ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ elicited from ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας, which words are to be constructed with τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις. Supply ναῦσι with ὑπαρχούσαις. The pronoun ἐκείνων (in τἀκείνων) = αὐτῶν referring to the Lacedæmonians, and τοῖς—ἑλομένοις (*to those—who had espoused*) limits ἐπετάχθησαν (cf. Jelf's Kühner, § 589. 3). One of the most difficult things in the grammatical analysis of the passage, is to determine the subject of ἐπετάχθησαν. Arnold supplies the subject from τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις; Goel. from κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων. Bloomf. with Kistem. regards ναῦς as the subject (cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 898. *Obs.* 2). Poppo finds the subject in οἱ ξύμμαχοι, supplied from οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, or from πόλεις τε ξυμμαχίδας (§ 1 supra), which on the whole I prefer as the most natural and simple. —— τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν refers to the Italian and Sicilian ships, those on hand and those which were to be built. Bloomf. unnecessarily adds those of the home alliance. In respect to the greatness of the number (πεντακοσίων), Bloomf. well explains it by the *immane quantum*, the μέγα χάσμα, between human plans and their execution. —— ἀργύριον ῥητόν. "The highest amount (among the Peloponnesians) which each state could be called on to supply, was fixed once for all, and it was only on particular occasions to be determined what part was required. In like manner, the supplies in money and stores were regularly appointed, so that an army, with all its equipments, could be collected by a single summons." Müll. Dor. I. p. 198. —— ἑτοιμάζειν, sc. ἐπετάχθη. —— τά τ' ἄλλα, *in other respects.* The participles ἡσυχάζοντας and δεχομένους conform to the infinitive ἑτοιμάζειν. —— μιᾷ νηί. With more than one ship, it might be presumed that they came with a hostile intention.

3. δὲ in Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ responds to μὲν in the beginning of § 2. —— μᾶλλον = *diligentius.* Poppo. —— Κέρκυραν. It will be seen by those who have read I. 24–55, why the Corcyræans took part with the Athenians. —— Κεφαλληνίαν. Cf. I. 30. —— εἰ—εἴη. This is not the optative of the *oratio obliqua*, but is used to designate uncertainty as opposed to the certainty of the indicative. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 885. 2 (end). —— καταπολεμήσοντες, is here equivalent to μέλλοντες with the infinitive (Jelf's Kühn. § 681. *Obs.*), and depends on ὁρῶντες (videntes, i. e. intelligentes. Bothe).

CHAPTER VIII.

Both sides prepare for war with the utmost ardor (§ 1); many predictions are uttered by oracle-mongers (§ 2), and the great earthquake which happened in Delos seemed to prognosticate the coming events (§ 3); the generality of Greece take sides with the Lacedæmonians, and, on account of their great animosity towards the Athenians, assist them to their utmost ability (§§ 4, 5).

1. ὀλίγον....ἀμφότεροι, *both parties contemplated nothing small*, i. e. they anticipated a severe struggle. —— ἔρρωντο is the pluperf. with the signification of the imperf. Bloomf. finds in this word an *agonistic* metaphor, its signification being *to string one's nerves* to an undertaking. —— ἀρχόμενοι, *in the beginning*. —— γὰρ explains οὐκ ἀπεικότως (see N. on I. 73. § 1). —— δὲ καί, *and also*. —— ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, *from inexperience*. The Schol. quotes the proverb: γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος. —— μετέωρος ἦν, *was aroused to the height of expectation*. —— πρώτων in power and influence.

2. λόγια, *oracles*. —— χρησμολόγοι, *fortune-tellers*, *oracle-bards*, who sang their prophecies composed in verse, "*oracle-mongers*." Liddell and Scott. Against this worthless class of impostors, who were regarded as nuisances by the better portion of the community, Aristophanes directed the severest shafts of ridicule and satire. Cf. Aves. 960. —— ἔν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι—πόλεσιν. The masculine form is used in the first member, reference being had to the inhabitants of the cities. Cf. S. § 158. 3. b.

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1. περιήγγελλον....ἐπιτήδεια. The order is: περιήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἔξω (without Peloponnesus) ξυμμαχίαν (abstract for concrete. See N. on I. 118. § 2) παρασκευάζεσθαι στρατιὰν τά τε ἐπιτήδεια. —— οἷα....ἔχειν. The period for which supplies were to be furnished was forty days. —— ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντες, *in order to make an irruption.*

2. ἑκάστοις (= ὑφ' ἑκάστων) of the confederated states. —— ἑτοῖμα. See N. on II. 8. § 4. —— γίγνοιτο, sc. πάντα. —— εἰρημένον by the Lacedæmonians, who were the leading people in the confederacy. —— τὰ δύο μέρη, *the two thirds* (cf. I. 74. § 1). "For expeditions without Peloponnesus, τὰ δύο μέρη (i. e. two thirds of the whole) appears to have been the common proportion required from each state." Müll. Dor. 1. 199. N. 5.

3. Ἀρχίδαμος. The first ten years of this war was called Ἀρχιδάμιος πόλεμος after this king. —— τοὺς—ἐν τέλει, *those in command, the commanders.* See N. on I. 10. § 4. —— παρεῖναι depends on ξυγκαλέσας.

CHAPTER XI.

This chapter contains the speech of king Archidamus to the officers of the allied forces assembled at the Isthmus. He begins by reminding them of the strength of their forces now in the field, admonishing them at the same time, that they are advancing against a powerful state (§ 1); their behavior should correspond therefore to their former glory, especially as the eyes of all Greece were upon them (§ 2); they should by no means relax their vigilance on account of their powerful and well-organized force, but be in a constant state of readiness to encounter danger (§ 3); for the events of war are doubtful, and attacks are oftentimes suddenly made, and want of caution has resulted in the defeat of forces far superior to those opposed to them (§ 4); in a hostile country, they should be bold in their plans and cautious in action, for thus their security from any attack would inspire them with courage (§ 5); they ought to expect from so powerful a state as Athens the most determined resistance, especially when they see their country invaded and ravaged (§ 6); for all men are excited when they see themselves suffering injury, and especially will this be true of persons so impulsive as the Athenians (§ 7), who, while they think it right for them to ravage the territory of others, will not wish to see their own thus dealt with (§ 8); in a war with such a state, it behooves the invading army to be obedient to orders, and conform to discipline as the surest ground of success (§ 9).

1. *οἱ ξύμμαχοι*, sc. *ὑμεῖς*. Cf. Xen. Anab. II. 5. § 39. —— *τῆσδε* depends on *μείζονα*. —— *ἀλλὰ....ἐρχόμεθα*, *but* [as we have a very large force] *so also we are now marching against a most powerful state.* —— *στρατεύοντες*. Poppo says, "in participio *στρατεύοντες* singulare quiddam temere quærit Matth. § 556. N. 1." See N. on I. 7. § 1.

2. *μήτε....ἐνδεεστέρους*, *nor inferior to our own glory.* —— *ἐπῆρται* = *μετέωρός ἐστιν* (II. 8. § 1). —— *Ἀθηναίων* is the objective genitive. —— *πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς*, *that we may accomplish*, depends upon *εὔνοιαν ἔχουσα*, to be mentally repeated in the sense of *wishing*, *desiring*. Such a dilogia is quite common in so compressed a style as that of Thucydides.

3. *τῷ* (i. e. *τινὶ*) belongs to *πλήθει*, and supplies the place of our indefinite article (S. § 165). In such a use it generally follows its substantive. —— *ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι* = *to feel much certainty.* —— *ἂν ἐλθεῖν—διὰ μάχης*, *will come to battle.* For *ἂν* with the infinitive, cf. S. § 215. 5; for the use of *διά*, cf. K. § 291. I. 1. *b*. —— *τούτου* refers to the preceding clause *εἴ τῳ....μάχης*. —— *ἀμελέστερόν τε*, *any the less cautious.* Mt. § 457. —— *τὸ καθ' αὑτόν*, *as far as pertains to himself*, *for his part.* Matthiæ (§ 283) says that the article is redundant in these phrases, which must be rendered as if they were parenthetical.

4. *ἐξ....γίγνονται*, *oftentimes attacks are made suddenly* (*ἐξ ὀλίγου*) *and through passion.* —— *δεδιὼς* = "*sibi cavens, prospiciens.*" Poppo. —— *ἄμεινον*. Supply mentally *ἢ οἱ πλέονες τὸ πλεῖστον πλῆθος.* ——



Sirence to, in ἐναντίους li

6. ἀδύνατον—οὕτω, *thus un*

of resistance possessed by the

§ 206. 2. In respect to the t

πάνυ (see N. on I. 3. § 1) ἐλπίζε

See N. on § 3 supra. —— ἐν ᾧ

Athenian country referred to i

will be in motion) *when*.

7. πᾶσι.... προσπίπτει, *for*

upon all) to see themselves with t

ment suffering some unusual in

σχοντας, cf. S. § 255. 7; C. § 633.

Συμφ.... καθίστανται, "*are the m*

Bloomfield.

8. πλέον τι = μᾶλλον τι. Krüg

—— εἰκὸς is the predicate and 'Αθ

of the sentence, ἐστὶ being under

pends on ἀξιοῦσι. —— δηοῦν depend

δρουμένην elicited from the preceding

9. ὡς οὖν, *since then*, introduces t

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα = *as they shall turn*

adverse. This phrase is epexegetical

the sense of *good* or *evil report*, accor

nate. ἐπὶ denotes 'conformity to' (

ἐκεῖσε ὅπῃ, *into the place where*

use of the

CHAPTER XII.

Archidamus sends Melesippus to see whether the Athenians are disposed to give way (§ 1); they refuse to admit him into the city, and order his immediate departure, affirming that they will receive no message from the Lacedæmonians, until they first retire to their own country (§ 2); at the same time they take measures to prevent Melesippus from having intercourse with any one (§ 3); upon his return, Archidamus breaks up his encampment, and marches forward into the Athenian territory (§ 4); the Bœotians ravage the Platæan territory (§ 5).

1. *ἀποστέλλει—εἴ τι.* Supply *σκεψόμενον*, or some such word. See N. on I. 58. § 1. *τι* depends on *ἐνδοῖεν.* —— *μᾶλλον* than at the time when the last embassy was sent (I. 139. § 3). —— *ἐνδοῖεν, would give in.* This is like our usage of the phrase.—— *ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας.* The Peloponnesians were now at the Isthmus, on their way to Attica. Cf. II. 10. § 2.

2. *οἱ δέ*, i. e. the Athenians. —— *αὐτὸν* refers to Melesippus. —— *τὸ κοινόν.* See N. on I. 90. § 5. —— *κήρυκα....προσδέχεσθαι* is epexegetical of *γνώμη*, or perhaps some would construct it as the subject of *ἦν*, in which case the sense would remain the same. —— *ἀκοῦσαι* his message. —— *ἐκτὸς....αὐθημερόν, to withdraw from their boundaries that very day* (as Arist. I. 250 explains it, *πρὸ ἡλίου δύνοντος, before sunset*). *ἐκτὸς ὅρων εἶναι* is something like our brief expression, *be off with yourself.* The order here given was by no means an uncommon one. —— *ἀναχωρήσαντας* refers to the Lacedæmonians. —— *αὐτῶν* agrees with the genitive implied in *σφέτερα.* C. § 454. 8. —— *ἀγωγούς, as escort.* —— *ὅπως* has the telic sense. See N. on I. 65. § 1.

3. *τοσόνδε* refers to *ἥδε....ἄρξει* (*is the beginning of*). The prediction in this passage (of which many imitations exist) was most fearfully verified. *ὅτι* is here the sign of a direct quotation.

4. *οὐδέν πω, not yet* (although threatened by so powerful an invasion). —— *οὕτω δή, so then, then indeed.* These particles are often found in the principal clause, when it is placed after the subordinate one, to denote its result. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 889. 4. —— *ἅρας τῷ στρατῷ, setting out with his army.* *αἴρω* is used both of armies and fleets. —— *αὐτῶν* refers to the Athenians.

5. *μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον, their quota.* Cf. II. 10. § 2. —— *καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας* is not epexegetical of *μέρος*, for the reason that the Bœotians are said (II. 9. § 3) to have furnished cavalry, and because of the presence of the article. For it is not said in the passage referred to, that the Bœotians furnished only cavalry, a thing rendered very im-

probable, when the extent and resources of that state are considered, and in respect to the article it gives the sense which Goel. and Poppo adopt, *universum equitatum suum.* Render then: *their quota of foot forces and all their cavalry.* —— τοῖς λειπομένοις (=λοιποῖς. Cf. V. 114. § 2) is the dative of accompaniment.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pericles suspecting that the Lacedæmonians, for the purpose of rendering him odious, will spare his estates, gives notice that should this take place, he will surrender them up to the public use (§ 1); he repeats his advice for them to remove their effects from the country, to hazard no general engagement, to give their attention to the navy in which lay their strength, and to look well to the allies whence is their principal revenue (§ 2); he bids them take courage from the excellent state of their finances, and the ample treasures laid up in the citadel (§ 3); to which might be added the uncoined gold, the public and private offerings, and the sacred utensils (§ 4); money could be raised also from other sacred gifts, even from the golden ornaments of the goddess (§ 5); thus cheering them he finally expatiates on their military strength and resources, and their naval power, all of which he shows to be fully adequate to meet the approaching emergency (§§ 6–9).

1. ἔτι....ξυλλεγομένων, *but while the Peloponnesians were yet assembling.* —— Περικλῆς....αὐτός. See N. on I. 46. § 2. —— ἔγνω—ἐσομένην (*was about to take place*). See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— μὴ πολλάκις, *lest perchance.* —— ἰδίᾳ is opposed to Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων. So βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι is opposed to ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ (=*in order to render him an object of calumny*). The reflexive pronoun does not here refer to the subject of the sentence in which it stands, but to that of the principal sentence, and must therefore be rendered *him*, and not *himself.* S. § 161. 1. —— τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, *his estates.* —— τοῦτο refers to τοὺς....παραλίπῃ. —— ὥσπερ.... ἐκείνου contains a reason why the Lacedæmonians might be expected to do the thing just mentioned. —— προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κ. τ. λ. "Simili prudentia Annibalis astutiam elusit Fabius." Huds. —— οὐ γένοιτο (sc. ξένος), *notwithstanding he should not be his friend to the injury of the state.* —— τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ is not repeated with οἰκίας, because the two nouns ἀγροὺς and οἰκίας form but one conception, and therefore the adjunct applies to both. Cf. K. § 245. 2. —— δηώσωσιν. For the use of the subjunctive for the optative, see Ns. on I. 26. § 2; 52. § 3. —— ἀφίησιν depends on ὅτι after ἐκκλησίᾳ, and is to be repeated, as Goel. says, before γίγνεσθαι, in the sense of βούλεται or κελεύει. Krüg. makes it depend on προηγόρευε.

2. ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον, *the same as before.* Cf. I. 143. § 5. —— τὸ ναυτικὸν....ἐξαρτύεσθαι. Cf. I. 142. § 4 (end). —— διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν = μὴ ἀφιέναι, or (as it is expressed III. 46. § 5) σφόδρα φυλάσσειν. "To keep a watchful eye over them, and by no remissness encourage them to revolt." Arnold. —— λέγων belongs to the subject of παρήνει, i. e. Περικλῆς. —— τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς, *their* (i. e. the Athenian) *strength.* —— ἀπὸ τούτων refers to the allies, and is to be constructed after τῶν.... προσόδου. —— τῶν χρημάτων depends upon τῆς προσόδου, *the revenu of money.* Krüg. governs τῆς προσόδου by ἀπό. —— κρατεῖσθαι (*obtineri.* Poppo) has for its subject πράγματα understood to which πολλὰ belongs.

3. προσιόντων....ταλάντων, *because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *there was accruing* 600 *talents.* —— ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. See N. on I. 12. § 2. —— φόρου depends on ταλάντων, and denotes the material. —— ἀπό, *from.* —— τῇ πόλει limits προσιόντων. —— τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου from the public lands, mines, customs, alien taxes, fines, market tolls, etc. —— ἐπισήμου, *coined;* literally, *bearing an inscription, stamped.* —— τὰ ἐγένετο, *for the gross sum was* 9700 *talents;* literally, 10,000 *talents wanting* 300. See N. on II. 2. § 1. The γὰρ in this sentence is explanatory of ἔτι τότε (*yet at that time*), which implies that some of the funds had been drawn out. The difference between the two sums here mentioned (viz. 3700 talents) had been expended upon the public buildings and in the Potidæan war. —— τὰ προπύλαια, *the propylæ.* Col. Leake (Athens, I. p. 465) says that the prominence given to this public work, by thus designating it particularly, may have been in consequence of its more recent construction and its comparative cost. —— ἐς Ποτίδαιαν (cf. I. 56, et seq.). It appears from II. 70. § 2, that the whole siege of Potidæa cost 2000 talents, but a part only of this sum had been expended, when Pericles made his financial statement. Leake (Athens, I. p. 470) estimates this portion to have been in round numbers 750 talents, which leaves 2950 talents for the expense of the buildings. —— ἀπανηλώθη is without a subject, as many transitive verbs are without an object. Krüg.

4. χωρίς, *independent of.* —— ἦν ἡ. There is some obscurity in the use of ἦν in this place. Poppo with several other critics is disposed to omit it altogether. In that case, the construction might be ὑπάρχοντος (from § 3) χρυσίου—οὐκ ἐλάσσονος. If ἦν is the true reading, we should have expected χρυσίου—οὐκ ἔλασσον ἦν. —— ταλάντων. G. § 198.

5. ἐπὶ δέ, *but moreover.* —— ἄλλων than the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis, "the Parthenon, which was the treasury of Athens." Arnold. —— καὶ before ἦν connects οἷς and χρυσίοις. —— ἦν....πάν-

CHAPTER VIII.

Both sides prepare for war with the utmost ardor (§ 1); many predictions are uttered by oracle-mongers (§ 2), and the great earthquake which happened in Delos seemed to prognosticate the coming events (§ 3); the generality of Greece take sides with the Lacedæmonians, and, on account of their great animosity towards the Athenians, assist them to their utmost ability (§§ 4, 5).

1. ὀλίγον....ἀμφότεροι, *both parties contemplated nothing small*, i. e. they anticipated a severe struggle. —— ἔρρωντο is the pluperf. with the signification of the imperf. Bloomf. finds in this word an *agonistic* metaphor, its signification being *to string one's nerves* to an undertaking. —— ἀρχόμενοι, *in the beginning*. —— γὰρ explains οὐκ ἀπεικότως (see N. on I. 78. § 1). —— δὲ καί, *and also*. —— ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, *from inexperience*. The Schol. quotes the proverb: γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος. —— μετέωρος ἦν, *was aroused to the height of expectation*. —— πρώτων in power and influence.

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CHAPTER X.

The Lacedæmonians send orders to the Peloponnesian states to get their forces in a state of readiness, with a view to an expedition into Attica (§ 1); all things being in order, the troops assemble at the Isthmus, where the officers and commanders of the allies are addressed by king Archidamus (§§ 2, 3).

1. περιήγγελλον....ἐπιτήδεια. The order is: περιήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἔξω (without Peloponnesus) ξυμμαχίαν (abstract for concrete. See N. on I. 118. § 2) παρασκευάζεσθαι στρατιὰν τά τε ἐπιτήδεια. —— οἷα....ἔχειν. The period for which supplies were to be furnished was forty days. —— ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντες, *in order to make an irruption.*

2. ἑκάστοις (= ὑφ' ἑκάστων) of the confederated states. —— ἑτοῖμα. See N. on II. 3. § 4. —— γίγνοιτο, sc. πάντα. —— εἰρημένον by the Lacedæmonians, who were the leading people in the confederacy. —— τὰ δύο μέρη, *the two thirds* (cf. I. 74. § 1). "For expeditions without Peloponnesus, τὰ δύο μέρη (i. e. two thirds of the whole) appears to have been the common proportion required from each state." Müll. Dor. 1. 199. N. 5.

3. Ἀρχίδαμος. The first ten years of this war was called Ἀρχιδάμιος πόλεμος after this king. —— τοὺς—ἐν τέλει, *those in command, the commanders.* See N. on I. 10. § 4. —— παρεῖναι depends on ξυγκαλέσας.

CHAPTER XI.

This chapter contains the speech of king Archidamus to the officers of the allied forces assembled at the Isthmus. He begins by reminding them of the strength of their forces now in the field, admonishing them at the same time, that they are advancing against a powerful state (§ 1); their behavior should correspond therefore to their former glory, especially as the eyes of all Greece were upon them (§ 2); they should by no means relax their vigilance on account of their powerful and well-organized force, but be in a constant state of readiness to encounter danger (§ 3); for the events of war are doubtful, and attacks are oftentimes suddenly made, and want of caution has resulted in the defeat of forces far superior to those opposed to them (§ 4); in a hostile country, they should be bold in their plans and cautious in action, for thus their security from any attack would inspire them with courage (§ 5); they ought to expect from so powerful a state as Athens the most determined resistance, especially when they see their country invaded and ravaged (§ 6); for all men are excited when they see themselves suffering injury, and especially will this be true of persons so impulsive as the Athenians (§ 7), who, while they think it right for them to ravage the territory of others, will not wish to see their own thus dealt with (§ 8); in a war with such a state, it behooves the invading army to be obedient to orders, and conform to discipline as the surest ground of success (§ 9).

1. *οἱ ξύμμαχοι*, sc. *ὑμεῖς*. Cf. Xen. Anab. II. 5. § 39. —— *τῆσδε* depends on *μείζονα*. —— *ἀλλὰ....ἐρχόμεθα*, *but* [as we have a very large force] *so also we are now marching against a most powerful state.* —— *στρατεύοντες*. Poppo says, "in participio *στρατεύοντες* singulare quiddam temere quærit Matth. § 556. N. 1." See N. on I. 7. § 1.

2. *μήτε....ἐνδεεστέρους*, *nor inferior to our own glory.* —— *ἐπῆρται* = *μετέωρός ἐστιν* (II. 8. § 1). —— *Ἀθηναίων* is the objective genitive. —— *πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς*, *that we may accomplish*, depends upon *εὔνοιαν ἔχουσα*, to be mentally repeated in the sense of *wishing*, *desiring*. Such a dilogia is quite common in so compressed a style as that of Thucydides.

3. *τῷ* (i. e. *τινι*) belongs to *πλήθει*, and supplies the place of our indefinite article (S. § 165). In such a use it generally follows its substantive. —— *ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι* = *to feel much certainty.* —— *ἂν ἔλθεῖν—διὰ μάχης*, *will come to battle.* For *ἄν* with the infinitive, cf. S. § 215. 5; for the use of *διά*, cf. K. § 291. I. 1. *b*. —— *τούτου* refers to the preceding clause *εἴ τῳ....μάχης*. —— *ἀμελέστερόν τε*, *any the less cautious.* Mt. § 457. —— *τὸ καθ' αὑτόν*, *as far as pertains to himself, for his part.* Matthiæ (§ 283) says that the article is redundant in these phrases, which must be rendered as if they were parenthetical.

4. *ἐξ....γίγνονται*, *oftentimes attacks are made suddenly* (*ἐξ ὀλίγου*) *and through passion.* —— *δεδιὼς* = "*sibi cavens, prospiciens.*" Poppo. —— *ἄμεινον*. Supply mentally *ἢ οἱ πλίονες τὸ ἧσσον πλῆθος*. ——

διὰ....γενέσθαι, *on account of their being through contempt* (of their adversaries) *unprepared.* For the use of the participle, see N. on I. 9. § 1.

5. ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, *in a hostile country.* —— τῇ—γνώμῃ by its antithesis with τῷ ἔργῳ (*in the execution*) must have the sense, *in council, in planning.* —— δεδιότας. See N. on δεδιός, § 4. —— πρὸς (*in reference to, in*)....ἐναντίους limits εὐψυχότατοι.

6. ἀδύνατον—οὕτω, *thus unable.* —— τοῖς πᾶσιν refers to the means of resistance possessed by the enemy, and limits παρεσκευασμένην. S. § 206. 2. In respect to the thing spoken of, cf. I. 80. § 3. —— καὶ πάνυ (see N. on I. 3. § 1) ἐλπίζειν, *fully to expect.* —— διὰ μάχης ἰέναι. See N. on § 3 supra. —— ἐν ᾧ responds to νῦν. —— πάρεσμεν in the Athenian country referred to in ἐν τῇ γῇ. —— ἀλλ' ὅταν, *yet* (they will be in motion) *when.*

7. πᾶσι....προσπίπτει, *for all are angry* (literally, *anger comes upon all*) *to see themselves with their own eyes, and at the present moment suffering some unusual injury.* For the construction of πάσχοντας, cf. S. § 255. 7; C. § 633. —— λογισμῷ, *reason, reflection.* —— θυμῷ....καθίστανται, "*are the most hurried into action by passion.*" Bloomfield.

8. πλέον τι = μᾶλλον τι. Krüg. —— τῶν ἄλλων depends on πλέον. —— εἰκὸς is the predicate and Ἀθηναίους—τοῦτο δρᾶσαι is the subject of the sentence, ἐστὶ being understood (S. § 150. 4). —— ἄρχειν depends on ἀξιοῦσι. —— δηοῦν depends on ἐπιόντες. —— τὴν ἑαυτῶν, sc. δῃουμένην elicited from the preceding δηοῦν. Cf. K. § 346. 2. a.

9. ὡς οὖν, *since then,* introduces the conclusion of the speech. —— ἐπ' ἀμφότερα = *as they shall turn either way,* i. e. be prosperous or adverse. This phrase is epexegetical of δόξαν, which has in this place the sense of *good* or *evil report,* according as the contest should terminate. ἐπὶ denotes 'conformity to' (K. § 276. III. 3. b). —— ὅπῃ = ἐκεῖσε ὅπῃ, *into the place where.* —— ἄν τις (*one*) ἡγῆται. For the use of the subjunctive in adverbial sentences of place, cf. K. § 336; Mt. § 527. 1. —— περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι, *regarding it of the highest importance.* Matthiæ (§ 589. 5) says that the idea of ἀντὶ seems here to be implied in περί. Cf. Vig. p. 253. III. —— τὰ....δεχόμενοι. Bloomf. gives to δεχόμενοι the double sense of hearing and obeying: *quick to hear and prompt to obey your orders.* —— τόδε refers forward to πολλοὺς....φαίνεσθαι.

CHAPTER XII.

Archidamus sends Melesippus to see whether the Athenians are disposed to give way (§ 1); they refuse to admit him into the city, and order his immediate departure, affirming that they will receive no message from the Lacedæmonians, until they first retire to their own country (§ 2); at the same time they take measures to prevent Melesippus from having intercourse with any one (§ 3); upon his return, Archidamus breaks up his encampment, and marches forward into the Athenian territory (§ 4); the Bœotians ravage the Platæan territory (§ 5).

1. *ἀποστέλλει—εἴ τι.* Supply *σκεψόμενον*, or some such word. See N. on I. 58. § 1. *τι* depends on *ἐνδοῖεν.* —— *μᾶλλον* than at the time when the last embassy was sent (I. 139. § 3). —— *ἐνδοῖεν, would give in.* This is like our usage of the phrase.—— *ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας.* The Peloponnesians were now at the Isthmus, on their way to Attica. Cf. II. 10. § 2.

2. *οἱ δέ*, i. e. the Athenians. —— *αὐτὸν* refers to Melesippus. —— *τὸ κοινόν.* See N. on I. 90. § 5. —— *κήρυκα....προσδέχεσθαι* is epexegetical of *γνώμη*, or perhaps some would construct it as the subject of *ἦν*, in which case the sense would remain the same. —— *ἀκοῦσαι* his message. —— *ἐκτὸς....αὐθημερόν, to withdraw from their boundaries that very day* (as Arist. I. 250 explains it, *πρὸ ἡλίου δύνοντος, before sunset*). *ἐκτὸς ὅρων εἶναι* is something like our brief expression, *be off with yourself.* The order here given was by no means an uncommon one. —— *ἀναχωρήσαντας* refers to the Lacedæmonians. —— *αὐτῶν* agrees with the genitive implied in *σφέτερα.* C. § 454. 8. —— *ἀγωγούς, as escort.* —— *ὅπως* has the telic sense. See N. on I. 65. § 1.

3. *τοσόνδε* refers to *ἤδε....ἄρξει* (*is the beginning of*). The prediction in this passage (of which many imitations exist) was most fearfully verified. *ὅτι* is here the sign of a direct quotation.

4. *οὐδέν πω, not yet* (although threatened by so powerful an invasion). —— *οὕτω δή, so then, then indeed.* These particles are often found in the principal clause, when it is placed after the subordinate one, to denote its result. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 839. 4. —— *ἅρας τῷ στρατῷ, setting out with his army.* *αἴρω* is used both of armies and fleets. —— *αὐτῶν* refers to the Athenians.

5. *μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον, their quota.* Cf. II. 10. § 2. —— *καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας* is not epexegetical of *μέρος*, for the reason that the Bœotians are said (II. 9. § 3) to have furnished cavalry, and because of the presence of the article. For it is not said in the passage referred to, that the Bœotians furnished only cavalry, a thing rendered very im-

probable, when the extent and resources of that state are considered, and in respect to the article it gives the sense which Goel. and Poppo adopt, *universum equitatum suum.* Render then: *their quota of foot forces and all their cavalry.* —— τοῖς λειπομένοις (=λοιποῖς. Cf. V. 114. § 2) is the dative of accompaniment.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pericles suspecting that the Lacedæmonians, for the purpose of rendering him odious, will spare his estates, gives notice that should this take place, he will surrender them up to the public use (§ 1); he repeats his advice for them to remove their effects from the country, to hazard no general engagement, to give their attention to the navy in which lay their strength, and to look well to the allies whence is their principal revenue (§ 2); he bids them take courage from the excellent state of their finances, and the ample treasures laid up in the citadel (§ 3); to which might be added the uncoined gold, the public and private offerings, and the sacred utensils (§ 4); money could be raised also from other sacred gifts, even from the golden ornaments of the goddess (§ 5); thus cheering them he finally expatiates on their military strength and resources, and their naval power, all of which he shows to be fully adequate to meet the approaching emergency (§§ 6–9).

1. ἔτι....ξυλλεγομένων, *but while the Peloponnesians were yet assembling.* —— Περικλῆς....αὐτός. See N. on I. 46. § 2. —— ἔγνω—ἐσομένην (*was about to take place*). See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— μὴ πολλάκις, *lest perchance.* —— ἰδίᾳ is opposed to Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων. So βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι is opposed to ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ (=*in order to render him an object of calumny*). The reflexive pronoun does not here refer to the subject of the sentence in which it stands, but to that of the principal sentence, and must therefore be rendered *him*, and not *himself.* S. § 161. 1. —— τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, *his estates.* —— τοῦτο refers to τοὺς....παραλίπῃ. —— ὥσπερ.... ἐκείνου contains a reason why the Lacedæmonians might be expected to do the thing just mentioned. —— προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κ. τ. λ. "Simili prudentia Annibalis astutiam elusit Fabius." Huds. —— οὐ....γένοιτο (sc. ξένος), *notwithstanding he should not be his friend to the injury of the state.* —— τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ is not repeated with οἰκίας, because the two nouns ἀγροὺς and οἰκίας form but one conception, and therefore the adjunct applies to both. Cf. K. § 245. 2. —— δηώσωσιν. For the use of the subjunctive for the optative, see Ns. on I. 26. § 2; 52. § 3. —— ἀφήσειν depends on ὅτι after ἐκκλησίᾳ, and is to be repeated, as Goel. says, before γίγνεσθαι, in the sense of βούλεται or κελεύει. Krüg. makes it depend on προηγόρευε.

2. ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον, *the same as before.* Cf. I. 143. § 5. —— τὸ ναυτικὸν....ἐξαρτύεσθαι. Cf. I. 142. § 4 (end). —— διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν = μὴ ἀφιέναι, or (as it is expressed III. 46. § 5) σφόδρα φυλάσσειν. "To keep a watchful eye over them, and by no remissness encourage them to revolt." Arnold. —— λέγων belongs to the subject of παρήνει, i. e. Περικλῆς. —— τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς, *their* (i. e. the Athenian) *strength.* —— ἀπὸ τούτων refers to the allies, and is to be constructed after τῶν.... προσόδου. —— τῶν χρημάτων depends upon τῆς προσόδου, *the revenue of money.* Krüg. governs τῆς προσόδου by ἀπό. —— κρατεῖσθαι (*obtineri.* Poppo) has for its subject πράγματα understood to which πολλὰ belongs.

3. προσιόντων....ταλάντων, *because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *there was accruing* 600 *talents.* —— ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. See N. on I. 12. § 2. —— φόρου depends on ταλάντων, and denotes the material. —— ἀπό, *from.* —— τῇ πόλει limits προσιόντων. —— τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου from the public lands, mines, customs, alien taxes, fines, market tolls, etc. —— ἐπισήμου, *coined;* literally, *bearing an inscription, stamped.* —— τὰ ἐγένετο, *for the gross sum was* 9700 *talents;* literally, 10,000 *talents wanting* 300. See N. on II. 2. § 1. The γὰρ in this sentence is explanatory of ἔτι τότε (*yet at that time*), which implies that some of the funds had been drawn out. The difference between the two sums here mentioned (viz. 3700 talents) had been expended upon the public buildings and in the Potidæan war. —— τὰ προπύλαια, *the propylæa.* Col. Leake (Athens, I. p. 465) says that the prominence given to this public work, by thus designating it particularly, may have been in consequence of its more recent construction and its comparative cost. —— ἐς Ποτίδαιαν (cf. I. 56, et seq.). It appears from II. 70. § 2, that the whole siege of Potidæa cost 2000 talents, but a part only of this sum had been expended, when Pericles made his financial statement. Leake (Athens, I. p. 470) estimates this portion to have been in round numbers 750 talents, which leaves 2950 talents for the expense of the buildings. —— ἀπανηλώθη is without a subject, as many transitive verbs are without an object. Krüg.

4. χωρίς, *independent of.* —— ἦν ἡ. There is some obscurity in the use of ἦν in this place. Poppo with several other critics is disposed to omit it altogether. In that case, the construction might be ὑπάρχοντος (from § 3) χρυσίου—οὐκ ἐλάσσονος. If ἦν is the true reading, we should have expected χρυσίου—οὐκ ἔλασσον ἦν. —— ταλάντων. G. § 198.

5. ἐπὶ δέ, *but moreover.* —— ἄλλων than the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis, "the Parthenon, which was the treasury of Athens." Arnold. —— καὶ before ἦν connects οἷς and χρυσίοις. —— ἦν....πάν-

των, if they should be wholly debarred from all, i. e. the sources of revenue and income which have been previously mentioned. Reference is not had to the sacred utensils and offerings, for it was lawful to use these in emergencies, if their value was repaid (see N. on I. 121. § 3). The case supposed refers to a cutting off of revenue and tribute, in the contingency of a revolt of the allies. —— *τάλαντα* is the predicate. —— *σταθμόν, by weight.* —— *ἀπέφθου, refined;* literally, *boiled down.* —— *μὴ ἐλάσσω = equal in value.*

6. *χρήμασι* = "*on the score of funds.*" Bloomf. —— *οὕτως*, i. e. by a recapitulation of the financial resources. —— *τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους.* The 3000 hoplites employed in the siege of Potidæa are included in this number. —— *τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν, of those who lined the parapets.* So Arnold explains. On account of the continuous position of these parapets, the singular is used collectively for the plural.

7. *οἱ πολέμιοι*, i. e. the Peloponnesians. —— *ἐσβάλοιεν.* See Mt. § 521. —— *μετοίκων* (see N. on I. 143. § 1) *ὅσοι*, i. e. the *ἰσοτελεῖς*, composed of the richest and most respectable class of *μέτοικοι.* —— *γὰρ* introduces the reason why so many men were employed in guarding the fortifications, viz. their great extent. —— *Φαληρικοῦ τείχους.* There is some difficulty in reconciling the statement of Thucydides in this place, by which it appears that besides this Phaleric wall, there were two others called the Long Walls, with what was said I. 107. § 1, *τὰ μακρὰ Πειραῖα.* Col. Leake could find no vestiges of a third wall, although the foundation work of two walls, distant from each other 550 feet, could be distinctly traced. The declaration, however, of Thucydides, that there were three walls, is so plain and direct that it must be received with confidence of its truth. The following seems to be the true and only solution of this apparent confliction in our author's statements. The inner wall (i. e. *τὸ ἔσωθεν*) was called the southern in reference to the northern, or when the Long Walls were spoken of without any reference to the Phaleric wall. But when the Phaleric and the Long Walls were referred to, this southern limb of the Long Walls was called the middle wall. The southern or middle wall (either term being employed according as the speaker had in his mind the Long Walls alone, or the Phaleric in connection with them) was built A. C. 445, in the commencement of Pericles's administration, and was designed, as Arnold thinks (see his note on this passage), to render secure the communication between Athens and Piræus, in case the enemy should force the Phaleric, or turn it by a descent into the old port Phalerum. Those who wish to examine this subject more extensively, are referred to Arnold's note (above cited); Col. Leake's Topog. Athens (2d edit.), pp. 417–434; Poppo's Proleg. Vol. II. 250,

et seq.; Bloomfield's Hist. of Thucyd. I. p. 313; Goeller's note on this passage, and Woolsey's Gorgias, p. 142. —— *κύκλον*. The wall around Athens was circular in form. —— *ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ* = *a part of it*; literally, *there is of it what*. —— *τὸ μεταξὺ....Φαληρικοῦ* explains *ἔστι....ὅ*. This portion of the city walls lying between the two walls, is said by the Schol. to have been in length seventeen stadia. —— *τὸ ἔξωθεν, the outer one*, so called in the relation in which both the Long Walls stood to the Phaleric wall. For the same reason, Thucydides would have called the other wall *τὸ ἔσωθεν, the inner one*, which would have responded to the *τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος* of Plato. The reason why the southern leg of the Long Walls (i. e. the inner one in reference to the three walls) was not guarded will readily appear, when it is borne in mind that it lay between the northern limb of the Long Walls and the Phaleric wall, both of which were guarded. It appears from what has been said, that the whole line of fortifications to be guarded was 148 stadia in length.

8. *ἱπποτοξόταις, horse-archers, mounted bowmen.* —— *ἑξακοσίους τοξότας*. As the orators make mention of only 1200 bowmen who served on foot, Boeckh (Econ. Ath. p. 264) thinks that the difference may be accounted for by the fact, that the mercenary (Scythian) bowmen were at most 1200, but that the others were either citizens of the poorer class, or resident aliens, who were light-armed, and chiefly trained in archery.

9. *οὐκ....τούτων, and not less in each particular*, i. e. no one of the estimates was overrated. —— *καθίσταντο* refers to the Athenians. —— *ἐς....πολέμῳ, to show that they would carry on the war successfully*; literally, *for a demonstration that they would be superior in the war.*

CHAPTER XIV.

The Athenians listen to the advice of Pericles, and bring their families and effects from the country into the city (§ 1); not however without extreme reluctance (§ 2).

1. *ἄλλην*. See N. on I. 143. § 1. —— *αὐτῶν....ξύλωσιν, taking down the very wood-work of their houses* (in order to remove them). Some erroneously render *καθαιροῦντες, pulling down* in the way of destroying. But why not set fire to their dwellings, if that was their object?

2. *χαλεπῶς* is equivalent to an adjective in agreement with *ἡ ἀνάστασις*. Cf. Mt. § 309. *c.* —— *τοὺς πολλούς, the most of them*, is the subject of *εἰωθέναι*.

CHAPTER XV.

The design of this chapter is to show, that the Athenians from the earliest times had been accustomed to live in the country, for before the time of Theseus, Attica was composed of towns, having each its own government and quite independent of the king (§ 1); but Theseus united these towns into one political confederacy having Athens as its capital, and thus left the state to his successors (§ 2); before this period, the city consisted only of the citadel and the space at the foot of it towards the south (§ 3); a proof of which is the present situation of the principal temples and works of more ancient times, and the name *city* which is still given to the Acropolis (§§ 4–6).

1 *ἐτέρων* (nations) *μᾶλλον*. See N. on I. 85. § 1. —— *τοῦτο*, i. e. *τὸ ἐν ἀγροῖς δίαιταν ἔχειν*. —— *ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος*, *for in the time of Cecrops*. K. § 296. I. 2. —— *κατά*. See N. on *κατὰ κώμας*, I. 10. § 2. —— *πόλεις*. There were twelve of these towns according to Strabo. —— *ἔχουσα* = *each having*. The singular naturally proceeds from *κατὰ πόλεις*, which Bloomf. would repeat in the sense of *separatim* or *pagatim*. —— *ὡς* is to be constructed before *βουλευσόμενοι*, *in order to consult*. —— *ἐπολέμησαν* with one another. "Male Bloomf. *τῷ βασιλεῖ* supplet." Poppo.

2. *ἐβασίλευσε*, *became king*. —— *τά τε ἄλλα*, *in many other respects*. —— *ἐς....πάντας*, *and having appointed one general council and prytanæum, he caused all to come together* (for public purposes) *into the present city* (as into a metropolis). —— *νεμομένους....χρῆσθαι*, *and compelled each, enjoying his own* (private) *rights as before, to use this as one city*. —— *ἁπάντων....αὐτήν*, *since all were now reckoned a part of it*. So Arnold, with whom Haack agrees in the main. Others render *belonged to it*, and others still, *contributed to it* (i. e. paid taxes to it). Bloomf. is disposed to unite these two meanings, or rather to consider the last as embracing the idea of politically belonging to it. —— *τοῖς ἔπειτα*, *to those who came afterwards, his successors*. —— *ξυνοίκια*, *Synœcia*, a public feast celebrated by the Athenians, in memory of this union of all the towns under one government at Athens. It was kept on the 17th Boëdromion, the third Attic month, comprising the time between the 23d of August and the 21st of September. Schmitz says that the feast was celebrated on the 16th of Hecatombæon, the first month of the Attic year. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Antiq. p. 924. —— *ξυνοίκια* is in apposition with *ἑορτήν*. —— *δημοτελῆ*, *at the public cost*.

3. "We have now, to the end of the chapter, another minute digression, suggested by the words *μεγάλη γενομένη*." Bloomf. —— *τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου*, *before this*. *τὸ* is the accusative of time *when*, and precedes *πρὸ τούτου* (sc. *χρόνου*) taken adverbially. Cf. Mt. § 288; S.

§ 169. 1. —— ἡ ἀκρόπολις, with which ἡ νῦν οὖσα (see N. on τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, § 2 supra) is to be taken, is the predicate. Stanley well remarks (Class. Mus. I. 51) that the original destination of the Greek citadels was not so much military as social and religious, and that their character was not that of a fortress for the accommodation of garrisons only, but in early times the seat of the infant city, and in all times the home of the ancestral gods of the people. Hence (the same writer remarks) the traveller visiting Greece for the first time, and not aware of this fact, would believe that the towering height of Lycabettus, and not the little square rock which nestles at its foot, was the Acropolis of Athens. —— καὶ τὸ....τετραμμένον, *and the part most especially which lies under it* (i. e. the Acropolis) *towards the south.*

4. τεκμήριον δὲ is a proposition by itself. The ellipsis may be supplied: τουτῶν ἐστὶ τοῦτο. Cf. Butt. § 151. 6. —— ἐν—ἐστι, *are situated in.* —— ἄλλων than Minerva. —— ἔξω the Acropolis. —— πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος = *to the south*, inasmuch as πρὸς νότον is referred to. —— τό τε....'Ολυμπίου, (as for example) *the temple of the Olympian Jupiter.* In respect to the situation of the temples here referred to, I must, for brevity's sake, be content to refer the reader to Col. Leake's Topog. Ath. I. pp. 513, 485–498. —— ᾧ, i. e. to Bacchus. —— τῇ δωδεκάτῃ day. —— Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, *Anthesterion*, the eighth month of the Attic year, comprising the latter part of February and the former part of March, during which time the Anthesteria or *Feast of Flowers* was celebrated. —— νῦν, i. e. in the time of the historian. —— νομίζουσιν. See N. on νομίζει, I. 77. § 6.

5. ταύτῃ, *in this quarter, here.* —— κρήνῃ depends on ἐχρῶντο, and is repeated in ἐκείνῃ, in consequence of its having been separated from its governing word by the intervening clauses. S. § 163. N. 3. —— τῇ....καλουμένῃ, *that which is now called Enneacrunus* (i. e. having nine pipes), *on account of the tyrants* (i. e. the Pisistratidæ. Schol.) *having so constructed it.* —— φανερῶν, *visible* to the eye. —— καλλιρρόῃ, i. e. beautifully flowing. —— ἄξια, sc. ἐς. See ἐς ἄλλα infra. Cf. Mt. § 409. 6; K. § 278. 4. Or if it is thought preferable, τὰ—ἄξια may denote the result or purpose of the verb ἐχρῶντο. Cf. C. § 482. 3. —— ἐχρῶντο, sc. Ἀθηναῖοι from Ἀθηναίων in the preceding context. —— νομίζεται—χρῆσθαι, *it is customary to use.* See N. on I. 77. § 6.

6. ἀκρόπολις is the subject and πόλις is the predicate of this sentence.

CHAPTER XVI.

This rural and unconstrained manner of living the Athenians are reluctant to give up, and with much grief they abandon their dwellings, being as it were their ancestral temples, and quit their cities (§§ 1, 2).

1. *οὖν* resumes the train of thought from §§ 1, 2 of the preceding chapter, which was interrupted by the digression in §§ 3–6. The paragraph as far as *ξυνῳκίσθησαν* is a repetition of the arguments of these two sections. The historian then shows that the union under one political metropolis, did not win the affections of the Athenians from their country residences. At *οὐ ῥᾳδίως....ἐποιοῦντο*, he returns to *χαλεπῶς....ἐγίγνετο* (II. 14. § 2), which words gave rise to the digression in chap. 15. —— *μετεῖχον = used*, "*clung to.*" Jelf's Kühn. § 860. For the dative after this verb instead of the more usual genitive, cf. Jelf's Kühn. §§ 636. II. a; 642. *b*. —— *ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς* follows *γενόμενοι* (*degentes*). —— *πανοικησίᾳ*, *with the whole family*. —— *ἄρτι* does not refer to the times immediately preceding. Its force may be seen in the translation, *soon after the Persian war*. —— *ἀνειληφότες*, *having recovered*, with the additional idea of *repairing* and *rebuilding*, when their habitations had been injured or destroyed by the enemy.

2. *χαλεπῶς ἔφερον—καταλιπόντες*, *felt it hard to leave*. K. § 810. 4. c. —— *ἃ—ἦν αὐτοῖς—πάτρια*, *which were their hereditary fanes*. Arnold has an excellent note on this passage, in which he shows how local was the religion of the ancients, the gods being supposed to have their own homes, where only they could be worshipped with acceptance. In contrast with this notion, he aptly cites John 4 : 21, 23, 24. —— *οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ*, *nothing else than his own city* (= *his own city*. Mt. § 488. 11). The use of *ἄλλο* is here prospective. C. § 541. *β*. Bothe supplies with *καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο* the verb *ἐβαρύνοντο* from the preceding context.

CHAPTER XVII.

Those who come in from the country, with few exceptions, are obliged to take up their abode in the vacant places, temples, and chapels of the city, and even to occupy the place called Pelasgicum, to inhabit which was laid under a curse (§ 1); the denunciation of the oracle, however, was to be interpreted far otherwise than it was apprehended by the people, for the calamity which it foretold resulted from the necessity of its being inhabited, rather than its being sacrilegious to do so (§ 2); many constructed huts for themselves upon the towers of the walls, and at last partitioned out and made huts adjacent to the Long Walls, and in a great part of the Piræus (§ 3); at the same time they apply themselves vigorously to the war, draw together their auxiliaries, and equip a fleet of 100 sail (§ 4).

1. *καταφυγή*. The verb is to be supplied from *ὑπῆρχον*. —— *οἱ δὲ....ᾤκησαν*. Temporary dwellings were probably erected in this

northern and uninhabited portion of the city. —— *τό τε Πελασγικόν.* Haack supplies *τεῖχος*, and says that it refers to a place adjacent to the Pelasgic wall, and deserted from the time that the Pelasgians there conspired against the Athenians. Col. Leake (Topog. Ath. I. p. 318) says, "the word Pelasgicum was applied not only to a part of the wall of the Acropolis, but also to a space of ground below the rocks of the Acropolis." He also refers to this passage in proof, that it was an enclosed space and not merely a wall. This is the opinion, as far as I am able to discover, of all the best commentators. —— *ὃ οἰκεῖν, and which it was forbidden even* (*καὶ*) *by a curse to inhabit;* literally, *to inhabit which was laid even under a curse.* For *μὴ* with the infinitive, see N. on I. 10. § 1. —— *τι—ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε, a certain verse-ending after this sort; some such fag-end* (Bloomf.) *of a verse as this.*

2. *τοὐναντίον....προσεδέχοντο, to have been fulfilled in a different manner from what they expected = to have had a different meaning than the one usually supposed.* —— *οὐ γὰρ διὰ κ. τ. λ.* In this place Thucydides betrays his disbelief in the oracle. Calamities did indeed result from inhabiting the Pelasgicum, not however from the curse pronounced upon it, but from the great necessity, which compelled the Athenians in face of such a prohibitory oracle to inhabit it, and which necessity, whenever it came, might be predicted as disastrous without any great claim to foreknowledge. The ambiguous replies of the oracle are referred to in I. 126. §§ 4–6, in a way which shows that our author had little confidence in them. —— *αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι.* Supply *δοκοῦσι* from *δοκεῖ* in the preceding proposition. Mt. § 556. *Obs.* 1. —— *ὃν* refers to *πόλεμον*, and *αὐτὸ* to *Πελασγικόν.* —— *τὸ μαντεῖον* with *ὀνομάζον* has the sense of *the oracle*, but with *προῄδει, the one who uttered the oracle.*

3. *κατεσκευάσαντο, made themselves huts, "settled, quartered,* or *established themselves."* Arnold. Cf. Xen. Cyr. VII. 5. § 37. —— *κατανειμάμενοι, dividing among themselves.* The huts are said by the Schol. to have been built on the walls, but it is more natural to suppose with Bloomf., that they were built along the base of the walls so as to be supported by them. —— *τοῦ Πειραιῶς, of the Piræus*, not *of the walls of the Piræus*, as Bloomf. supposes.

4. *ἅμα δέ, but at the same time* with the removal of these persons into the city. —— *τῶν ἤπτοντο.* S. § 192. 1. —— *ἀγείροντες* belongs to *ἤπτοντο* as the participle of manner. See N. on I. 37. § 5. —— *τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, against Peloponnesus.* Dat. incommodi.

5. *ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς, in this state of preparation.* See N. on I. 49. § 6 (end).

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Peloponnesian army reaches Œnoe, and making preparations to take it by storm are for some time delayed (§§ 1, 2); which delay and his tardiness in other respects bring much censure upon Archidamus, for during the siege of Œnoe the Athenians effected their removal into the city (§§ 3, 4); the alleged reason for this slowness of movement was the expectation that the Athenians would make some concession (§ 5).

1. *ἀφίκετο....πρῶτον*, "*came upon Attica first at Œnoe.*" C. § 361. *a.* See N. on I. 114. § 2. Œnoe lay on the route from the Isthmus to Bœotia, under Cytheron, and on the Eleusinian Cephissus. —— *παρεσκευάζοντο—ποιησόμενοι, prepared to make.* *ὡς* is generally found in the construction before the participle. Cf. Mt. § 555. *Obs.* 2. p. 961; K. § 310. 4. *h.* Archidamus probably assaulted this place, because he thought it unsafe to leave so strong a fortress in his rear or on his flank; or he wished to give some color to the delay, which he was making for the purpose referred to in § 5 infra.

2. *αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ—ἐχρῶντο, used it for a fortress.* "With *χρῆσθαι* a second dative often stands by means of attraction, so as to express the *aim* or *design*." K. § 285. 1. (2). *αὐτῷ* refers to *Οἰνόη*, but conforms in gender to *φρουρίῳ*. Cf. Kr. § 61. 7. N. 1. —— *ὁπότε—καταλάβοι.* The optative here denotes indefinite frequency. See N. on I. 49. § 3. —— *ἄλλως, otherwise* (than it should have been) = *to no purpose.* —— *χρόνον, for a while, some time.*

3. *αἰτίαν, censure, crimination.* —— *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, i. e. from the consumption of so much time at Œnoe. —— *δοκῶν, appearing, seeming.* —— *ἐν....πολέμου* (cf. I. 80, et seq.). Bloomf. renders *ξυναγογῇ, the assembly* or *congress* (of the allies). Krüg. translates it, *Anregung, the incitement, the rousing up*, which, by referring to the spirit and object of the congress, seems to me to contrast more forcibly with *μαλακός*, than though put for the congress itself. —— *οὐ παραινῶν* (*because he did not advise*) *προθύμως πολεμεῖν.* Cf. I. 80–85. —— *διέβαλεν, exposed him to censure.* See N. on *ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε*, I. 6. § 3.

4. *ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ*, i. e. while the Lacedæmonians were staying at Œnoe. —— *ἐδόκουν....καταλαβεῖν = it seemed probable* (cf. C. § 551) *that if the Peloponnesians had advanced with rapidity* (*διὰ τάχους = ταχέως*), *they would have found every thing without* the city. —— *ἄν* belongs to *καταλαβεῖν.* S. § 215. 5. —— *εἰ μὴ....μέλλησιν, unless through* (= *but for*) *his delay.* Cf. Mt. § 580. 2. *b*; Hoog. Gr. Part. p. 55.

5. *ἐν = ἐπί.* —— *καθέδρᾳ, halt, stoppage.* —— *ἐνδώσειν τι.* See N. on II. 12. § 1.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Peloponnesians not succeeding in taking Œnoe, and receiving no proposals of peace from the Athenians, break up the siege, and marching forward into Attica, lay waste the country (§ 1); after defeating a detachment of Athenian cavalry at Rheiti, they proceed to Acharnæ, and ravage the surrounding country (§ 2).

1. πᾶσαν ἰδέαν depends on πειράσαντες. Poppo professes himself in doubt between this construction, and that of the explanatory accusative (cf. Mt. § 425. 5; K. § 279. 7). If the latter construction be the true one, αὐτῆς referring to Œnoe must be supplied with πειράσαντες. —— οὕτω δή (*then indeed*) responds to ἐπειδή. —— ὁρμήσαντες = *departing*. —— ἀπ' αὐτῆς, i. e. from Œnoe. —— μετὰ....γενόμενα is to be construed after ἡμέρα. τὰ—γενόμενα has the sense of a substantive (= *the event*), and is therefore followed by the genitive Θηβαίων. Cf. Mt. § 375. Obs. 1. —— ἐν Πλαταιᾷ depends upon τὰ—γενόμενα, and not upon τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων. —— τοῦ θέρους.... ἀκμάζοντος, *in midsummer and when the harvest was ripe;* literally, *in the height of summer and of harvest.* Arnold says that the commencement of this ravage of Attica could not be later than the end of June. Goel. refers τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος to the time when the corn is in flower, and Leake says that the harvest in Peloponnesus begins about June 10th, and does not end before July 20th, or the beginning of August.

2. Ἐλευσῖνα....πεδίον. Eleusis was situated on the bay of the same name, about midway between Megara and Athens. Its modern name is Lepsina. North of the town was the Eleusinian plain, in which was Thria, about three miles north-east from Eleusis, which gave its name to the greater part of the plain. —— τροπὴν—ἐποιήσαντο, *put to flight.* —— τινὰ—ἱππέων = *a detachment of Athenian horse.* It is not to be supposed that the whole of the invading army marched to Rheiti, for this repulse of the Athenians was doubtless effected by a detachment of the Peloponnesian horse. —— περὶ τοὺς Ῥείτους, *at Rheiti.* These were two salt lakes on the eastern margin of the bay of Eleusis, at the entrance of the plain, and forming the boundary between the Athenians and Eleusinians. Cf. Leake's Topog. Ath. II. pp. 138–141. —— τὸ Αἰγάλεων....Ἀχαρνάς. From the Thriasian plain the invading army passed on until they came to the mountain ("*summit of the mountain.*" Arnold) Corydallus, where they appear to have left the Sacred Way, and with the mountain on their right, pursued their march to Acharnæ, a town sixty stadia (cf. I. 31. § 2) north of Athens. Dodwell, cited approvingly by Poppo (Prolegg.

II. p. 259), thinks that Corydallus and Ægaleos are one and the same mountain. If so, the main difficulty in the passage is removed. The reason why the Peloponnesians changed the direction of their march appears in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XX.

Archidamus refrained from entering the Athenian plain, in the expectation that the Athenians would sally forth to prevent their country from being ravaged (§§ 1, 2); but when they neither met him at Eleusis nor at the Thriasian plain, he marched to Acharnæ (§ 3), it being a place suitable for an army to encamp in, and his design being to provoke the Acharnians to come forth and defend their lands from devastation; if however they should not do this, the plain might then be ravaged and the city of Athens approached, with the advantage, that the zeal of the Acharnians to defend Athens would be diminished by the fact that their own lands were already ravaged (§§ 4, 5).

1. ὡς....τεταγμένον, *with his army arranged for battle.* ὡς ἐς μάχης = *on the supposition that there would be a battle.* Cf. K. § 290. R. 2. See N. on I. 73. § 5. —— πεδίον of Attica. Col. Leake thinks that the district of Acharnæ was so separate from the plain of Athens, or at least was such a distinct portion of it, as to afford a good defensive position for an invading army (Topog. Ath. II. p. 36). —— ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ denotes time (S. § 204), or perhaps it may be regarded as the dative of means (*by that irruption*), which would account for the omission of ἐν, which is usually joined with words not in themselves expressive of time. The plain was ravaged in the second expedition of the Peloponnesians (II. 55. § 1).

2. γὰρ introduces the explanation of γνώμῃ τοιᾷδε in the previous section. —— ἀκμάζοντας....πολλῇ, *abounding in young men.* —— ὡς οὔπω πρότερον, *as never before* = *better than ever before.* —— ἴσως, *perhaps.* —— ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν = ὅτι ἐπεξέλθοιεν ἄν. S. § 215. 5. —— περιιδεῖν (see N. on περιορᾶν, I. 24. § 6) is here followed by the infinitive, because it refers to the permission of something which may exist hereafter, and not of something already existing. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 687. *Obs.*

3. εἰ ἐπεξίασιν, (to see) *whether they would meet him* in battle. See N. on εἴ πως, I. 58. § 1.

4. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ introduces another reason why Archidamus remained about Acharnæ. —— ὁ χῶρος....ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι (= ἐπιτήδειον ἐφαίνετο στρατοπεδεῦσαι ἐν τῷ χώρῳ. See N. on I. 40. 4 init.), *the place seemed convenient to encamp in.* For ἐφαίνετο with the in-

finitive, see N. on I. 2. § 1). —— *μέγα....πόλεως, who constituted* (see N. on I. 8. § 1) *a considerable portion of the state.* —— *γὰρ* in *τριςχίλιοι γὰρ* illustrates the size and importance of this demus. See Leake's Topog. Ath. II. p. 35. —— *περιόψεσθαι.* See N. on *περιορᾶν*, I. 24. § 6. —— *διαφθαρέντα* is put for the present participle, inasmuch as it refers to an action coincident with the time designated by the verb upon which it depends. —— *καὶ τοὺς πάντας, the whole* (of the Athenians) *also.* —— *ἀθεέστερον, more fearlessly.* —— *τεμεῖν*, so *ἐδόκει* from the preceding *ἐδόκουν.* —— *πρὸς....πόλιν, near to the city itself*, i. e. Athens. —— *γὰρ* introduces the supposed apathy of the Acharnians, as a reason why the invading army could approach Athens itself. —— *κινδυνεύειν* depends on *προθύμους.* —— *στάσιν.... γνώμῃ, dissension would be in their councils.*

CHAPTER XXI.

The Athenians entertained hopes that the Peloponnesians would proceed no further than Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, as was the case when Pleistoanax made an incursion into their country (§ 1); but when they see their invaders only sixty stadia from their city, they manifest, especially the younger portion of the citizens, great discontent at remaining inactive in the city (§ 2); prophecies and oracles are uttered which each interprets as suits his inclination; the Acharnians also are urgent in their desire to sally forth, and thus the city is full of excitement and commotion, and all upbraid Pericles as the author of their calamities (§ 3).

1. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κ. τ. λ. The apodosis of *μέχρι μὲν οὗ* is commonly supposed to begin with the words *καί τινα ἐλπίδα*, but the presence of *καὶ* seems to forbid this, and there can properly be no opposition found between these words and *οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο* (§ 2), the apodosis of *ἐπειδὴ....ἀπέχοντα*, which is antithetic to *μέχρι....ὁ στρατὸς ἦν.* I am inclined therefore to adopt the opinion of Poppo, that the apodosis *ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο* is to be supplied after *προϊέναι*, from the antithetic apodosis *οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο.* Goel. and Arnold, however, regard *καί τινα ἐλπίδι* as forming the apodosis, *καὶ* corresponding to *μέχρι*, and *οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο* having the sense *non jam sperabant.* —— Πλειστοάνακτα. See Notes on I. 107. § 2; 114. § 2. —— *ὅτε* = *ὅτι.* Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 804. 7) says that this change of the substantival for the adverbial clause results from an ellipsis of *τοῦ χρόνου*: *I remember the time when I did thus and so* = *I remember that I did*, etc. Cf. also Liddell and Scott, *sub voce.* —— Ἀττικῆς.... θρίωζε. See N. on I. 114. § 2. —— στρατῷ. S. § 206. 5. —— ἐκ....

προελθών, *having advanced no further.* πλεῖον is here used of space by way of accommodation with προελθών. —— δόξαντι ἀναχώρησιν, *because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *he seemed to have been induced to this retreat by bribery.* πεισθῆναι in the active is followed by two accusatives. The more usual construction, however, would have been εἰς τὴν ἀνεχώρησιν. Cf. K. § 278. 4.

2. αὐτοῖς depends on ἐμφανεῖ as an adnominal genitive. S. § 197. N. 4. —— ὡς εἰκὸς refers not to γῆς....ἐμφανεῖ, but to δεῖνον ἐφαίνετο. —— οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. Repeat mentally ἐωράκεσαν. —— πλὴν τὰ Μηδικά, *except in the Median wars.* —— κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι. See N. on III. 27. § 3. —— ἐῶντες, sc. ἐξιέναι.

3. χρησμολόγοι. See N. on II. 8. § 2. —— ὧν....ὤργητο. Most of the critics supply the ellipsis which is evidently here, by repeating the last verb. So Arnold translates: "*which they were eager to listen to as each was eager; which they were severally eager to listen to.*" Cf. K. § 344. Prof. Crosby is disposed to govern ἀκροᾶσθαι by ὤργητο, it being placed before ὡς, in order to avoid the awkward collocation ὧν ὡς. He would then supply ἠκροῶντο or ἠκροᾶτο and render: *which to listen to according as each one was eager, so they listened* = *which they listened to, each according to the excitement of his feelings.* The correctness of this ingenious solution will of course depend much on the validity of the assumption in respect to the position of ὡς. I see no objection to this transposition, but unless it is made, must concur in the explanation of Poppo, Arnold, and Bloomf. —— οἰόμενοι Ἀθηναίων, *thinking that they formed no small part of the Athenians;* literally, *that no small part of the Athenians was with them.* Cf. II. 20. § 4. In respect to παρὰ σφίσιν, see N. on παρ' ὑμῖν, I. 33. § 1. —— ὡς, *when.* —— ἐνῆγον, *urged on.* —— ὧν = ἐκείνων ἃ, of which the antecedent depends on οὐδέν. —— προτέρου belongs to παρῆνεσε. —— ἐκάκιζον. Conspicuous among those who reviled him was Cleon. —— ἐπεξάγοι. The optative is employed because ὅτι.... ἐπεξάγοι is quoted as what was said or thought by the persons here spoken of. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 885. *Obs.;* Mt. § 529. —— ὧν is put for ἃ by attraction with its antecedent. S. § 175. 1.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pericles seeing the Athenians so highly exasperated, and being satisfied of the wisdom of his councils, convenes no public assembly, lest in such a state of excitement unwise measures should be adopted, but contents himself with keeping the city as tranquil as possible (§ 1); he sends out detachments of horse, however, to check the enemy when extending their ravages too near the city, on one of which occasions an engagement takes place between the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry, and the Bœotian horse (§ 2); a list is given of the Thessalian auxiliaries (§ 3).

1. *πρὸς τὸ παρόν, in reference to the present posture of things.* —— *οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρονοῦντας* (by litotes) = *judging badly.* —— *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, in not leading them forth* to battle. —— *ἐκκλησίαν* signifies *a public meeting*, *ξύλλογον, a gathering* or *an assembly* of a more private nature. —— *τοῦ....ἐξαμαρτεῖν, lest coming together under the influence of passion rather than reason, they should err* in their resolves. This genitive clause denotes the reason why Pericles did not convene an assembly. C. § 622. N. A similar use of *τοῦ* with the infinitive is found in I. 4. —— *τε* in *τήν τε* responds to *τε* after *ἐκκλησίαν.* —— *μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο.* See N. on I. 17. § 1.

2. *τοῦ μὴ....κακουργεῖν* is constructed like *τοῦ....ἐξαμαρτεῖν* in § 1. —— *προδρόμους* = *ψιλοὺς* (III. 1. § 1). —— *στρατιᾶς* of the Peloponnesians. —— *βραχεῖα* = *μικρά.* Cf. I. 78. § 1. —— *ἐν Φρυγίοις, at Phrygia.* This place was in Attica near the Bœotian line, but its exact locality cannot now be determined. —— *τέλει* limits *ἐνεγένετο.* A *τέλος* of cavalry was 2048 men. —— *μετ' αὐτῶν*, i. e. on their side. —— *πρός, against.* —— *οὐκ ἔλασσον* = *the better of it.* For the litotes, see N. on I. 3. § 1. —— *μέχρι οὗ* (= *τοῦ χρόνου, ὅτε.* C. § 580. a), *until.* —— *αὐτῶν* refers to the Athenians and Thessalians. —— *ἀσπόνδους.* See N. on I. 63. § 3 (init.). It shows that the Athenians were not conquered, that they were able (*ἄσπονδοι*) to bring away the bodies of their slain. —— *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.* Bloomf. thinks that they were afraid to do this on the day of the fight, lest the same scene should take place as is recorded in I. 105. § 7.

3. *ἡ δὲ....Θεσσαλῶν, this aid of theirs furnished by the Thessalians.* *αὕτη* is reflexive and refers to the Athenians. —— *κατὰ.... ξυμμαχικόν.* Cf. I. 107. § 7. —— *Παράσιοι.* If this word should be written *Πυράσιοι, Pyrasii*, it refers to the inhabitants of Pyrasus a sea-port of Pthiotis, otherwise it is not known what people are referred to. —— *ἀπὸ....ἑκάτερος, each from his own faction.* The article has the force of a possessive pronoun by the influence of *ἑκάτερος,*

after the analogy of a substantive with the article followed by a verb in the middle voice. It is unnecessary to suppose that the two parties here spoken of were aristocratical and democratical, since the former would not have helped the Athenians. Reference is doubtless had to family dissensions or local divisions.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Peloponnesians being unable to bring the Athenians to a general engagement, break up their encampment at Acharnæ, and ravage other portions of Attica (§ 1); in the meanwhile the Athenians send their fleet to cruise around Peloponnesus (§ 2); the Peloponnesians having remained in Attica until they had exhausted their provisions, return home through Bœotia and disband their forces (§ 3).

1. *ἄραντες.* See N. on II. 12. § 4 (end). —— *Πάρνηθος,* Mount Parnes lay 60 stadia north of Acharnæ, and was the loftiest mountain in Attica, being 4700 feet high. Between this and Mount Brilessus on the south-east, flowed the Athenian Cephissus.

2. *γῇ* of Attica. —— *τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς—ἅσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο, the hundred ships which they were getting ready* (i. e. when the historian last mentioned them, II. 17. § 4). So Arnold explains the use of the imperfect, which is preferable to making it stand for the pluperfect (*had got ready*), a use quite questionable. —— *περιέπλεον, cruised around* Peloponnesus.

3. *ὅσον εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, as long a time* (literally, *as much*) *as they had supplies for.* C. § 390. —— *οὐχ ἥπερ ἐσέβαλον, not by the way in which they came in.* Bloomf. attributes this to the fact, that they had devastated the country and could find nothing to subsist on. But he forgets that they had taken provisions with them for forty days. I prefer therefore the reason given by the Schol. *ὅπως καὶ τἆλλα δῃώσαντες μᾶλλον λυπήσωσιν.* —— *παριόντες, while passing by.* —— *Ὠρωπόν.* Col. Leake (Topog. of Athens, II. p. 112) says that this name is now given to a small village on the right bank of the Vourieni (*Βουριένι*), anciently the Asopus. It was situated at the mouth of this river nearly east of Tanagra (cf. Kiepert's map). Cf. III. 91. § 3. The Peloponnesians might have crossed at Tanagra, but chose this more northern and circuitous route, for the same reason that they returned by a different way than that by which they entered Attica. —— *Πειραϊκὴν* seems to have been a district on the Oropian frontier of Attica. Some editions have *Γραϊκήν.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

After the departure of the Peloponnesians, the Athenians establish permanent guards both by land and sea, and set apart out of the treasures in the citadel 1000 talents, to be expended in nothing else than the defence of the city, in case it should be attacked by naval force (§ 1); 100 triremes are also decreed to be reserved yearly for the same emergency (§ 2).

1. *ὥσπερ....φυλάξειν*, = *just as they were to continue through the whole war;* literally, *were to keep guard.* —— *ἐξαίρετα ποιησαμένοις*, *having taken out.* —— *χωρὶς θέσθαι*, *to set apart.* —— *ἐς ἄλλο τι*, *for any other purpose* than what is mentioned in the following sentence. *ἐς* by constructio prægnans gives to *κινεῖν* the sense of *to apply* as well as *to remove.* See N. on I. 18. § 2. —— *θάνατον* is in apposition with *ζημίαν.*

2. *μετ' αὐτῶν*, *with them*, i. e. as being embraced in the same reservation for an emergency. The idea is that from the ships ready for sea, they were yearly to select 100 of the best, which were to be laid aside for the purpose here specified. —— *ὧν* depends on *μηδεμιᾷ*, and *μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων* is to be constructed after *περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου.* With *χρῆσθαι* supply *ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς* from the preceding section.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Athenian fleet, reinforced by 50 ships of the Corcyreans, ravage the Peloponnesian coast and attack Methone (§ 1); but Brasidas, who happens to be in that quarter, forces his way into the place and prevents its capture (§ 2); the Athenians then sailing along lay waste the country around Phia, and defeat a body of troops who come to relieve the place (§ 3); a storm arising they embark in their ships and put in at the port of Phia, which the Messenians and others proceeding across by land have taken (§ 4); these troops are then taken on board, and the ships weigh anchor, a superior force having assembled to succor the place (§ 5).

1. *ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσί.* Cf. II. 23. § 2. *ἄλλοι τινες*, i. e. the Messenians of Naupactus (cf. I. 103. § 3), Acarnanians, and the Zacynthians (cf. II. 9. § 1). —— *ἐκεῖ*, i. e. in the parts around Corcyra. —— *ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν.* "*Alias vastationes faciebant.*" Portus. *ἄλλα τε* gives to the following *καὶ* the sense of *and particularly, and especially.* —— *Μεθώνην*, *Methone*, a Lacedæmonian town on the south-western coast of Messenia. —— *ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων*, *no men* (i. e. soldiers)

being in it; i. e. it being mostly destitute of defenders, as some men must have been in it.

2. Βρασίδας. We are here introduced to this noble Spartan, whose qualities Diod. sums up in these words, *young, strong, brave.* Poppo (Proleg. II. p. 114) says of him: "ille sane vir egregius fuit, strenuus et impiger (δραστήριος), fortis, prudens, in socios justus, moderatus, mansuetus IV. 81, 108, non infacundus 84, omnino omnibus in rebus bonus (κατὰ πάντα ἀγαθός, 81). Nullum insigne facinus a Lacedæmoniis in tota prima belli parte sine illo patratum est." —— ἔχων is to be taken with ἔτυχε. S. § 225. 8. —— μετὰ ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. Bloomf. says that he only wished to secure the place from a *coup-de-main*, for the Athenians would not venture upon a siege, as the people of the surrounding country would soon assemble in large numbers and overpower them. —— κατὰ τὴν χώραν = περὶ τὴν πόλιν. —— πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον. Not only were their faces turned towards the place, but their minds were intent upon what was then going on. Cf. Sal. Jugur. LX. —— ἀπολέσας, *having lost.* Diod. mistaking this word, says that he even killed many of the enemy. —— ἐπηνέθε ἐν Σπάρτῃ. What this praise consisted in or by whom conferred, Arnold professes himself unable to discover.

3. σχόντες, *touching at.* —— Ἠλείας. See N. on I. 114. § 2. —— Φειάν, *Phia.* This town appears to have been situated in the southernmost part of that division of Elis, called the *Hollow* (ἡ κοίλη Ἦλις), which was formed by the valley of the Peneus and its branches, and which constituted Elis Proper ("vetus domicilium Epeorum." Poppo Proleg. II. p. 175). Arnold says that its inhabitants were descendants of the older people, who were conquered by the Ætolians, and formed the subordinate class called περιοικοί. The name *Hollow* was given it, according to the Schol., to distinguish it from the mountainous portion on the east and inland, but Strabo says rather to distinguish it from Pisatis and Triphylia, which belonged to Elis in its most extensive sense. These names are not employed by Thucydides, but he opposes to the inhabitants of the Hollow, τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἠλείους, which doubtless refers to the Pisatæ, as Triphylia lay farther south and more remote from the scene of action. Cf. Poppo, l. c. —— λογάδας, *select troops.* —— αὐτόθεν (see N. on III. 7. § 5), i. e. at Phia, inasmuch as this place was situated in the territory of the Pisatæ, although in its most western extremity. So Poppo (l. c.) interprets ἐκ τῆς.... Ἠλείων by ἐκ τῆς Πισάτιδος.

4. ἀνέμου.... μεγάλου, "*a storm coming down upon them*, or *surprising them.*" Arnold. "Male Goel. *ingruente a terra vento.*" Poppo. —— περιεπλεον,... ἄκραν, *doubling the promontory called Ic-*

thys. This cape is now called *Caticolo.* —— *ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ, at Phia.* Cf. I. 52. § 1. —— *Μεσσήνιοι*, viz. those who had been colonized at Naupactus (I. 103. § 3). —— *ἐν τούτῳ*, sc. *καιρῷ*. —— *τὴν Φειὰν αἱροῦσι.* There is some obscurity in relation to the movements of the Athenians at Phia. For they appear to have been first at this place, after which a storm compels them to embark, double the cape, and put in to the port of Phia. This last circumstance indicates clearly, that they were not at the port of Phia when the storm began. This difficulty in question has been overlooked or passed by without remark, by all the commentators except Bloomf. and Poppo, the latter of whom (Proleg. II. 177) supposes the port and the town of Phia to have occupied different sides of the promontory. But *ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα* clearly shows that the town and the harbor were in the same place. I know of no better way of clearing up the obscurity, than to suppose *ἐς Φειὰν* in § 3 to be taken in a general sense for *near Phia, in the vicinity of Phia*, and to denote a position on the land on the southern side of the promontory, where they landed and spent two days in plundering the country. But when the storm came on, they sailed around the cape to the port of Phia, the Messenians having crossed over by land and taken the town, which may have been situated some distance from the port, in the direction of the place where the Athenians first landed (cf. Pape's Wort. Griech. Eigen. p. 400).

CHAPTER XXVI.

At the same time with the preceding expedition, the Athenians send out 80 ships to cruise around Locris (§ 1); which squadron ravage the coast, storm Thronium, and at Alope defeat the united forces of the Locrians (§ 2).

1. *περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα*, i. e. to the country of the Locri (the Opuntii and Epicnemidii). —— *ἅμα φυλακήν, at the same time as a guard.* This noun is not dependent on *περί*, nor is *ἐς* to be supplied as some say it is, but by a change of construction is put in apposition with *ναῦς*. It will be remembered that the Athenians had conveyed their cattle into Eubœa (cf. II. 14. § 1), which made them more solicitous for its security. Cf. II. 32. § 1.

2. *τῆς παραθαλασσίου* depends on *ἔστιν ἃ* (= *ἔνια*. See N. on I. 65. § 3. —— *Θρονίον, Thronium*, was the chief town of the Locri

Epicnemidii, on the Boagrius, a stream flowing into the Sinus Maliæus, now called the Gulf of Zituni. —— Ἀλόπη, *Alope*, lay about 80 stadia east of Thronium on the coast about midway between Daphnus and Cynus.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Athenians expel the Æginetæ from that island, and place colonists in their stead (§ 1); Thyrea is given by the Lacedæmonians to the expatriated Æginetæ to dwell in, partly through enmity to the Athenians, and partly in return for services rendered them by the Æginetæ in the insurrection of the Helots (§ 2).

1. ἐπικαλέσαντες....εἶναι, *charging them with being in no small degree the authors* (literally, *cause*) *of the war* (C. § 393. γ). In respect to the truth of this charge, cf. I. 67. § 2. —— Αἴγιναν depends on ἔχειν, which is the subject of ἐφαίνετο. —— αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους, *by sending out their own colonists.* The Athenians were afraid that the Lacedæmonians would get possession of the island, and make it a sallying point in the war, and therefore they determined to anticipate them in the thing. —— ὕστερον the expatriation of the Æginetæ.

2. ἐκπεσοῦσι = *having been driven out.* Cf. C. § 556. —— ἔδοσαν —οἰκεῖν, *gave to inhabit.* The infinitive here denotes design or purpose. K. § 306. d. —— Θυρέαν, *Thyrea.* This place lay upon the western shore of the Argolic Gulf. Col. Leake identifies it with the ruins of a city found near the monastery of Laku. —— τὴν γῆν, i. e. the land in the vicinity of Thyrea. Bloomf. thinks that the possession of this town and region was only temporarily given them, until such time as the Lacedæmonians might be able to restore them to their own country. This was not done, however, until after the battle of Ægospotami, when Lysander collected them together and reinstated them in Ægina. —— Ἀθηναίων is the objective genitive. ὅτι.... ἐπανάστασιν. Cf. I. 101, 102. In respect to the earthquake, cf. I. 101. § 2. —— ὑπό, *in the time of.* R. § 299. III. 2. *b.* —— οἱ μὲν.... ᾤκεσαν. Even here their implacable enemies did not suffer them to remain in quiet, for we find that in the eighth year of the war, the Athenians attacked them, burnt Thyrea, and slaughtered its citizens, or carried them to Athens, where they were put to death. Cf. IV. 56, 57.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The same summer an eclipse of the sun takes place.

1. *νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην, the first day of the lunar month.* *κατὰ σελήνην* is added, because the beginning of the natural lunar month did not exactly correspond with the beginning of the civil month. The *νουμηνία* was the day, on the evening of which the new moon first appeared. The full moon was in the middle of the month, on which account it was called *διχόμηνις, the month-divider.* Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 175. This eclipse took place A. C. 431. Aug. 3. —— *δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι δυνατὸν = δοκεῖ δύνασθαι γίγνεσθαι.* Although the time of eclipses began to be noticed, yet their cause lay concealed from the men of those days, for as Bred. remarks, they are numbered in I. 23. § 3, with such fortuitous calamities as earthquakes, famines, etc. The same thing is seen in the prominence here given to the event; for what historian of our times would mention, as a thing worthy of note, an eclipse of the sun? —— *ἀνεπληρώθη, became full again,* i. e. resumed its full-orbed brightness. —— *γενόμενος, after having been.*

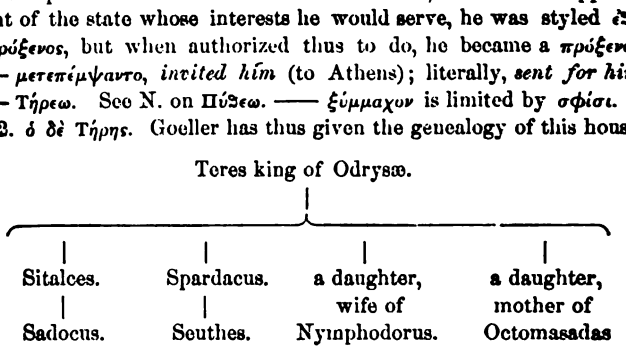
CHAPTER XXIX.

The Athenians, in hopes of obtaining the alliance of Sitalces king of Odrysæ, make his relative Nymphodorus a public guest, and invite him to Athens (§ 1); Teres the father of Sitalces, was the first who advanced the Odrysian kingdom to power (§ 2); and is not to be confounded with Tereus, who espoused Procne the daughter of Pandion (§ 3); Nymphodorus coming to Athens, brings about the desired alliance with the Thracian king, whom he promises to persuade to send an army to the aid of the Athenians (§§ 4, 5): he effects also a reconciliation between the Athenians and Perdiccas, and thus secures him also as an ally of Athens (§ 6).

1. *τὸν Πύθεω, the son of Pythes.* In some proper names the Attics retained the Ionic genitive. Cf. K. § 44. R. 3; C. § 96. 7. *β.* —— *Ἀβδηρίτην.* See N. on II. 97. § 1. —— *παρ' αὐτῷ.* See N. on I. 33. § 3. This pronoun refers to Sitalces. —— *πρότερον.... νομίζοντες, although* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *they had formerly regarded him as a public enemy.* —— *πρόξενον.* The office of a *proxenus* corresponded in many respects to that of our consuls. It was his duty to watch over the interests of the citizens of the state whose proxenus he was,

whenever they happened to visit the city in which he dwelt. When any one performed this office of his own choice, without an appointment of the state whose interests he would serve, he was styled ἐπιλοπρόξενος, but when authorized thus to do, he became a πρόξενος. —— μετεπέμψαντο, *invited him* (to Athens); literally, *sent for him.* —— Τήρεω. See N. on Πύθεω. —— ξύμμαχον is limited by σφίσι.

2. ὁ δὲ Τήρης. Goeller has thus given the genealogy of this house:



The third column I have taken from Bloomf. —— Ὀδρύσαις is put for the adnominal genitive after βασιλείαν. —— τὴν μεγάλην....ἐποίησε, *he made the kingdom much greater* (ἐπὶ πλεῖον. See N. on I. 9. § 3) *than the rest of Thrace*, i. e. than the other Thracian states. Goel. interprets, *over a large portion of the rest of Thrace.* But then, as Poppo remarks, we should have expected ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον. —— γάρ. Krüg. supplies the ellipsis: (but not the whole,) *for a large portion remained free.* This appears to be based on the same interpretation which Goel. gives to ἐπὶ πλεῖον. But γὰρ seems to me to belong to τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης = (and there were Thracian states not subject to Odrysæ,) *for a considerable portion* (of the country) *remained free.* In respect to these independent states, cf. II. 96. § 2, et seq.

3. Τηρεῖ limits προσήκει, and is defined by τῷ—σχόντι, *the one who had* (S. § 225. 1). Render προσήκει—οὐδέν, *has no connection with, has no relation to.* —— οὐδὲ....ἐγένοντο, *nor did they belong to the same part of Thrace.* For the genitive, cf. S. § 190. —— ὁ μὲν—ὁ Τηρεύς. The noun sometimes appears in this formula, to give emphasis to the distinction intended, or perhaps here to show the difference in the names of the two persons. Cf. Mt. § 288. *Obs.* 5. Opposed to this is Τήρης δὲ infra. —— Δαυλία. This was a town or fortress near Parnassus, which, according to Dodwell, still retains its name and has about seventy houses. —— τὸ ἔργον....αἱ γυναῖκες (i. e. Procne and Philomela). The story is, that, in revenge for the base and inhuman conduct of Teres towards Philomela, her sister Procne killed and served up on his father's table Itys, who was about six years of age. It is remarked by Smith, that this chapter contains the

only story told by Thucydides in his whole history, but Haack finds another in II. 102. Poppo, Arnold, and some others enclose καὶ τὸ ἔργον....Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ in the marks of a parenthesis. —— Δαυλιὰς ἡ ὄρνις, *the Daulian bird.* —— εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ κ. τ. λ. is introduced to confirm the position, that the husband of Procne was not the Thracian prince who reigned over Odrysæ. —— κῆδος, *marriage connection, affinity by marriage.* —— διὰ τοσούτου (with which μᾶλλον is to be taken) = *at so much nearer a distance*, is opposed to διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν—ὁδοῦ in the next member. —— ἔχων should have been a verb, or τε after βασιλεὺς omitted to make the construction regular. —— ἐν κράτει = *of any power.*

4. οὖ—ὄντα, *being his son.* —— σφίσι—ξυνελεῖν, *would help them to subdue.* —— αὐτὸν is the subject of ξυνελεῖν.

5. καὶ...Ἀθηναῖον, *and caused* (repeat ἐποίησε) *that his son should be made an Athenian citizen* (S. § 207. 2). αὐτοῦ refers to Sitalces. —— καταλύσειν, *would bring to a close.* The next clause is confirmatory of this, and is therefore introduced by γάρ. —— πείσειν depends on ὑπεδέχετο to be supplied from the preceding clause.

6. αὐτῷ refers to Perdiccas. —— ἀποδοῦναι. The Athenians had taken Therme. Cf. I. 64. § 2. —— ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας....Φορμίωνος. Cf. I. 65. § 3.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Athenian fleet continuing their cruise around Peloponnesus, take Solium and Astacus (§ 1); they then sail to Cephallenia, which they bring over to the Athenian alliance without employing force, after which they return to Athens (§ 2).

1. Σόλιον. Col. Leake (who adopts the orthography Σύλλιον, *Sollium*) fixes the situation of this town on the western coast of Acarnania, between Leucas and the Œniadæ. On the same coast further north was also Palærus (cf. North. Greece, IV. p. 18). But Kiepert puts Solium on his map opposite the northern extremity of Leucas, and Palærus south of it. It will be seen by this, that the Athenian fleet coasted northward from Phia (cf. II. 25. § 5 end). —— παραδιδόασι....νέμεσθαι. See N. on ἔδοσαν—οἰκεῖν, II. 27. § 2. —— Ἄστακον. "*Astacus* was the chief maritime city northward of the Œniadæ near the Echinades." Leake's North. Greece, IV. p. 4. As this place lay south of Solium, the fleet was probably on its homeward course when it was taken. From this place they sailed directly across to Cephallenia. —— αὐτόν, i. e. Evarchus.

2. *κατά, over against, opposite to.* K. § 292. II. 1. c. —— *τετράπολις οὖσα = having four cities.* In respect to the situation of these towns, cf. Leake's North. Greece, III. pp. 56–68; Kiepert's Map of Greece at the time of this war. —— *Παλῆς* is in apposition with *πόλεις* implied in *τετράπολις*. Cf. C. § 332. 4.

CHAPTER XXXI.

In the autumn of this year, Pericles leads an army into the Megarean country, to which expedition the homeward-bound fleet from the coasts of Peloponnesus join themselves (§ 1); the army was then larger than any with which the Athenians had before taken the field, for their power was then at its height, and the pestilence had not thinned their numbers (§ 2); having laid waste much of the Megarean territory the army returns home (§ 3).

1. *περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον, about the close of autumn.* Gottl. fixes the time at the end of October. —— *οἱ....Ἀθηναῖοι, the Athenians who had been cruising around Peloponnesus* (cf. II. 25. § 1). —— *ἔτυχον....ἀνακομιζόμενοι, for they happened to be now at Ægina on their voyage home* (see N. on I. 30. § 2). These words are enclosed in a parenthesis by Bekker, Haack, Bothe, and Arnold. In Poppo's edition the parenthesis is erroneously made to close with *ὄντες*. —— *ἠσθοντο—ὄντας.* See N. on I. 36. § 3. —— *ξυνεμίχθησαν*, more usually *ξυνέμιξαν.* Krüg.

2. *ἀθρόον, collected together.* The assertion here made must refer to the times preceding this expedition, as afterwards they appear to have taken the field with more numerous forces. In the battle at Delium, the Athenian forces are said (IV. 94. § 1) not to be inferior in number to the enemy, and these in the previous chapter are said to have been 17,000. In the siege of Syracuse, the naval and land forces combined must have exceeded the number here referred to. If therefore the assertion is not limited, as was said, to the times preceding this expedition, the excess must have consisted in the light-armed troops (*χωρὶς....ὀλίγος*), the most of which at Delium had gone home. In the enumeration here made, those engaged in the siege of Potidæa are included, to make the whole number correspond to that given in II. 13. § 6. —— *Ἀθηναίων* without their allies.

3. *καὶ ἄλλαι.* Cf. IV. 66. § 1. —— *κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, each year.* "Ex decreto publico (Charini) jurabant Atheniensium *στρατηγοί, ὅτι καὶ δὶς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι.*" Haack (2d edit.). —— *Νίσαια ἑάλω.* Cf. IV. 66–69.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The island Atalante is fortified by the Athenians, as a post for the defence of Eubœa against privateers from Opus and other Locrian ports (§§ 1, 2).

1. Ἀταλάντῃ, *Atalante* was a small island near the Locrian coast, off against Opus. —— φρούριον = ὥστε εἶναι φρούριον. Steph. —— τοῦ—κακουργεῖν. See N. on τοῦ.... ἐξαμαρτεῖν, II. 22. § 1.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

At the request of Evarchus, the Corinthians fit out a fleet of 40 sail with 1500 hoplites, and reinstate him in the possession of Astacus (§ 1); the expedition, however, is unsuccessful in the attempt to reduce other maritime towns in Acarnania and sail homeward (§ 2); touching at Cephallenia, they disembark on the territory of the Cranians, and while in a state of security from a truce, are suddenly attacked, lose some of their men, and are compelled to retreat to their ships, after which they resume their voyage homewards (§ 3).

1. Εὔαρχος. Cf. II. 30. § 1. —— καὶ αὐτὸς....προσεμισθώσατο, *and he himself hired some auxiliaries.* In the active voice προσμισθόω signifies *to let out for hire.*

2. κατήγαγον Evarchus. —— τῆς ἄλλης Ἀκαρνανίας depends on ἔστιν ἃ (see N. on II. 26. § 2) χωρία.

3. σχόντες. See N. on II. 25. § 3. —— ἐς τὴν Κρανίων γῆν. Cf. II. 30. § 2. —— αὐτῶν, i. e. the Cranians. —— ἐξ ὁμολογίας, "per compositionem quum se in deditionem venturos esse simulassent." Poppo. —— σφῶν αὐτῶν (= ἑαυτῶν. S. § 69), *themselves*, i. e. the very persons who had assembled to arrange the terms of the pretended surrender. These words are in apposition with τῶν Κρανίων. —— ἀπροσδοκήτοις has an active sense, *not expecting.* Cf. II. 93. § 4; IV. 72. § 2. —— βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι, *being forced to put out to sea*, or perhaps better, *embarking in great precipitation*, βιαιότερον (comparative of βιαίως. Cf. Betant's Lex. Thucyd.) having the sense of *in a forced, compulsory manner.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

In the following winter the Athenians perform funeral obsequies, in honor of those who have first fallen in the war (§ 1); three days the bones are exposed to view, and such offerings are brought as each one chooses for his own dead (§ 2); the bones are then placed in cars, one being left empty for such of the fallen as had not been found for removal (§ 3); the procession is then accompanied by those who please, and the female relatives follow it with lamentations for the dead (§ 4); the bones are then deposited in the public sepulchre in the most beautiful suburb of the city, where lie all who fall in war, except the heroes of Marathon, who are especially honored by a sepulchre in the place where they fell (§ 5); when covered with earth, a person eminent for his abilities and station pronounces a funeral oration, which closes the ceremonies (§ 6); this order was observed on the present occasion, and Pericles was chosen orator, who advancing to an elevated platform, pronounces the funeral oration which follows (§§ 7, 8).

1. *δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο, solemnized the funeral in a public manner.* The plural *ταφὰς* is used, because the rites pertained to each of the slain. —— *πρῶτον*, i. e. in the first year of the war.

2. *τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ.* The flesh had been previously removed by burning. —— *προτίθενται, they exposed to view.* —— *τῶν ἀπογενομένων, of the departed.* This word is employed in the same sense, in II. 51. § 5. —— *πρόρριτα, the third day before.* —— *ἐπιφέρει....βούληται, each brings whatever* (offerings) *he pleases for his own dead* (sc. *νεκρῷ*). Reference is had to flowers, garlands, and costly ornaments, with which the relics of the departed were honored.

3. *φυλῆς ἑκάστης μίαν, one* (coffin) *for each tribe.* —— *ἔνεστι.... φυλῆς = ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ φυλῆς ἧς ἕκαστος ἦν.* On the attraction of *φυλῆς*, see N. on *δύναμιν*, I. 33. § 2. *ἧς* depends on *ἦν* according to S. § 190; C. § 390. —— *ἐστρωμένη*, "*covered with a pall.*" Bloomf. —— *τῶν ἀφανῶν*, the genitive of possession after *κλίνη*, is explained by *οἱ....ἀναίρεσιν.* For the subjunctive with *ἄν* in this relative sentence, cf. S. § 217. 2; C. § 606. For the omission of *ἄν* in the employment of the optative, see N. on I. 50. § 1.

4. *ξυνεκφέρει, attends the funeral procession, accompanies the procession.* —— *ὀλοφυρόμεναι, with lamentations.* Cf. S. § 225. 3.

5. *οὖν, there.* —— *ἐπὶ....προαστείου, in the most beautiful suburb*, viz. Ceramicus. —— *τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων* (sc. *ἀποθανόντας*) = *those who fall in battle.* So *τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι* signifies *those slain at Marathon.* —— *πλὴν* is usually followed by the genitive (K. § 271. 3), but here *τοὺς* depends on *θάπτουσι.* —— *ἐκείνων* refers to those who fell at Marathon. —— *αὐτοῦ, there*, i. e. where they fell. The Greeks regarded the battle at Marathon, as we regard that of Bunker Hill, which

in its consequences as well as the desperate valor displayed by undisciplined militia, is by common consent looked upon as *the* battle of the American revolution.

6. *κρύψωσι.* See N. on *εὑρεθῶσιν.* The accompanying *ἂν* is found in the connective *ἐπειδάν.* —— *μὴ ἀξύνετος* = *of distinguished ability.* —— *εἶναι* depends on *δοκῇ* (*has the reputation of*). —— *προήκῃ, is superior, is the first.* —— *λέγει....πρέποντα, pronounces a suitable panegyric over them.* In respect to *ἐπί*, cf. Mt. § 586. *ε.*

8. *οὖν.* See N. on § 5. —— *καιρόν.* Poppo, Haack, and Arnold read *καιρός*, which I am disposed to adopt: *when the time* (of speaking) *came. καιρὸν* would require, *when he obtained the time of speaking*, which certainly, as putting Pericles in the attitude of one desirous to speak, is not so well as to represent the occasion as offering itself to him. —— *ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, having been made high. τοῦ ὁμίλου* depends on *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.*

CHAPTERS XXXV.—XLVI.

These chapters contain the celebrated funeral oration of Pericles, which has ever been considered a masterpiece of eloquence, whether regard be had to the grandeur of the theme, the patriotic and liberal sentiments advanced, or the simplicity and dignity of its style. The exordium is contained in chap. 35; then having briefly announced the subject-matter of his discourse (chap. 36), he passes to a consideration of the internal policy, habits, customs, refinement, learning, liberality of the Athenians, for the existence and perpetuity of which the departed worthies had fought and died (chaps. 37–41). He then eulogizes more directly the persons whose funeral rites they are celebrating, and exhorts the Athenians to imitate their virtues, bravery, and patriotism (chaps. 42, 43); the parents and relatives of the deceased are then addressed in words of sympathy and encouragement, after which the orator closes with a brief peroration (chaps. 44–46).

No adequate justice can be done in a brief abstract to this noble effort of one of the greatest minds which Greece or any other country ever produced, and it is commended, therefore, without further remark to the student, as well worthy of his careful and frequent perusal. The more it is read and studied the more prominent will be its grand and towering dimensions, the more impressive the noble sentiments with which it abounds. Let no one who would put himself under its full influence, cease his efforts to master it, until he can read it fluently at a sitting without the aid of grammars, lexicons, or annotations. Then as he reads, he will find his sympathies with

the theme and the occasion awakened, his emotions enkindled, his soul inspired with high and generous sentiments, and he will rise from its perusal with a more ardent love of country, more liberal, enlightened, and exalted views of what constitutes the true glory of a state, and better qualified to act the part of a good citizen in whatever sphere of action he may be called to move.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The orator begins by remarking, that those who have preceded him on occasions like this, have eulogized the legislator who appointed this service, but in his estimation the deeds of the departed together with the public funeral are a sufficient honor to them, without hazarding their praise by intrusting it to the keeping of a panegyrist, who may do well or otherwise in the execution of his task (§ 1); for in an oration of this sort, it is difficult to give general satisfaction, since different judgments will be formed on many points, by those personally acquainted with the transactions alluded to, and those who are ignorant of the affairs spoken of, will consider every thing beyond their own reach, an exaggeration (§ 2); yet as law and custom so demand, he will endeavor to the best of his ability to perform the service assigned him (§ 3).

1. *τὸν προσθέντα....τόνδε, the one who added this oration to the* (other) *legal observances.* The Schol. refers this to Solon, but the custom is thought by many to be of an earlier date. —— *ὡς καλόν.* The participle *ὄν* is here omitted. Cf. Mt. § 568. *Obs.* —— *ἐπί.* See N. on I. 34. § 6. —— *ἐκ τῶν πολέμων.* See N. on I. 34. § 5. Bloomf. however, finds a prægnans constructio (see N. on I. 18. § 2) in *ἐκ.* —— *διαπτομένοις, removed from the field of battle and brought hither.* —— *αὐτὸν* referring to *λόγον* is in the accusative absolute after *ὡς.* See N. on I. 134. § 4. Some perhaps will prefer to make *αὐτὸν* the subject of *ἀγορεύεσθαι*, and *καλὸν* the predicate. The sense will remain unchanged, as will be seen by the corresponding idiom of our own language, *inasmuch as it is honorable to be spoken*, and *inasmuch as for this to be spoken is honorable.* —— *ἂν ἐδόκει, it would seem*, is opposed to *ἐπειδὴ....ἔχειν* (§ 3 infra). Pericles modestly opposes his judgment to that of the supporters of the custom. Haack and Goel. erroneously refer *ἂν* to *εἶναι, it seems—that it would be.* —— *ἀνδρῶν.... τιμάς, inasmuch as* (S. § 225. 4) *these men showed their valor* (literally, *were brave*) *in deeds, that their honor should be illustrated by deeds. καί, also*, belongs to *ἔργῳ*, and this noun is explained by *οἷα καὶ νῦν, such as now*, etc. —— *καὶ μὴ....πιστευθῆναι, "and not that the virtues of many should be periled upon one man, intrusted to him alike whether he may speak well or ill;* (literally, *to have been intrusted to*

him, both if having spoken well and if worse). What could be finer than this figure of the honor of so many brave men being hazarded upon the chances of one man's oratory, as upon a single cast of a die?" Crosby. πιστευθῆναι is epexegetical of κινδυνεύεσθαι. C. § 624. a. Prof. Hadley (Bibliotheca Sacra, V. p. 782) prefers to take πιστευθῆναι in the sense of *believing*, and would also treat it as the object of κινδυνεύεσθαι, which meaning as it does *to be endangered = made to incur danger*, may be followed by the danger as its object.

2. μετρίως εἰπεῖν, i. e. to observe in speaking the proper mean, and neither to be too prodigal nor sparing of praise. —— ἐν ᾧ.... βεβαιοῦται, (on a subject) *where* (ἐν ᾧ) *the firm belief of the truth* (of what the speaker says) *even is hard to be established*. This sentence is introduced by γάρ, because it shows why there is danger that one should speak ill (κακῶς) on such an occasion. The γὰρ in ὅ τε γὰρ illustrates the idea advanced in ἐν ᾧ.... βεβαιοῦται. —— τάχ' ἂν—νομίσειε, *would perhaps think*. —— τι is the subject of δηλοῦσθαι. —— πρὸς ἃ (= ἐκεῖνα ἃ), *in comparison of those things which*. βούλεται, sc. δηλοῦσθαι. —— ὅ τε ἄπειρος. The Schol. supplies καὶ μὴ εὔνους from the preceding sentence. —— ἔστιν ἃ. See N. on I. 65. § 3. —— πλεονάζεσθαι. Repeat νομίσειε of which ὁ ἄπειρος is the subject. —— ὑπὲρ.... φύσιν, *above his own nature*, i. e. beyond the reach of his own attainments. —— μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε, *for thus far*. The carping spirit of envy just spoken of, is here referred to a very common principle in the human mind, to endure the recital of deeds which one thinks himself able to perform, but to be filled with envy and unbelief at whatever appears beyond the reach of his own powers. —— λεγόμενοι, *when spoken*. The comma, after this word, which is wanting in Dindorf's edition, appears to be demanded by the long sentence. —— ὧν = ἐκείνων ἃ. —— τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι (see N. on τὸ πιστόν, I. 68. § 1) depends on φθονοῦντες. —— αὐτῶν is referred by Poppo, if taken as a neuter, to ἃ ἂν ἕκαστος κ. τ. λ. (supplied from the preceding context), *but whatever exceeds that which each one thinks himself able to perform*. If αὐτῶν be regarded as a masculine, then it may be rendered *whatever exceeds their own powers*. There is no conceivable difference in the sense, but the latter mode of interpretation would seem to require αὑτῶν, and so Bloomf. has edited it. I prefer to take αὐτῶν as a neuter.

3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κ. τ. λ. The extreme beauty and gracefulness with which the peroration is closed cannot fail to strike the mind of every observing reader. —— βουλήσεως.... τυχεῖν. S. § 191. 2.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The orator signifies his intention to commence, according to the obvious proprieties of the occasion, with the commemoration of their ancestors (§ 1); especially are their immediate forefathers deserving of the meed of praise, who, having added to their dominion, bequeathed it with ample resources for every exigency of war or peace (§§ 2, 3); of their warlike deeds and the valor with which every invasion was repelled, he will not now speak, but will proceed to consider the internal polity and institutions, by which such renown and prosperity have been acquired, such a theme being appropriate to the occasion and useful to the auditory (§ 4).

1. *πρόγονων* (to which *πρῶτον* gives emphasis). In § 2 infra, *οἱ πατέρες* is employed to designate their immediate ancestors, and to this is opposed (§ 3) the Athenians then living (*αὐτοὶ....ὄντες*). Thus three points of time in their history is referred to. —— *καὶ—δέ*. Poppo makes *δὲ* the general connective and translates *καί*, *also*, but Kühn. (Andov. edit. § 322. R. 7) gives *δὲ* an adverbial force, and translates, *and on the other hand, and also.* —— *ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε, on such an occasion as this.* C. § 480. γ. —— *τιμὴν....μνήμης*, "*this honor of mention;* literally, *the being so mentioned.*" Bloomf. —— *ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες.* Cf. *ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί*, I. 2. § 4. On the Athenian claim to the epithet *αὐτόχθονες*, see N. on I. 6. § 3. —— *διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων, by successive generations* (literally, *by a succession of those who came after them*). I prefer with Poppo to construct these words with *παρέδοσαν*, rather than with Goel. to refer them to *οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες*, which would be a flat annunciation of a truth which every body knew, for how could they live otherwise than in successive generations? —— *μέχρι τοῦδε, until the present time.* See N. on II. 22. § 2.

2. *ἐκεῖνοι*, i. e. *οἱ πρόγονοι* (§ 1). —— *πρὸς οἷς* (= *ἐκείνοις ἃ*) *ἐδέξαντο, in addition to what they received* from their ancestors. —— *ὅσην —ἀρχὴν = τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν ὅσην*, of which the antecedent depends on *κτησάμενοι*, and the relative on *ἔχομεν*. —— *οὐκ ἀπόνως* qualifies *κτησάμενοι*. —— *ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν, to us of the present time.*

3. *τὰ δὲ πλείω* depends on *ἐπηυξήσαμεν* (*have enlarged*). There is no real contradiction between this and *ὅσην ἔχομεν* in the preceding section, as the empire had not been essentially enlarged, but rather strengthened and reduced to a settled policy of government by Pericles and those of his age. —— *αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἵδε, we ourselves who are here.* S. § 163. 1. Bloomf. finds here a blending of two phrases, *we ourselves and those persons who are here present*, but I can see no necessity for this. There is great emphasis, however, in the sequence of the pronouns. —— *οἱ νῦν....ἡλικίᾳ*, "*who are yet for the most part*

in the vigor of life. Literally, *in the settled* or *set time of life*, when the system has in a manner reached its perfection, and rests from the work of growth." Arnold. —— τοῖς πᾶσι is to be constructed with παρεσκευάσαμεν, although it may be mentally repeated with αὐταρκεστάτην (= *so that it is independent in its resources*). —— ἐς πόλεμον and ἐς εἰρήνην depend on παρεσκευάσαμεν.

4. ὧν limits ἔργα (the object of ἐάσω), and refers grammatically to αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς in the preceding section, although it virtually includes the idea of their immediate forefathers (οἱ πατέρες, § 2), to whom Athens was principally indebted for the enlargement of its empire, and to whom, therefore, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτήθη (used as a passive) is especially applicable. It cannot be referred, however, to the οἱ πρόγονοι (§ 1), for they did not acquire territory, but only bequeathed to their posterity free and independent what they already had. There is no opposition in ὧν and αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, but οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτήθη is set over against ἡμυνάμεθα. —— βάρβαρον ἢ Ἕλληνα = *whether waged by barbarians or Greeks.* Arnold remarks that the use of Ἕλλην, as a masculine adjective, is very rare. Cf. S. § 156. N. 4. —— εἰδόσιν, sc. ὑμῖν. —— ἀπὸ δὲ οἵας κ. τ. λ. The subject is here announced upon which the orator intends to enlarge. —— ἐπιτηδεύσεως = *civil and educational institutions.* —— ἐπ' αὐτὰ = ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Cf. ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχήν, § 2. —— Haack is doubtful whether μεθ' οἵας πολιτείας is to be constructed with ἤλθομεν or μεγάλα ἐγένετο (= μεγάλη ἐγένετο ἀρχή. Goel.). The sense is not materially changed by either construction, yet I prefer the latter. —— τρόπων is more emphatic than though the collocation had been ἐξ οἵων τρόπων. —— ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον. As Poppo remarks, the topics ἐπιτήδευσις, πολιτεία, and τρόποι (to which words ταῦτα refers) are neither discussed in order nor separately, for the πολιτεία is briefly touched upon (I. 37. § 1), and then the ἐπιτηδεύματα (37. § 2), and soon with both these is blended the τρόποι. —— εἶμι, *I am going* = *I will proceed.* C. § 231. *a*; S. § 211. N. 1. —— τῶνδε refers to the dead whose funeral was then solemnized, the orator probably pointing with his finger to the place where their bones were deposited. Cf. S. § 168. 1. —— λεχθῆναι has αὐτὰ for its subject. "The construction may be represented tolerably well by rendering, *thinking that on the present occasion they would be spoken without inappropriateness.*" Prof. Hadley. —— τὸν πάντα κ. τ. λ. The order is: καὶ ξύμφορον εἶναι, τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον—ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν. The Schol. says that τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον is constructed for παντὶ τῷ ὁμίλῳ. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 674.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The government of the Athenians is not modeled after other governments, but is itself a model, and because established for the benefit of the mass, is called democracy; all enjoy alike the protection of its laws, and in its administration all may share, the qualification for office being personal merit and not rank (§ 1); in regard to their social habits, they are kind, courteous, not censuring others for diversity of taste, nor giving pain by manifestations of displeasure (§ 2); yet in all this freedom from restraint, there is the most profound regard for established laws and customs, especially for those designed to benefit the injured, and for such as being violated would bring disgrace on the offender (§ 3).

1. *οὐ ζηλούσῃ, not imitating.* The following *παράδειγμα* (*a pattern, a model*) shows that the rendering *not envying* is incorrect. —— *αὐτοὶ ὄντες* (sc. *ἡμεῖς*). The construction is carried on as though *οὐ ζηλοῦντες* instead of *οὐ ζηλούσῃ* had preceded, which required *παραδείγματι οὔσῃ—μιμουμένῃ*. —— *τινί*. See N. on III. 46. § 5. —— *ὄνομα—κέκληται* (= *it is named*). See N. on I. 122. § 4. Cf. Mt. § 420. 2. *b*. —— *διὰ.... οἰκεῖν* does not seem to admit of any interpretation wholly free from objections. The two which appear most plausible are, 1, *because the government is not administered for the benefit of the few but of the many* (*οἰκεῖν* = *οἰκεῖσθαι*); 2, *because the administration of government is not in the hands of the few but of the many.* The former of these interpretations, which Arnold adopts after Steph. and Gail, seems to do the least violence to the phraseology; but the latter harmonizes far better with the following context, and is adopted by Poppo and Goel. (in his 2d edit.). The former of these critics says: "*ἡ πολιτεία οἰκεῖ ἐς ὀλίγους* pro *ἡ πολιτεία οὕτως οἰκεῖ* (*οὕτω διοικεῖται*) *ὥστε ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς διοικοῦντας αὐτήν* positum videtur." This it must be confessed is rather a violent extraction of the sense of the passage, and yet I am inclined to adopt it, as transgressing no grammatical law, and answering so well the demands of the context. —— *μέτεστι—πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, equality* (of laws and privileges) *is shared in by all.* Cf. Mt. § 325. *Obs.* 1. *δὲ* in *μέτεστι δὲ* responds to *ὄνομα μέν*, not antithetically but connectively, i. e. it introduces facts to show, that after all there was an aristocracy resulting from the grade, to which his own merits might raise an individual. —— *πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα, in respect to* (= for the settlement of) *private differences*, i. e. suits between private individuals. This is an adjective clause belonging to *νόμους*. —— *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, and according to the estimation* in which a citizen is held. This clause follows in construction *προτιμᾶται* (*is distinguished*). —— *οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους, not from a class*, i. e. not from a privileged body, with nothing to recommend them to office except that they belonged to the higher caste. This is evidently said in reference to the Lacedæmonians, among whom the affairs of government were

managed by a privileged few. ἀπ' ἀριθ·ῆς is antithetic of ἀπὸ μέρους. J. Price in a brief criticism on this passage in the Class. Mus. III. p. 211, translates: *not on the ground of mere individuality but of* (relative) *merit.* But I see no good reason to depart from the usual and obvious interpretation. —— δὲ in ἔχων δὲ is employed as though οὐδ' αὖ πένης μὲν ὢν had preceded. —— ἔχων = *being able.* —— ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ, *by the obscurity of his condition* or *rank.* The student will readily see how ἀξίωμα obtains this sense from its more usual one, *reputation, honor,* the effect being put for the cause. —— κεκώλυται, sc. τῶν κοινῶν.

2. ἐλευθέρως, *liberally.* —— ἐς, *in respect to.* —— πρὸς ἀλλήλους is opposed to πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, as the speaker now passes from a consideration of the liberality and impartiality with which the government is administered, to the unrestrained and cheerful intercourse of the citizens in their private capacity. —— τῶν....ἐπιτηδευμάτων, *in our daily intercourse.* This genitive depends on ὑποψίαν. —— ἔχοντες and προστιθέμενοι are erroneously translated by some as verbs. Poppo suggests the repetition of πολιτεύομεν after ὑποψίαν, and Arnold, some analogous verb as διαιτώμεθα. —— οὐδὲ is to be taken with προστιθέμενοι, and ἀζημίους translated actively, *not punishing, inflicting no injury* (= harmless). Liddell and Scott give as its meaning here, *not amounting to punishment.* —— τῇ ὄψει—προστιθέμενοι, *displaying in our looks, wearing a countenance of.* Krüg. refers τῇ ὄψει to λυπηράς, *acerbos visu.* But it is better to take λυπηρὰς in an absolute sense. Reference is undoubtedly had to the austerity, moroseness, and jealousy of the Spartans, in contrast with the cheerfulness, good-nature, and affability of the Athenians. This will account for the apparent abruptness with which καὶ ἐς.... ὑποψίαν was introduced. The drift of such keen side-thrusts at their unrefined neighbors would be readily seen by the Athenians, and in their present hostile attitude to the Lacedæmonians must have been highly grateful and inspiriting.

3. ἀνεπαχθῶς....προσομιλοῦντες, *but while without molestation* (from the source just mentioned) *we mingle in private intercourse.* τὰ ἴδια is opposed to τὰ δημόσια. —— διὰ δέος, *through reverence* = customary respect for law and authority. —— ἀεί, *for the time being.* —— ἐν ἀρχῇ, *in office.* —— μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι (sc. τούτων) = *et ex iis maxime earum.* Cf. Mt. § 469. 8. —— ἄγραφοι, *unwritten.* The Schol. explains this by τὰ ἐθή. These usages and customs, in every well-regulated community, are scarcely less potent than the formal enactments of government. —— αἰσχύνην....φέρουσι, *bring acknowledged disgrace* upon those who violate them. Here lies the secret of the power of custom and usage.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Athenians recreate the public mind by games and social entertainments (§ 1), and into their city flow all the luxuries and delicacies of other regions (§ 2).

1. καὶ μήν, *and furthermore.* —— πόνων depends on ἀναπαύλας, *recreations, reliefs.* —— τῇ γνώμῃ is to be taken as a dat. commodi, *for the mind* (τῇ ψυχῇ, *for the spirits.* Schol.). —— διετησίοις, *all the year around, through the whole year.* —— νομίζοντες. See N. on I. 77. § 6. —— καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις for ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν τέρψις. Prof. Hadley well remarks, however, that "καθ' ἡμέραν standing as it does in the text, is not a mere adjunct of the noun, but qualifies the sentence, *whereof day by day the enjoyment drives away vexation.*"

2. ἐπεισέρχεται, "*are imported.*" Bloomf. —— ἐκ πάσης γῆς. The hyperbole results from a very common use of the words *all, every*, in the sense of *many.* —— The subject of ξυμβαίνει is τὰ ἀγαθά. —— αὐτοῦ, *here* (in Athens), as is clearly shown by the antithesis τὰ... ἐνθρώπων. —— ἦν follows the comparative οἰκειοτέρᾳ. In respect to the abundance and variety of foreign commodities to be found at Athens, cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Ath. pp. 46–48.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

In war the Athenians differ from their enemies, in that they rely less on secrecy and stratagem to secure victory than on courage in action, and although their youth are not trained in the severe discipline of Spartan education, yet they are not less intrepid in time of danger (§ 1); a proof of this is seen in the invasion of Attica by the united forces of the enemy, whereas the Athenians singly and alone, usually conquer with little difficulty those even who are fighting for their own soil (§ 2); at no time have the united forces of the Athenians been arrayed against the enemy, and yet the defeat of a detachment is given out as a defeat of the whole, and if on the contrary they sustain a reverse, the assertion is made that it was effected by the combined forces of the Athenians (§ 3); if with much relaxation from care and toil, and by natural rather than acquired courage, the Athenians promptly meet danger, they have in this an evident superiority, since they are not rendered gloomy or despondent by the anticipation of calamities, and when they come, meet them with a courage not inferior to that of those, who are wearing themselves out with toil (§ 4).

1. τοῖσδε, *in these respects.* This dative denotes that wherein the difference consists, and is ranked by Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 909. 1) as

the instrumental dative. —— *κοινὴν* to all persons. —— *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε*, *never at any time.* —— *ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομεν κ. τ. λ.* Grote says (Hist. Greece, IV. p. 94) that "Sparta seems to have formed an exception to the remaining states, in keeping her festivals for herself alone, and in her general rudeness towards other Greeks, which was not materially softened even at the Karneia, and Hyakinthia, or Gymnopædia." —— *μαθήματος.* S. § 197. 2. —— *ὃ—κρυφθὲν* depends on *ἰδών*, and *ἄν* is to be referred to *ὠφεληθείη.* Cf. Mt. § 528. 2. —— *τῷ εὐψύχῳ.* The genitive here takes *ἀπό*, because the quality of courage is considered as proceeding from the one in whom it is found. Cf. Mt. § 316. *d. Obs.* —— *οἱ μὲν* refers to the Lacedæmonians and is opposed to *ἡμεῖς δέ.* —— *εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες*, *as soon as they are youth* = *in their earliest youth.* —— *ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι*, *notwithstanding that we live without restraint.* See N. on I. 6. § 3. —— *ἰσοπαλεῖς*, *equal* to dangers which the Lacedæmonians are ready to encounter.

2. *τεκμήριον δέ.* See N. on II. 15. § 4. —— *γὰρ* introduces the proof of what was asserted in *οὐδὲν ἧσσον* (= *μᾶλλον.* Krüg.) *χωροῦμεν*, § 1. —— *καθ' ἑκάστους*, *singly*, i. e. by single states of the alliance, since *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* is here put as the leading state for the whole Peloponnesian confederacy. —— *αὐτοί*, *we alone* (S. § 160. a) by ourselves. —— *οὐ χαλεπῶς* qualifies *κρατοῦμεν.* —— *μαχόμενοι*, *although we fight.* See N. on I. 7. § 1. —— *τὰ πλείω*, *for the most part.*

3. *ἐν τῇ γῇ* is opposed to *τοῦ ναυτικοῦ.* —— *τὴν—ἐπίπεμψιν* depends on *διά.* —— *ἐπὶ πολλά*, *upon many* (enterprises). The general idea is that the Athenians could form no union of their forces like the Lacedæmonians, because some were detached to man the navy, and the land forces were necessarily divided in the various expeditions which were undertaken. —— *μορίῳ τινὶ* of the Athenian forces. Cf. *τινὰς ἡμῶν* in the next clause. —— *ἀπεῶσθαι* is to be taken actively, the construction appearing to demand the same subject for *ἀπεῶσθαι* and *ἡσσηθῆναι.*

4. *καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ κ. τ. λ.* The subject is resumed from the close of § 1, the two following sentences being parenthetic. —— *μὴ μετὰ....ἀνδρείας*, "*with a courage arising from disposition and not from laws and institutions.*" Arnold. —— *περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν*, *there accrues to us* (see N. on I. 44. § 3). The subject is *μὴ προκάμνειν.* —— *μέλλουσιν* (*future*, *in prospect*) *ἀλγεινοῖς* is the dative of means and belongs to *προκάμνειν.* —— *ἐς αὐτά*, sc. *ἀλγεινά.* —— *ἐλθοῦσι* refers to *ἡμῖν*, and *ἀτολμοτέρους* conforms in case to the omitted subject of *φαίνεσθαι.* —— *τῶν ἀεὶ μοχθούντων* refers to the Lacedæmonians.

CHAPTER XL.

The Athenians combine elegance with frugality, cultivate philosophy without effeminacy, apply wealth to purposes of utility rather than of ostentation, and esteem poverty no disgrace, provided that efforts are made to avoid it (§ 1); the same persons attend to private and public affairs, and political knowledge is found in those engaged in the humblest pursuits of life, a free and full discussion of measures being in no wise prejudicial to their success (§ 2); courage in the Athenians results from a cautious prudence and foresight, whereas others are made bold by ignorance, who upon reflection become cowards (§ 3); the Athenians make friends by conferring not by receiving benefits (§ 4); and their beneficence is not the result of selfishness but of true liberality (§ 5).

1. ἔν τε τούτους, i. e. in the respects just mentioned. So ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις, *in other respects also*, refers to things about to be mentioned. —— φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας. It has usually been the impression of ignorant persons, that mental cultivation is attended with a corresponding effeminacy of body. —— πλούτῳ....χρώμεθα. The true exposition seems to be that of Goeller after the Schol., τῷ πλούτῳ χρώμεθα [ἐν τῷ] καιρῷ ἔργου, καὶ οὐ κόμπῳ λόγου, *divitiisque tanquam rerum gerendarum opportunitate potius utimur, quam tanquam verborum jactatione.* So Haack and Poppo. —— τὸ πένεσθαι is the object of ὁμολογεῖν, and οὐχ belongs to αἰσχρόν. —— αἴσχιον = μᾶλλον αἰσχρόν. So Arnold: *that rather is disgraceful.* Cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. p. 171. A most bitter and richly deserved taunt is here uttered against the Lacedæmonians, with whom personal labor even to shun want, was deemed disgraceful.

2. ἔνι for ἔνεστι. —— τοῖς αὐτοῖς—καὶ ἑτέροις. Reference is had in the first of these expressions to persons, who were so situated in life as to be able to take part in the administration of public affairs; in the latter, to persons whose living was obtained by manual labor, and who are said to have knowledge of political affairs, although not able to give their personal attention to them. In the one case public duties did not hinder from an attention to humbler cares and employments; in the other, the toils and labors of life did not preclude from an intelligent opinion of public measures. In this also is seen a well-directed thrust at the opposite character of the Lacedæmonian institutions. —— πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις, *who are engaged in labor*, i. e. agriculturists, mechanics, tradesmen, etc. —— τὸν....μετέχοντα, *he who does not share in these things*, i. e. in politics. μηδέν, *in no respect*, i. e. neither in attention to or knowledge of public affairs. —— οὐκ.... ἀχρεῖον, "*not so much an intermeddler in nothing, as one good for*

nothing." Bloomf. —— *ἐνθυμούμεθα* is not so strong an expression as *κρίνομεν*, and hence we may render, *or at least revolve rightly the measures proposed* (by others). Arnold seems to have hit the true meaning in his paraphrase: "if we, the people at large, cannot originate or direct public measures, we can, at least judge of their merit or demerit." —— *ἄλλα μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι.* Supply *βλάβην ἡγούμενοι* from the preceding clause. —— *ἢ....ἐλθεῖν = ἢ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν.* This use of *ἔργῳ* in the sense of *in truth, in very deed*, is common. Cf. I. 23. § 3; 70. § 2; 120. § 5; 128. § 3; II. 8. § 4; 11. § 5.

3. *διαφερόντως....ἔχομεν, for we are superior* (to others) *in this respect also.* —— *οἱ αὐτοί, we the same persons.* —— *ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις.* The only difficulty in this passage results from the grammatical use of *ὅ*, which refers to *τολμᾶν* and *ἐκλογίζεσθαι* i. e. the quality of daring combined with reflection. Some regard it as the subject of *ἔχει ὧδε* understood, *which in reference to others is thus;* others make *ὃ = ὅπου, whereas.* Cf. C. § 438. γ. Dunbar, in a brief criticism on this passage (Class. Mus. V. pp. 476 478), refers *ὃ* to the preceding *τόδε*, and derives its verb from *διαφερόντως—τόδε ἔχομεν* thus: *ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις (ἔχει διαφερόντως), (τούτοις) ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, which with others* [is different; with them] *ignorance produces confidence, reflection, hesitation.* He also suggests another solution, viz. to supply *ἐστὶ* before *ὅ*, i. e. *ἔστιν ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία κ. τ. λ., there is this in others, ignorance*, etc. Prof. Crosby once threw out to me the idea, that *ὃ* may be the subject of *ἐστὶ* understood, of which *ἀμαθία....φέρει* is the predicate, *which with reference to others is as follows*, viz. This is substantially the same as to supply *ἔχει ὧδε* (see supra), and if any thing is to be supplied is undoubtedly the best solution. Matthiæ and Poppo consider the relative as repeated and explained in *λογισμός*, the repetition resulting from the antithetical and interrupting clause *ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος*, the sense being as though it had been written *ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀμαθίας θράσος φερούσης, ὄκνον φέρει.* In that case the dative would refer only to *ἐκλογίζεσθαι.* —— *τὴν ψυχὴν* limits *κράτιστοι*, as an accusative synecdochical. —— *διὰ ταῦτα*, i. e. by the fear of danger or the love of pleasure.

4. *ἀρετήν, liberality, readiness to serve others.* —— *πάσχοντες εὖ, by receiving favors.* See N. on I. 9. § 1. —— *βεβαιότερος, surer* (friend). —— *ὥστε....σώζειν, in order to keep good* (literally, *to keep alive*) *the obligation by his kindness to the person benefited*, i. e. by successive acts of kindness to render his friend able to repay the debt of gratitude hereafter. After much examination I have adopted this as the best interpretation, though others may prefer to translate differently. —— *ᾧ = τούτου ᾧ.* —— *εἰδὼς....ἀποδώσων, knowing that he*

will repay the kindness not as a favor but as a debt. This may serve to explain many of the instances of ingratitude with which our world abounds.

5. οὐ—μᾶλλον—ἤ, *not more—than = not so much—as = not—but.* —— τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ, i. e. ἐλευθεριότητι, as it is explained by Schneider.

CHAPTER XLI.

In short, Athens is the school of Greece, and there is no situation in life to which its citizens cannot adapt themselves (§ 1); this, which is by no means an empty boast, is attested by the power of the state and its superiority in trial over what has been reported of it, thus causing no shame to the enemy at being defeated by such, nor chagrin to their tributaries at being subject to a state so worthy to take the command (§§ 2, 3); such proofs of Athenian greatness exist, that no Homer is required to display their glory in verse, the monuments of their prowess being set up in every sea and land (§ 4); such is the state for which the departed heroes fought and died, and for which all who survive should with equal readiness sacrifice their lives (§ 5).

1. ξυνελών τε λέγω. See N. on I. 70. § 8. —— παίδευσιν, *school.* Cf. Liddell and Scott. —— δοκεῖν....παρέχεσθαι. In this sentence τὸν αὐτὸν depends on παρέχεσθαι, and is to be taken with ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' εἴδη (*sorts of business, occupations*). παρ' ἡμῶν, *of us* (here in the city). ἂν before εἴδη is the repetition of the preceding ἂν (see N. on I. 136. § 3), and belongs to παρέχεσθαι. καὶ connects ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' εἴδη and μάλιστ' εὐτραπέλως (*elegantly*, as opposed to that which is awkward and unbecoming).

2. ὡς....ἀλήθεια is a substantive sentence denoting the object of σημαίνει. K. § 329. 1. —— ἔργων—ἀλήθεια, *actual truth.* The preceding λόγων has also the force of an adjective, *wordy boast.* Cf. Bloomf. on this passage.

3. μόνη....ἔρχεται, *for* [this state] *alone of those now existing proves on trial* (literally, *comes to proof*) *to be better than report*, i. e. than it was by report represented to be. —— οὔτε τῷ πολεμίῳ, κ. τ. λ. See the argument of the chapter. —— ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει, *furnishes no annoyance.* —— ὑφ' οἵων, *because from such men* (i. e. men of such renown). οἵων = ὅτι τοιούτων. Cf. K. § 329. R. 8; Mt. § 480. *Obs.* 3 C. § 531. b.

4. οὐ—ἀμάρτυρον, *not unattested.* —— τοι, *in truth = you know.* —— ὅστις = τινὸς ὅστις. K. § 331. R. 3. —— τῶν δ'....βλάψει, *but the truth* (i. e. the facts as they really are) *will injure the conception entertained of the actions.* In this translation I have made ἔργον depend

upon ὑπόνοιαν. Poppo supplies αὐτοῦ from the preceding ὅστις (cf. Mt. § 472. 3), and translates: "*sed cujus* (i. e. sed a quo effectæ) *rerum* i. e. de rebus) *opinioni veritas* (perspecta) *noceat.*" —— ἐσβατόν, *accessible.* —— κακῶν in respect to the enemy. —— κἀγαθῶν in respect to the Athenians and their allies.

5. οἵδε is here used δεικτικῶς. See N. on τῶνδε, II. 36. § 4. —— γενναίως qualifies μαχόμενοι. —— τῶν....τινά, *every one of the survivors = we the survivors, each one of us.*

CHAPTER XLII.

These remarks are made to show that the Athenians have more at stake in this contest than their enemies, and to establish the praises of the dead on the clearest evidence (§ 1); for their valor has contributed to make the state worthy of praise, and it has been sealed by their glorious death (§ 2); the meed of superior honor is due to them in this noble devotion to their country, even though in other respects they may have been inferior, inasmuch as their public services have overbalanced any private injury with which they may have stood charged (§ 3); no private enjoyment or prospects induced them to shrink from danger, but the desire of taking vengeance upon their enemies rendered considerations of private ease of secondary importance; thus with a noble self-confidence and a manly preference of death to submission, they were foremost in battle, and yielded up their lives in the height of glory (§ 4).

1. ποιούμενος denotes purpose. —— μὴ....ὁμοίως, *that the contest is not for an equal stake between us and those, who in like manner (= to an equal degree) enjoy none of these advantages.* —— ἐφ' οἷς (= τούτων ἐφ' οἷς) νῦν λέγω. See N. on ἐπί, II. 34. § 6.

2. εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα, *that which most especially establishes this* (i. e. their eulogy) *has been said* in the preceding remarks. —— ἃ = ἐκεῖνα ἅ, of which the antecedent depends on ἐκόσμησαν, and the relative upon ὕμνησα which is followed by two accusatives. S. § 184. 1; C. § 435. —— ἰσόῤῥοπος—τῶν ἔργων, *in equipoise with their deeds.* The general idea is that the panegyric in most cases exceeds the actions, but in reference to those whose achievements are now celebrated, it will be found otherwise. —— τῶνδε. See N. on II. 36. § 4. —— ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν, *manly courage.* —— μηνύουσα and βεβαιοῦσα denote means. See N. on I. 9. § 1. The sense seems to be that which is adopted by Goel. and Arnold: "it is a proof both where it is first to give us information of their worth (i. e. where nothing had before been known of them), and where it comes at the last to confirm the testimony already borne by a life of virtue." —— καταστροφὴ = *death.*

3. τοῖς—χείροσι has the force of the adnominal genitive after ἀνδραγαθίαν. —— τἆλλα, *in other respects.* —— δίκαιον belongs to προ-

τίθεσθαι (= προτιμᾶσθαι. Schol.) the subject of the sentence. —— ἀγαθῷ, i. e. by their useful and glorious death. —— κακὸν of their private life. Some of those, over whom he was pronouncing this eulogium, may have been in bad repute as private citizens. The orator, however, with great skill removes every unfavorable impression to which the recollection of this may have given rise, by referring to the last and crowning act of their lives, the merit of which was sufficient to efface all previous delinquencies.

4. πλούτου depends on ἀπόλαυσιν. Poppo, Goel., Haack, Krüg., and Arnold read πλούτῳ, and construct it with ἐμαλακίσθη. —— πενίας ἐλπίδι, *hope in relation to his poverty*, i. e. the hope of being freed from poverty and becoming rich. This is expressed in the dependent clause ὡς....πλουτήσειεν, in which αὐτὴν refers to πενίαν attracted into the principal clause. K. § 347. 3. —— αὐτῶν (the genitive after the comparative), i. e. the present enjoyment of wealth, or the hope of its future possession. —— λαβόντες = ὑπολαβόντες. Gottl. cited by Poppo. —— μετ' αὐτοῦ, sc. κινδύνου. —— τῶν δὲ refers to the objects expressed in αὐτῶν. —— τὸ....καταρθώσειν = *the uncertainty of a successful issue*. —— ἔργῳ is taken by the Schol. in the sense of *pugna*. αὐτῷ in the next sentence refers to this word. —— περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὁρωμένου stands opposed to τὸ ἀφανές. —— μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι has furnished much trouble to commentators. Arnold takes the participle in a prægnant sense = *thinking it good*, and with μᾶλλον, *being minded rather*. It is evident that the notion *æquum censendi* resides in this verb, as may be seen in the examples cited by Mt. § 531. p. 914. —— ἢ τό. Goel. and Kühn. in his citation of this passage (Jelf's edit. § 678. 8. *c*) edit ἢ τῷ, but Dindorf's reading, which is the same as Bekker's, is supported by the best MS. authority. —— ἐνδόντες stands for the accusative, it being put in the nominative by attraction. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 678. 3. *c*. —— τὸ δ' ἔργον refers to τὸ παθεῖν (= ἀποθανεῖν), in the sense of *deadly contest*. —— δι'....τύχης, *in the briefest moment of fortune = in the critical point of the battle*, i. e. when the fortune of the battle was at its most critical point, their desperate valor to turn it in favor of their state brought them to speedy death. In order to get rid of this expression, which he terms unintelligible, Arnold connects τύχης with ἅμα ἀκμῇ, *when their fortune was at its height*, and makes τῆς δόξης....δέους depend on ἀπηλλάγησαν, *were taken away from what was their glory rather than their fear*. But I am disposed after much reflection to adopt as the sense of the passage: *they were taken away in the most critical moment of the fight, in the height of their glory rather than of fear* (i. e. when they were farthest removed from a feeling of cowardice).

CHAPTER XLIII.

Following the example of these worthies, those who survive should contemplate the greatness and glory of the state, until they are inspired with the love of it, remembering that its prosperity was brought about by brave men, who freely surrendered their lives to the public good (§ 1), and in doing thus have acquired a deathless renown and an illustrious sepulchre, where their fame will ever be preserved (§ 2); for the whole earth is the sepulchre of brave men, and their memory is treasured in the breast of every one (§ 3); in imitation of such examples let all be prepared to meet the dangers of war (§ 4); for a brave exposure of life is more honorable to those in prosperity, than to those whose courage results from their wretched and hopeless condition (§ 5); misfortune in the midst of prosperity is more afflictive than the momentary pang of death on the field of battle (§ 6).

1. τῇ πόλει depends on προσηκόντως, "*as becomes citizens of such a state.*" Bloomf. —— ἀσφαλεστέραν (διάνοιαν), *a safer lot, career.* —— ἀξιοῦν—ἔχειν, *to desire to have*, depends on χρή. —— λόγῳ is opposed to ἔργῳ infra. —— τὴν ὠφέλειαν, *the utility* of having a daring spirit. —— The words ἦν....ἔνεστιν are parenthetic. —— πρὸς....εἰδότας, *to you who yourselves know it as well* (as he). —— θεωμένους is to be constructed in the same manner as σκοποῦντας. The same may be said of ἐνθυμουμένους, which Steph. thinks should be put in the dative on account of ὑμῖν. —— ἐραστὰς—αὐτῆς. In respect to the splendid outlines of Athens and its surpassing beauty, which had power to inspire the passionate love with which its citizens loved it, some very interesting remarks may be found in the Class. Mus. I. p. 56. —— τολμῶντες, *who were daring.* The other participles in this connection, may be rendered by the relative and finite verb. See N. on I. 8. § 1. In respect to the thing spoken of, cf. I. 70. —— ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι, *were alive to shame in the time of action;* i. e. fearful of bringing disgrace upon themselves. Poppo remarks that Thucydides himself explains this in the speech of Archidamus (I. 84. § 3). —— ὁπότε σφαλείησαν. In I. 70. § 6, it is said of the Athenians, ἦν δ' ἄρα καί του πείρᾳ σφαλῶσιν. For the verbal explanation and construction, see N. on that passage. —— οὔκουν—ἀξιοῦντες *were unwilling.* This participle has the same construction as τολμῶντες. —— πόλιν follows στερίσκειν. —— ἀρετῆς. S. § 200. 8. —— ἔρανον. This word properly signifies an entertainment to which each partaker contributes a share, something like our picknicks. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 398. In this place it refers to the joint contribution of their most valuable offering, viz. their lives.

2. γὰρ introduces an explanation of κάλλιστον ἔρανον. —— Ὧν

opposed to κοινῇ. —— οὐκ—μᾶλλον, ἀλλ'. The force of these particles in this connection is thus shown by Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 773. *Obs.* 5), οὐκ (i. e. οὐ τοῦτον) ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον (sc. ἢ ἐκεῖνον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν καταλείπεται, i. e. ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν), ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται (sc. μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται). —— ἡ δόξα.... καταλείπεται, *their glory is preserved in everlasting remembrance for every occasion which may offer itself, both of word and deed*, i. e. for every occasion in which their praise may be celebrated by words or actions. παρὰ τῷ καιρῷ depends on καταλείπεται.

3. ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ (sc. γῇ), *in a foreign land;* literally, *in a land not belonging to them.* —— ἄγραφος μνήμη—τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου, *the unwritten memorial of the mind rather than of the monument*, i. e. that which is engraved upon the mind rather than upon the monument.

4. περιορᾶσθε. See N. on I. 24. § 6.

5. οὐ γὰρ....βίου, *for not the unfortunate have the justest reason to be lavish of their lives.* Bloomf. well remarks that "this is a preoccupation by the speaker of an argument on the part of the rich, namely, that they, having the means for enjoyment, ought not to hazard themselves in war but leave it to the poor, who have not such; and who therefore, having nothing to lose, may and do run all hazards." βίου is the separative genitive, the idea being that of parting with life. Cf. C. §§ 347, 348. —— ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή, *a change to the opposite*, i. e. from prosperous to adverse fortune. —— ἔτι κινδυνεύεται, *is yet at hazard = is yet to be feared.* —— μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα (cf. I. 70. § 1), *the changes would be great*, inasmuch as they would pass from a state of affluence into one of privation and hardship.

6. ἔν τῳ....κάκωσις, *misery connected with cowardice* as its result. Some take μετὰ in the sense of *after*, and refer μαλακισθῆναι to the giving way in battle. In all the editions before me except Dindorf's and Krüger's, the words ἔν τῳ or μετὰ τοῦ are marked as suspicious. There seems to be no conceivable use for both these expressions, and I must believe with Arnold, that ἔν τῳ has crept in from the margin, where it was placed to explain μετὰ τοῦ. —— ἦν....θάνατος. Construct: ἦν ὁ ἀναίσθητος θάνατος γιγνόμενος ἅμα μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς, for ἅμα is to be taken with the preceding words, and not as though written γιγνόμενος καὶ ἅμα ἀναίσθητος, *and moreover almost unfelt*, which is Bloomfield's interpretation.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The speaker would rather comfort the parents of the deceased than bewail their fate, for fortunate are those who die, as have the sons of these, the most glorious of deaths (§ 1); it is difficult however to impart consolation to those, who will continually see others in the enjoyment of the good fortune in which they once rejoiced (§ 2); some may hope to forget their present sorrows in new duties and affections, and in the further increase of their families assuage their own grief and benefit the state by preventing its depopulation (§ 3); those, whose age forbids this hope, should solace themselves by the remembrance of past enjoyment, and let the glory of their departed sons brighten the short space of their existence which still remains (§ 4).

1. διόπερ, *wherefore*, introduces a general deduction from the remarks made in the preceding chapter. —— τοκέας is a poetic word, although found in the Attic prose writers. Cf. Xen. Mem. II. 3. § 33. ὅσοι πάρεστε—ἐπίστανται. Notice the change from the second person to the third. —— ἐπίστανται τραφέντες, *they know that they were born* (i. e. that such was the condition of their birth). See N. on I. 69. § 5. —— τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς (= ἡ δ' εὐτυχία. Mt. § 269. 1). Supply τοῦτο ὄν, as conforming to the preceding construction in ἐπίστανται τραφέντες. Arnold says that the abstract term τὸ εὐτυχὲς is defined by the concrete οἳ ἂν—λάχωσιν, a confusion between two modes of expression τούτους δὲ εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, οἳ ἂν—λάχωσιν, and τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, τὸ τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λαχεῖν. —— εὐπρεπεστάτης is to be referred to λύπης as well as to τελευτῆς. Render then: (and know) *that they are fortunate, whose lot it is like these, to have the most glorious end, and like you, the most honorable grief.* ——οἷς refers to the same persons as οἳ ἄν, and depends on βίος. The sentence may be rendered literally, *whose life in like manner has been measured out to be happy in and to die in = whose lot it is to enjoy the same happiness at the moment of death which belonged to them in life.* Death came to them in the full enjoyment of happiness, before they had endured the griefs and afflictions to which a longer period of life might have exposed them. So Arnold gives the sense: *the duration of whose life has been commensurate with that of their happiness.* Poppo in his Suppl. Adnot. p. 169, cites the interpretation of Wex. (de difficilioribus aliquot Salustii atque Thucydidis dictis, p. 15), "*quorum vita ita aptata est* (quorum vita ita congruit) *ut, in quo felices essent* (patriæ defendendæ munere) *in eodem vitam finirent.*

2. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν, κ. τ. λ. *I know that it will be difficult* (οἶδα ὅν. See N. on I. 76. § 1) *to persuade* [you to be happy] *in respect to those, the remembrance of whom,* etc. —— λύπη....ἀφαιρεῖῃ, and not

row arises not from the loss of those things of whose value we have had no experience, but from that of which we are deprived after having tested its worth; literally, *sorrow arises not on account of those good things of which we may be deprived not having yet tried* (their worth), *but from that*, etc. ἀγαθῶν is put in the relative clause by attraction. See N. on I. 33. § 2.

3. ἐλπίδι depends on καρτερεῖν, *through hope*, or *in hope*, as denoting the ground or occasion of the state of mind expressed in the verb. —— οἷς refers to ὑμᾶς the omitted subject of καρτερεῖν. —— τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι = τεκνωποιεῖν in dependence on ἡλικία. S. § 222. 6. —— τῶν οὐκ ὄντων, *of the departed.* —— λήθη (= *cause of forgetfulness*) οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοι (sc. παῖδες). An abstract or concrete predicate denoting a thing, often disagrees with the subject both in gender and number. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 382. 1. —— ἀσφαλείᾳ is a varied construction for ἐκ τῆς ἀσφαλείας. The subject of ξυνοίσει is τὸ τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. So Poppo, Bloomf., and others. —— οἳ....κινδυνεύωσιν, *who do not hazard equally with the others their children* (= who have no children as others to hazard) *by exposing them to danger.*

4. παρηβήκατε, *are past their prime, are growing old*, perf. of παρηβάω. —— τὸν τε....ἡγεῖσθε, *consider the greater part of your life, in which you have been fortunate* (S. § 182), *as gain.* —— τόνδε, i. e. the remainder of life. —— ἔσεσθαι depends on ἡγεῖσθε. —— κουφίζεσθε, *be relieved* (literally *be lightened*) of your grief. —— ἐν....ἡλικίας, *in the infirmity of age.* —— τὸ κερδαίνειν....τιμᾶσθαι = οὐ τὸ κερδαίνειν μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι μᾶλλον τέρπει.

CHAPTER XLV.

The sons and brothers of the deceased should be emulous of the glory of their friends, and remember how arduous is their task to equal the fame of those whom envy no longer injures (§ 1); those who are reduced to widowhood should not be deficient in the peculiar excellence of their sex, and should avoid as much as possible notoriety either for good or for evil (§ 2).

1. παισὶ....πάρεστε. "Usitatior ordo verborum erat τοῖς παισὶ δ' αὖ τῶνδε, ὅσοι πάρεστε, ut c. 44. init. τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε. Nunc ad τῶνδε repetendum παῖδες, et ad παισὶ propter articulum omissum supplendum ὑμῖν. Itaque vulgari modo et, plene ita scribendum erat: ὅσοι δ' αὖ τῶνδε πάρεστε παῖδες ἢ ἀδελφοί, ὑμῖν ὁρᾷ." Poppo. —— τὸν ἀγῶνα. What this contest is the speaker goes on to explain, and hence the following sentence commences

with γὰρ (*explicantis*). —— τὸν οὐκ ὄντα. See N. on II. 44. § 8. —— καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς, *by a superabundance of virtue.* ἀρετῆς is here taken, says Bloomfield, in a general sense to denote whatever is praiseworthy or meritorious. —— ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χείρους, *but* (even) *somewhat inferior.* —— τοῖς ζῶσι is the *dat. incommodi.* —— πρὸς τὸ ἀντιπάλον, *for* (= exercised towards) *an adversary.* The simple idea is that men will envy their competitors as long as they live. —— μὴ ἐμποδών, *not being in the way* = when they are dead.

2. ὅσαι refers to γυναικείας by what is called *constructio κατὰ σύνεσιν.* See N. on I. 186. § 1. —— τῆς—ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως. Arnold and others refer this to the virtue of affectionateness, but Bloomfield, in my judgment, more correctly understands by it *chastity*, the great virtue of the female sex. —— ἧς refers to γυναικὸς implied in ὅσαι. The relative is used in an indefinite sense. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 819. β. Render then, *of whom there may be as little as possible said among men, either for good or for evil.* —— κλέος = φήμη.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Having now performed the duty which custom has demanded, the speaker announces that provision is made for the maintenance and education of the children of the deceased, and closes with a brief request, that all shall retire after this expression of their grief (§§ 1, 2).

1. ἐμοὶ is the dative of the agent. C. § 417. —— λόγῳ is added to εἴρηται, on account of the antithetic ἔργῳ which follows. —— τὰ μὲν—τὰ δέ, *partly—partly.* C. § 441. —— μέχρι ἥβης, *until manhood*, i. e. according to the Schol., when they were eighteen years of age. —— τοῖσδε refers to the deceased, and τοῖς λειπομένοις to their surviving children. So Dobr. cited by Poppo (Suppl. Adnot.). —— ἀγώνων depends on στέφανον. —— οἷς—τοῖσδε = *wherever—there.* οἷς is a sort of *dat. commodi* after κεῖται.

2. νῦν....ἅπιτε, *but now having ceased bewailing each his relative* (ὃν προσήκει ἕκαστος) *depart.*

CHAPTERS XLVII.—LIV.

The description of the plague at Athens, contained in these chapters, is no less celebrated as a master-piece of its kind, than the funeral oration which it so immediately follows. The subjects are diverse, yet the historian shows himself a master of the tender and pathetic no less than of the energetic and sublime. The origin, progress, and results of this dreadful scourge, are detailed in a style singularly clear, chaste, and simple. We seem to be at once transported to the crowded city, to stand amidst the dead and dying, to hear the groans of the sufferers, and to watch the sure progress of the disease to its fatal termination. We turn away with disgust from the selfishness and coward fear, which leave the nearest and dearest friends to die alone; and we are horror-stricken at the excesses in which, with death before their eyes, they so recklessly and wickedly indulge. So distinctly and impressively are these and other circumstances of the calamity related, that no one who has once read it with care, will ever forget its soul-harrowing and sickening details. Even to the man of gray hairs, the PLAGUE OF ATHENS, as a college exercise unique and interesting, comes up with a freshness and vividness, which is true of no other subject in his whole course of study. Something of this may be attributed to its extreme difficulty, but more, I apprehend, to its power to engrave indelibly upon the youthful mind the horrors of the dreadful scourge, and the scenes of suffering which it produced.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The first year of the war closes with the funeral solemnities just related (§ 1); in the beginning of the spring, the Peloponnesians make another irruption into Attica and lay waste the country (§ 2); not long afterwards the plague commences its ravages, against which no human aid is efficacious, and supplications at the temples and other religious observances prove alike vain and useless (§§ 3, 4).

1. Πελοποννήσιοι....μέρη = τῶν Πελοποννησίων....μέρη. As it now stands, τὰ δύο μέρη (*two thirds*. Cf. II. 10. § 2) is in apposition with the preceding nominative. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 478; C. § 360. 3. See N. also on I. 89. § 3 (end).

3. ὄντων....Ἀττικῇ, *and when they had not been many days yet in Attica.* —— ἡ νόσος, *the pestilence.* The article is added because this plague was so well known. —— λεγόμενον. It is better (with Poppo and Krüg. after Camerarius) to take this in an absolute sense (as εἰρημένον, I. 140. § 2), than to refer it with the older critics to νόσημα con-

tained in *νόσος* (cf. C. § 453. 8), or to the idea in general denoted by the word *thing*. —— *οὕτως* is to be constructed after *γενέσθαι*, in the sense of *to such a degree*, by the force of the preceding *τοσοῦτος*.

4. *οὔτε....ἀγνοίᾳ*, *for the physicians could furnish no assistance when first through ignorance* (of the disease) *they attempted to effect a cure*. There are other ways of translating this sentence, the most usual of which is to construct the participle with the verb (S. § 225. 8), *for the physicians were unable at first to furnish any remedy through ignorance of the disease*. This implies that afterwards the physicians so understood the disease, as to cure those who were afflicted with it, which was not so. But the explanation, which I have adopted after Goel., implies that the physicians, when they became aware of the unyielding malignity of the disease, gave up and did not pretend to any ability to prescribe for it. Indeed most of them, as appears from the following context, fell victims to their professional duty of attendance upon the sick. —— *ὅσῳ* = *τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ*. See N. on I. 68. § 2 (end). —— *τέχνη* (sc. *ἦρκει*). The Schol. adds *οἷον μαντική, ἐπῳδή*, in reference to which Poppo says, "huc fortasse ars musica referenda." The explanation of the Schol. would suit better the words *μαντείαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις* which follow. —— *ὅσα τε....ἱκέτευσαν*, *whatever supplications they offered at the temples*. *ὅσα* to which *πάντα* refers is properly an accusative synecdochical. —— *μαντείαις* (Poppo and Krüg. *μαντείοις*), *prophesyings*. If *τοῖς τοιούτοις* (*such like things*) refers to incantations, as is generally supposed, the indefiniteness with which it is referred to, shows that Thucydides had very little confidence in them. Cf. N. on II. 8. § 3. —— *τελευτῶντες*, *at last, finally*. K. § 312. R. 3. *β*. —— *αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν*, *they abstained from these things*. The reason is contained in *ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The local origin of the plague is said to have been in Æthiopia, whence it pervaded the greater part of the Persian dominions, and suddenly appeared at Athens in the Piræus and afterwards in the upper city (§§ 1, 2); the historian, having himself been sick with it and witnessed its effects on others, expresses his intention to relate merely the manner of its attack, leaving it for others to investigate its origin, and the cause of its being able to produce such an entire change in the human body (§§ 3, 4).

1. *τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου*, *the part lying above Egypt*, i. e. the region of country now called Nubia, Sennaar, including a part of Abyssinia. —— *κατέβη* is here tropically used of an inanimate subject. —— *βασιλέως* of Persia. —— *τὴν πολλήν*, *the greatest part*. K. § 268. 6. c.

2. *ἐνέπεσε* is an expression of common use, to denote the sudden breaking out or attack of malignant diseases. —— *ἤψατο, it attacked.* S. § 192. 1. —— *ὥστε* refers back to *ἐξαπιναίως.* —— *ἐς τὰ φρέατα, into the cisterns* or *water-tanks* used for receiving and containing the rain-water, as appears from the explanatory sentence which follows. —— *αὐτόθι*, i. e. in the Pirœus. —— *ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, into the upper city*, so called in distinction from *ἡ κάτα πόλις, the lower city*, or that which was built upon the plain. —— *πόλλῳ μᾶλλον, in far greater numbers* than when it was confined to the Pirœus.

3. *αὐτοῦ*, i. e. the disease. —— *ὡς ἕκαστος γιγνώσκει, each as he thinks.* See N. on II. 21. § 3. —— *ἀφ'....αὐτό, from what cause it most likely arose = what was its probable cause.* This is a substantive clause depending upon *λεγέτω*, as does also *τὰς αἰτίας.* —— *μεταβολῆς* depends on *ἄστινας* in the sense, *which in so great a change.* Poppo says that the sentence written in full would be: *καὶ τὰς αἰτίας* (sc. *λεγέτω*) *ἄστινας ἱκανὰς αἰτίας τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς νομίζει εἶναι.* But the government of *μεταβολῆς* is less natural in this mode of construction. —— *δύναμιν* follows *σχεῖν* which depends upon *ἱκανὰς* (S. § 222. 6). —— *ἀφ' ὧν* depends in construction upon *ταῦτα* (sc. *τὰ σημεῖα*) *δηλώσω.* —— *μάλιστ' ἂν....ἀγνοεῖν = may not be wholly ignorant of the disease* (in consequence of) *having some previous knowledge* (*τι προειδὼς*) *of it.* The optative here depends on a future verb (*δηλώσω*), and denotes a conditional supposition or conjecture. Cf. K. § 333. 6.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The season in which the plague broke out was in all respects healthy (§ 1); the disorder first showed itself in the head, which became violently heated, the eyes being inflamed, after which the gullet and tongue became affected and fetid to a great degree (§ 2); this was followed by sneezing and hoarseness, and soon the disease descended into the breast and stomach, and produced vomitings and bilious discharges with great suffering (§ 3); hiccoughs, convulsions, and spasms of longer or shorter duration then followed (§ 4); the skin was not hot to the touch, but livid, and covered with small pimples and sores; internally, however, the heat was so great that the slightest covering of the body could not be endured, and many threw themselves into wells to quench their raging thirst (§ 5); the patients were also restless and wakeful, yet retained their strength in a great degree, until the crisis of the disease, which was in nine or seven days; if they escaped this, the malady passing down to their bowels produced there ulcerations and diarrhœa which carried them off (§ 6); for the disease beginning with the head passed through the whole system, and left its marks in the very extremities of the body, and some who survived it were in a state of utter forgetfulness (§§ 7, 8).

1. *γὰρ* often commences a narration, the subject of which has been previously introduced to the reader's attention. In such cases it may

be rendered *now*. See N. on I. 4. § 1. —— *ἐκ πάντων*, *above all*. See N. on I. 120. § 1. —— *ἄνοσον*, *free from sickness*, *healthy*. —— *ἐς*, *in respect to*. —— *ἐτύγχανεν ὄν*. S. § 225. 8. —— *ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη*, *every illness determined in this*. The English expression, "a determination of blood to the head," as Arnold remarks, appears very nearly to correspond to this passage.

2. *τοὺς δ' ἄλλους*, *the others*, i. e. those who were not ill of other diseases, when they were seized with this malady. —— *ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως*, *from no apparent cause*. —— *τὰ ἐντός*, *within* = *the internal parts*, referring, as is evident from what follows, to the mouth. —— *ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες*, *disagreeable and fetid*; or perhaps better, *strange and fetid*, i. e. fetid to an unusual degree. So Arnold.

3. *μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ*, *with a violent cough*. —— *ὁπότε.... στηρίξαι*, *when it had fixed itself* (= settled) *in the stomach*. See N. on I. 49. § 3 (init.). —— *ἀνέστρεφέ τι αὐτήν*, *it disturbed it* (i. e. the stomach); literally, *turned it upside down*. —— *ἀποκαθάρσεις.... ἐπῆεσαν*, *and that which* (literally, *all those which*) *is called by physicians*, *discharges of bile*, *supervened* (by the vomiting).

4. *λύγξ—κενή*, *a hiccough*. This is not an unusual consequence of the straining and irritation produced by excessive vomitings. Arnold takes *λύγξ* in the sense of *retching*, and *λύγξ κενὴ* of *ineffectual retching*, when nothing is brought off from the stomach. —— *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *immediately*. So the Schol. Opposed to this is *πολλῷ ὕστερον* in the next clause.

5. *τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν* (*externally*) stands opposed to *τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς* infra. —— *ἁπτομένῳ* (sc. *αὐτοῦ*), *to one touching it* (= *if any one touched it*. Mt. § 338. *b*) *externally*. This of course refers to *θερμὸν* alone, since *χλωρὸν* refers to the sense of sight. —— *μηδ'* (for *μήτ'*) *ἄλλο τι ἢ* (sc. *ὄντες*) *γυμνοί*, *nor any thing else than being naked* (= *nor being otherwise than naked*). *γυμνοὶ* is here put in the nominative masculine because, as Arnold remarks, *τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκάετο* = *τὰ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκάοντο* (sc. *οἱ κάμνοντες*), and the adjective is put in the case in which the omitted subject of the infinitive has thus virtually appeared. —— *ἥδιστα....ῥίπτειν*, *and would most gladly have thrown* (*ἂν—ῥίπτειν* = *ἔρριπτον ἄν*, sc. *εἰ ἠδύναντο*. K. § 341. R. 1) *themselves into cold water*. Instead of the protasis *εἰ ἠδύναντο*, Poppo would supply *εἰ ἠμελοῦντο* from the following context. —— *τοῦτο*, sc. *ἔδρασαν* from the following verb. Cf. K. § 346. 2. *d*. —— *καὶ ἐν....ποτόν*, *and it was the same thing* (i. e. equally unavailing), *whether they drank much or little*; literally, *more copious or diminished draughts tended to the same result*.

6. *τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν* is epexegetical of *ἡ ἀπορία*, *the impossibility*

of composing themselves; literally, *the not knowing what to do on account of their inability to rest.* μὴ is not here to be referred to the μὴ after a word denoting a negative idea (see N. on I. 10. § 1), for the reason that the clause is separate and explanatory. —— ὅσονπερ.... ἀκμάζοι, *as long as the disease was at its height.* In adverbial sentences the temporal adverb is followed by the optative, when that which is said is something merely imagined or thought of. —— παρὰ δόξαν, *beyond expectation.* —— διεφθείροντο—ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος, *died of the internal heat* (i. e. the fever). —— ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως, *while they yet had* (see Notes on I. 13. § 6; 51. § 4) *some strength.* This clause belongs to διεφθείροντο. —— διαφύγοιεν that crisis. —— αὐτῇ refers to τὴν κοιλίαν. —— ἀκράτου, *excessive, violent.* —— δι' αὐτήν, i. e. the diarrhœa.

7. γὰρ introduces the reason why the disorder was said to descend (ἐπιπιπτούσης, § 6) into the bowels. —— τὸ—κακὸν is the subject of διεξῄει. —— ἱδρυθέν, *being seated,* an expression often employed when a disease remains settled in some part of the body. —— μεγίστων dangers. —— τῶν.... ἐπεσήμαινε, *its seizure of the extremities left its mark.* This refers αὐτοῦ to τοῦ κακοῦ. Krüger, however, refers it to τίς, and makes it depend on ἀκρωτηρίων. —— γέ, i. e. however the patient may have lived through the greatest dangers, the thing here spoken of *at least* happened.

8. κατέσκηπτε. This word happily expresses the violence and rapidity of the attack, it being used of the descent of lightning, storms, etc. —— αἰδοῖα. The parts of the body are often put without the article. Krüg. —— εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, *and some were deprived even of their eyes.* —— ἀναστάντας, i. e. when they recovered (literally, *rose up*) from the disease. —— τῶν πάντων limits λήθη.

CHAPTER L.

That this disease was different from all other maladies is seen in the fact, that neither birds nor beasts preyed on the unburied corpses, or if they did they perished (§ 1), a proof of which was the disappearance of the birds of prey, and especially of the dogs (§ 2).

1. κρεῖσσον λόγου, *exceeding description, greater than can be described.* K. § 323. 6; C. § 463. 1. —— τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου, *the kind of the disease.* —— τά τε....φύσιν, *and in other respects more grievous than human nature can endure;* literally, *than is proportionate to human nature.* —— ἐν τῷδε is explained in τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα κ. τ. λ. —— ἐδήλωσε—ὄν, *showed itself to be.* See N. on I. 11. § 8. —— τῶν ξυντοόφων, *the ordinary* (diseases). —— ἅπτεται = *devour, feed*

upon. —— πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων, *although* (see N. on I. 7. § 1) *there were many unburied corpses.* —— ἢ γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο, *or if* (see N. on I. 71. § 6) *they tasted* (of the dead bodies) *they perished.*

2. τεκμήριον is not, as some think, a predicate nominative, but is a proposition by itself, as in II. 39. § 2, where Dindorf puts a colon after it, as he should have done in this place. —— τοιούτων ὀρνίθων, i. e. birds of prey referred to in the preceding section. —— περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν = "περὶ τὰ ἄταφα σώματα." Jacobs. —— αἴσθησιν....ἀποβαίνοντος, *furnished a full understanding of the affair*, i. e. showed that death was the result of eating the dead bodies. Some render, *made the event observable*, i. e. brought the thing more to the attention of men.

CHAPTER LI.

Such was the nature of the disease in which all other disorders terminated, and for which no certain or universal remedy could be found, and against which no constitution could bear up (§§ 1–3); an excessive depression of spirits also attended the malady from its first commencement, and caused the patient to give up without a struggle (§ 4); the infection which resulted from attendance upon the sick increased the mortality, for either through fear of this they were not visited, or if any ventured to approach them, they in turn became the victims of the disease, which was the fate of the more virtuous and compassionate (§ 5); much care and attention was, however, bestowed upon the sick by those who had recovered from the plague, since they knew by experience its dreadful nature, and were not afraid of its recurrence, because it never attacked the same person twice (§ 6).

1. παραλιπόντι = *to pass by.* This dative may be constructed after τοιοῦτον ἦν, as the *dat. commodi.* C. 410. —— ἀτοπίας, *of an unusual nature.* —— ἐτύγχανε—γιγνόμενον, *happened to be.* —— πρὸς ἕτερον belongs to διαφερόντως, ἑτέρῳ (= ἑνί) being in apposition with ἑκάστῳ. —— καὶ ἄλλο....ἐτελεύτα. This is an explanatory repetition of what was said II. 49. § 1, although that seems to refer to the time immediately preceding the pestilence, and this to the time when it was raging.

2. ὡς εἰπεῖν, *so to speak* (S. § 223. 3), is to be constructed with ἔν τε οὐδέν. —— τὸ....ἔβλαπτε, *for that which relieved one injured another.*

3. σῶμα....αὐτό, *no body showed itself strong enough for it* (i. e. the disease). This is explained still further by ἰσχύος πέρι (i. e. περὶ ἰσχύος) ἢ ἀσθενείας. For the construction of ὃν—διεφάνη, see N. on I. 2. § 1. —— πάντα, sc. τὰ σώματα. —— πάσῃ διαίτῃ refers not only to proper food, but to the care and attention proper to be bestowed upon the sick.

4. δεινότατον. The subject being an inanimate thing, the adjective in the predicate is put in the neuter. S. § 157. c. —— ἀθυμία, *dejection, anxiety.* —— αἴσθοιτο κάμνων, *perceived that he was sick with it.* See N. on I. 26. § 3. For the use of the optative, see N. on I. 49. § 1 (init.). —— προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτούς, *gave themselves up* (to the disease). —— ἔτερος....ἔθνησκον, *filled with infection one from the care of another, they died like sheep.* ἀναπιμπλάμενοι. "This a favorite term of Plato to express defilement or pollution, from the notion of a body overloaded or surfeited with food, and so becoming disordered or unsound. Thus Thucydides seems to use it as signifying, *becoming fully charged with infection.*" Arnold. —— τοῦτο, i. e. the contagious nature of the disease.

5. δεδιότες, *through fear.* —— ἔρημοι = *for want of care.* The subject is ἄνθρωποι understood, referring to the sick persons. —— οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι, *those who made any pretensions to virtue* (C. § 373. 1). I prefer with the Schol. to take ἀρετὴ here in the sense of φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀγάπη. So Krüger understands it, although Bauer and Haack attach to it the sense of *firmness.* —— ἐσιόντες (= *in attending upon*) denotes the manner in which ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν. See Ns. on I. 33. § 1; II. 34. § 4. —— τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων —ἐξέκαμνον, *grew weary of the moans of the dying.* The naturalness and exquisite pathos of this passage are such, that I cannot bring myself to adopt the sense given by some, *were tired out with lamenting for the dying.* Besides it seems strange, if this latter meaning is the true one, that the dying rather than the dead should be the subject of lamentation. τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις is what Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 549. *c*) calls the accusative of equivalent notion. —— πολλοῦ, *vast, huge.*

6. δὲ ὅμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες, *but notwithstanding* [that the sick were deserted by their relatives] *yet those who had escaped* (death from the disorder). Arnold supplies the ellipsis and paraphrases thus: "Still, whatever were the particular instances of intrepid humanity, visiting the sick and dying without any consideration of its own safety, yet the sufferers met with the liveliest compassion and the greatest attention, from those who had themselves had the plague, and had recovered from it." —— τὸν πονούμενον. So we speak of one *laboring under a disease.* —— διὰ....εἶναι, *because they had experienced* [the disease] *and were of good courage* as to their safety. These persons had two essential qualifications for visiting and taking care of the sick, viz. sympathy in their sufferings, and freedom from all fear of personal exposure. The reason for the last is contained in the next sentence beginning with γὰρ (explicantis). —— τῶν ἄλλων, i. e. both the well and sick. —— τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ, *in excessive joy of the*

present. —— *μηδ'....διαφθαρῆναι, that they would never hereafter be destroyed by any other disease.* They supposed that as they had battled successfully with this terrible malady, their bodies would yield to no other disease to which they might be exposed. They did not therefore suppose that they should never again be afflicted with any sickness, much less that they should never die, but simply that they should outlive every disease and die of old age.

CHAPTER LII.

The accession of the country people added to the calamity, for having no place to lodge except in crowded huts, they died one upon another, and were rolling about in the streets and around the fountains (§§ 1, 2); the temples also were full of corpses, the calamity having reached to such a height, as to render all regardless alike of things sacred or profane (§ 3); sepulchral laws and usages were violated, the survivors burying where and in whatever way they could, and oftentimes for want of necessaries in an indecorous manner, using funeral piles erected for others, or throwing their dead upon one on which a corpse was already burning (§ 4).

1. *πρός, in addition to.* —— *ἡ....ἀγρῶν.* The article is omitted before the attributive, where it is placed after a noun denoting action in the abstract. Cf. K. § 245. R. 2. —— *οὐχ ἧσσον = most especially.*

2. *οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν.* Cf. II. 17. § 8. —— *ὥρᾳ ἔτους*, i. e. in the midst of summer. —— *οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ = πάνυ ἀκόσμως.* Jacobs. These words are constructed by Haack with *διαιτωμένων*, but it is better to refer them to *ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο*, which gives a sense still further explained by the following context. —— *νεκροὶ....ἔκειντο.* Jacobs, with the approbation of the best critics, thus constructs this sentence: "*ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο νεκροί*, ut *νεκροὶ* consequens sit vocabulis *ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες.*" —— *ἐκαλινδοῦντο, lay rolling about*, being too weak to walk or stand. —— *ἡμιθνῆτες, half dead.* —— *τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ* contains the reason why they lay around the fountains, and is not therefore to be constructed with *ἡμιθνῆτες.*

3. *αὐτοῦ*, i. e. in the temples. —— *ἐναποθνησκόντων* (sc. *ἀνθρώπων*) is the genitive absolute. —— *οὐκ....γένωνται*, "*not knowing what to have recourse to.*" Bloomf., whom Arnold cites approvingly. But *not knowing what was to become of them* appears to me a better rendering. Cf. Mt. § 488. 5. —— *ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων.* See N. on I. 71. § 6.

4. *θήκας* refers here to the disposal of the dead bodies, which from the following context appears to have been by burning. Why the epithet *ἀναισχύντους* is added to *θήκας* is seen in *ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ κ. τ. λ.* —— *διὰ....σφίσιν, on account of so many previous deaths in their*

families (σφίσιν), or *because so many of their friends had already died.* —— φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας, *anticipating those who were raising the pile.* —— ὃν φέροιεν, "*which they happened to be carrying.*" Arnold. Cf. C. § 606.

CHAPTER LIII.

Many other acts of licentiousness resulted from the pestilence, men being desirous, from the sudden changes of fortune which they saw, and the precarious tenure of their own lives, to enjoy the present to the highest degree possible (§§ 1, 2); no labor or pursuit for the attainment of any useful or honorable object was engaged in, pleasure being the ruling principle of action (§ 3); neither the fear of the gods nor human laws had any restraining influence, since it appeared that those who reverenced the gods were no safer than others from the plague, and each expected death before he could be convicted of his misdemeanors at a civil tribunal, such conviction too having little terror, while a more awful calamity was hanging over them (§ 4).

1. ἦρξε, *gave rise to*, is followed by ἀνομίας. C. § 350. R. —— τἆλλα, *in other respects* than the excesses spoken of at the close of the preceding chapter. —— ἐτόλμα by the force of the antithetic ἀπεκρύπτετο refers to open daring. —— μὴ—ποιεῖν. See N. on I. 10. § 1 (end). Some critics erroneously construct καθ' ἡδονήν (cf. II. 37. § 2) with ἐτόλμα. —— ἀγχίστροφον, *sudden.* —— ὁρῶντες refers to τις taken collectively. —— τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων depends on τὴν μεταβολήν. —— τἀκείνων, i. e. the possessions of the rich.

2. ὥστε has here the *ecbatic* sense. See N. on I. 65. § 1. —— πρός, *having reference to.* —— ἡγούμενοι denotes the cause (see N. on I. 9. § 4) of their desire for immediate and unrestrained enjoyment.

3. τὸ μὲν....ἦν, *no one was zealous to labor after that which was esteemed honorable.* προσταλαιπωρεῖν takes the article by way of emphasis, τό being used, although the infinitive regarded as a substantive depending upon πρόθυμος, should properly have taken τοῦ. Cf. K. § 808. R. 1; Mt. § 543. *Obs.* 2. τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ is the dat. commodi. —— ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ, *regarding it uncertain whether.* Cf. the Lat. *nescire an.* —— ὅ,τι refers forward to τοῦτο, and is the subject of ἦν understood. —— ἤδη, *the present moment.* This word has undergone various readings, ἤδει or ἦδη being found in all the older editions. —— τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, *whatever ministered to this* (i. e. ἡδύ); or if with Poppo (cf. Mt. § 283) we refer the article to ἐς αὐτό, *profitable as far as this* (i. e. ἡδύ) *was concerned.*

4. τὸ μὲν is constructed by Poppo in dependence on σέβειν, and referring to τὸ θεῖον implied in θεῶν φόβος. Some refer τὸ μὲν to

σίβειν καὶ μὴ (sc. σίβειν). —— κρίνοντες is a nominative absolute, the construction being carried on as though θεῶν φόβῳ ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπείργοντο had preceded. Cf. Mt. § 562. 1. —— τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων depends on τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, *to be punished for his offences*; literally, *to pay the penalty, to give satisfaction*, the punishment being considered in the light of a debt due from the offender. —— οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων has the same construction as κρίνοντες. —— μέχρι βιούς. The order is: βιοὺς μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι. —— ἀντιδοῦναι depends on ἐλπίζων. —— μείζω, sc. τιμωρίαν. —— ἐπικρεμασθῆναι depends on κρίνων or νομίζων, to be supplied from ἐλπίζων upon which the verb properly depends, but the sense of which without modification would be inappropriate here. —— ἢν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν, *before it fell*. A similar effect upon the morals was witnessed in the great plague of Milan in 1680. Cf. Lond. Quart. Rev. Oct. 1844.

CHAPTER LIV.

The Athenians in their affliction remember an old prediction, which had been quite obscure, but now seemed to be made clear by the calamity (§§ 1–3); they also call to mind the oracle given to the Lacedæmonians, in which the god had promised to be on their side (§ 4); the severity with which the pestilence fell on Athens, and the exemption of Peloponnesus from its ravages, seemed to be in keeping with the oracle (§ 5).

1. τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει—περιπεσόντες, *having fallen in with such a calamity = such a calamity having come upon them.* —— γῆς. Cf. II. 21. § 2.

2. τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, *the following oracle.* —— φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. See N. on διδιότες οἱ στρατηγοί, I. 49. § 4. —— Δωριακὸς πόλεμος. In the Peloponnesian war the Dorians were opposed to the Ionians. The Schol. says that this verse is drawn from Hom. Il. 1. 161. In respect to the faith of Thucydides in such things, cf. N. on II. 8. § 3.

3. μὴ λοιμὸν—ἀλλὰ λιμόν, *not* LOIMOS *but* LIMOS. These words were doubtless pronounced very much if not quite alike, and hence were confounded. —— ἐνίκησε. The subject is (τὸ) εἰρῆσθαι. —— ἐπὶ here denotes the ground or occasion of the thing spoken of (cf. K. § 296. 3. b), *in their present condition*, i. e. on account of the prevailing disease. —— πρός. See N. on I. 140. § 1. —— τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο, *confirm their recollection.* —— οὕτως, i. e. λιμός. The keen sarcasm of this passage is obvious, and helps to show in what estimation such things were held by Thucydides.

4. τοῖς εἰδόσιν, *to those who knew it.* —— ὅτε = ὅτι. See N. on

II. 21. § 1. —— *αὐτοῖς* refers to the Lacedæmonians, and limits *ἀνείλε*. Cf. I. 118. § 3.

5. *τὰ....εἶναι, they conjectured that the things which took place* (i. e. the pestilence) *corresponded with it.* —— *δέ, for*, slightly introduces the clause in which it stands as confirmatory of what precedes. *ὅ,τι ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν = in any respect worthy of being mentioned.* Arnold cites as equivalent in signification, *ὅ,τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον*, IV. 48. In respect to the weakening force of *καί*, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 760. 2. *b.* —— *ἐπενείματο· κατέφαγε.* Schol. A most expressive term to represent the sudden and overwhelming calamity.

CHAPTER LV.

The Peloponnesians, after ravaging the plain, pass into the territory of Paralus, and there lay waste the country (§ 1); but Pericles still adheres to his opinion, that the Athenians should hazard no general engagement (§ 2).

1. *ἔτεμον τὸ πεδίον.* Cf. II. 47. § 2. —— *Πάραλον.* The invading army took a circuit north of Athens, and passing between Hymettus and the more northern mountains, marched south through Mesogæa into Paralia, as far as Laurium in its most southern extremity. It was a bold movement thus to place Athens in the rear, and we have no other instance recorded in which this was done. —— *οὗ....Ἀθηναίοις* shows the reason why this movement was made. The Peloponnesians hoped to draw out the Athenians from their city to defend these mines. —— *πρός, towards.* K. § 208. III. 1. a.

2. *καὶ τότε, then also*, as well as in the year of the first invasion (*ὥσπερ....ἐσβολῇ*). —— *περὶ....Ἀθηναίους* follows *γνώμην* in construction.

CHAPTER LVI.

Previous to the advance of the Lacedæmonians into the maritime district, Pericles fitted out 100 ships to sail around Peloponnesus (§ 1); the fleet sets sail while the Lacedæmonians are in Paralia (§§ 2, 3); with the armament the Athenians proceed to Epidaurus, and ravage the territory but are unable to take the place (§ 4); thence departing they ravage other towns on the Peloponnesian coast, and having taken and sacked Prasiæ, they return to Athens (§§ 5–7).

1. *ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν—ὄντων, but while they were yet.* See N. on I. 13. § 6. —— *πρὶν—ἐλθεῖν.* S. § 223. 3. —— *παρεσκευάζετο* refers to Pericles. —— *ἑτοῖμα.* See N. on II. 8. § 4.

2. *ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς, in cavalry-transports.* —— *πρῶτον τότε* in respect to the Athenians, for the Persians sent horsemen by sea with Dates and Artaphernes. —— *ναυσὶν* is the dative of accompaniment. S. § 206. 5.

3. *ὅτι δὲ ἀνήγετο κ. τ. λ.* The fleet must have been fitted out with great dispatch, as the Peloponnesians were in all only forty days in Attica. Cf. II. 57. § 2. —— *ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ*, sc. *γῇ*. Cf. § 2, where it is fully written. Upon this *τῆς Ἀττικῆς* depends. See N. on I. 114. § 2 (init.).

4. *Ἐπίδαυρον* refers to the Argolic Epidaurus. Another town of the same name lay S. E. of Sparta, near the southern extremity of the eastern peninsula of Laconia. —— *τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, the greater part of the country.* Cf. Mt. § 320. 3. —— *προεχώρησε.* Bloomf. supplies *ἡ πεῖρα* or *τὸ ἑλεῖν* from the preceding context. So Stephens explains *οὐ προεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν.* Cf. II. 58. § 2. —— *γε* is highly restrictive = *notwithstanding in this respect at least they did not succeed.*

5. *ἐπιθαλάσσια, maritime places.*

6. *Πρασιάς, Prasiæ*, was situated in the northern part of the Laconian coast, at the mouth of the river Kani (*Tanus*), which rises in Mount Parnon, and flows north-easterly into the Argolic gulf. It seems that the Athenians assaulted this town on their way home. —— *γῆς* depends on *ἔτεμον*, the action being confined to a part. Cf. Mt. § 323. b; C. § 366; S. § 191. 1.

CHAPTER LVII.

Through fear of the pestilence, which carried off many both in the city and in the armament, the Peloponnesians leave Attica sooner than they otherwise would have done, having remained, however, longer than they had ever before (§§ 1, 2).

1. *τῇ στρατιᾷ* which had gone to ravage the Peloponnesian coast. Cf. II. 56. § 1. —— *τοὺς Πελοποννησίους* is the subject of *ἐξελθεῖν.* —— *τῶν αὐτομόλων.* S. § 192. N. 3. The accusative of the thing heard is *ὅτι....εἴη.* —— *θάπτοντας—ᾠχθάνοντο.* See N. on I. 26. § 3. Arnold understands *θάπτοντας* of the flame and smoke of the funeral piles, the word being of general application to any manner of performing the last rites, whether by interment or burning. But if the dead were buried, as some doubtless were, in the outer Ceramicus, the interment could be seen by the scouts of the enemy if not by their whole army. This will illustrate the remark of the Schol. that the

Lacedæmonians did not attack them (*αὐτούς*, referring doubtless to the persons engaged in the burial rites), because they deemed it impious (*ἀσεβές*). —— *θᾶσσον*, *more speedily* than they would otherwise have done. Diod. XII. 45, says that Pericles effected their departure by his expedition against Peloponnesus.

2. *πλεῖστόν τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν* (in the land). Cf. II. 23. § 3.

CHAPTER LVIII.

The Athenians undertake an expedition against the Thracian Chalcidians, which arriving at Potidæa makes great exertions to take it (§ 1), but in vain, for the pestilence breaking out in the portion of the army which had recently arrived, spread among the troops already there and broke down their strength (§ 2); the newly arrived forces therefore return to Athens, having lost one fourth of their number (§ 3).

1. *ἐχρήσατο*, *had employed.* —— *ἔτι πολιορκουμένην.* Cf. I. 64. —— *ἀφικόμενοι* to Potidæa.

2. *ἀξίως* qualifies *προυχώρει* (see N. on II. 56. § 4), and is followed by the genitive *παρασκευῆς*. Cf. S. § 200. N. 2; C. § 374. *β*. The reason of the failure is contained in the next sentence introduced by *γάρ*. —— *τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας*, i. e. those who had gone out with Callias (I. 61. § 1) and Archestratus (I. 57. § 6). —— *ἀπό*, *out of*. The reinforcement was probably drawn away from the place, as soon as it was found that the other army was becoming infected with the disease. —— *Φορμίων δὲ κ. τ. λ.* Cf. I. 65. § 3.

CHAPTER LIX.

The Athenians oppressed by the double scourge of war and pestilence, change their minds and charge Pericles with being the cause of their misfortunes (§ 1); they even go so far as to send an embassy to the Lacedæmonians offering to make concessions, but effect nothing thereby, and in their perplexity inveigh bitterly against Pericles (§ 2); whereupon he calls an assembly, and in order to calm their irritated feelings and raise their courage addresses them in a speech (§ 3).

1. *ἠλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας*, *changed their minds.*

2. *τὸν....εἶχον* = *they blamed Pericles, cast the blame on Pericles* —— *ὡς πείσαντα*, *as though he had persuaded.* See N. on I. 54. § 1. —— *ὡς αὐτούς.* See N. on I. 31. § 2. —— *ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο* (sc. *αἱ πρεσβεῖς*) = *effected nothing.* —— *παντοχόθεν....καθεστῶτες* = *being wholly at loss what to do, being in utter perplexity of mind* in con-

sequence of the difficulties which beset them on every side (*παντα-χόθεν*).

3. *πρὸς τὰ παρόντα, at the present posture of affairs.* —— *χαλεπαίνοντας.* Cf. II. 22. § 1. —— *ἀπαγαγὼν....γνώμης, by diverting the angry current of their feelings.* This is more fully expressed in *ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώμην*, II. 65. § 1. For *τὸ ὀργιζόμενον*, see N. on *τὸ μέλλον*, I. 42. § 2.

CHAPTERS LX.—LXIV.

The speech of Pericles, comprised in these chapters, is a bold and animated defence of the policy recommended by him in the prosecution of the war. He triumphantly justifies himself from the accusations and reproaches, which his fellow-citizens, in their distress, were heaping upon him, and arouses them to manly courage and endurance by showing the trivial value of the houses, villas, and luxuries of which they were for a time deprived, when compared with liberty, the most inestimable of all blessings. In its high-toned and generous sentiments, its profound and statesman-like views, its appropriateness to the occasion, which demanded something to arouse the courage and cheer the minds of the Athenians, depressed as they were by invasion without and pestilence within their walls, this speech is every way worthy of the great man who pronounced it, and who was soon to be removed by death from the government which he had so long and ably administered. The excessive brevity of its style renders many places obscure, yet the general scope is so clear, that it may be readily apprehended, and thus aid is furnished by which the verbal difficulties may in general be satisfactorily elucidated.

The oration begins somewhat abruptly, and in the spirit of reproof. This however will not appear strange or unsuitable, when the high standing and commanding talents of the speaker, and the dejection, timid counsels, and unworthy conduct of his audience are considered. It would do in such a posture of things for him to speak with authority, while others would be obliged to employ the language of deprecation. The position of Pericles was not unlike that of the Earl of Chatham, when, inspired with patriotism and hatred of oppression, he hurled those terrible bolts of warning and reproof upon the heads of the ministry, who were forging the chains of slavery for these American colonies. From no other man than him, who had so long and ably held the reins of government, would such language as he frequently used have been deemed endurable. There is therefore nothing inappropriate or unbecoming in the bold and manly commencement of the speech before us, but is rather to be regarded as the ex-

burst of generous indignation at the fickle, effeminate, and short-sighted policy of the Athenians whom he rose to address.

The general divisions of the speech are not so strongly marked, as in his more deliberate orations. He first exculpates himself from the unjust censures under which he suffered (chap. 60); he then enters upon a defence of his policy, by holding forth the encouraging prospects before them, by showing the worthlessness of houses or lands when compared with freedom, and by portraying the degradation which would result from submission and defeat (chaps. 61–63); he then recurs to the pestilence as something unforeseen, and respecting which no one could be justly blamed, and closes with a stirring appeal to the courage, patriotism, and love of glory, which should animate the breast of every true Athenian in this great and momentous struggle for liberty and dominion (chap. 64).

CHAPTER LX.

The speaker commences by frankly acknowledging, that his object in convening the assembly is to administer reproof for their fault-finding and pusillanimous spirit (§ 1); he lays down a political axiom, that to the individual members of a state nothing can be more advantageous, than to have the body politic in a prosperous condition (§ 2); every citizen should aim, therefore, to promote the public welfare, unaffected by private calamities, and casting no blame on the adviser of the measures which they have adopted (§ 4); in the present instance, their anger is directed against one who is not inferior to them in political sagacity, eloquence, patriotism, and incorruptible integrity (§ 4); in which qualifications and virtues whoever is deficient can never be useful to the state, and therefore he ought not to be censured, who, possessing them in a moderate degree even, has induced his fellow-citizens to undertake the war (§§ 6, 7).

1. καὶ = *yes, indeed.* To this corresponds the καὶ before ἐκκλησίαν. Cf. I. 80. § 1. —— προσδεχομένῳ....γεγένηται, *I have expected these expressions of your wrath;* literally, *these expressions of your anger* (τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν) *have happened to me expecting them.* See N. on τῷ γὰρ....ἀφίστασθαι, II. 3. § 2. Mt. (§ 285. 2) makes τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς = ἡ ὀργή, but the other rendering is equally as grammatical and far more pointed. —— τούτου refers forward to ὅπως ὑπομνήσω κ. τ. λ. The verbs ὑπομνήσω and μέμψομαι are put in the indicative after ὅπως, to represent the idea of the verbs as definitely occurring and abiding. Cf. K. § 330. 6; Mt. § 519. 7 (end). Arnold contends that ὅπως (*in order that*) takes the aorist subjunctive, and thus he (with Poppo, Goel., and Krüg.) edits the passage.

2. πλείω belongs to ὠφελεῖν. —— ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην, *being prosperous as a whole = enjoying public prosperity.* —— ἢ....σφαλλομένην, *than one which is flourishing in respect to its citizens individually considered, but collectively is in a ruined condition.*

3. καλῶς....ἑαυτόν, *for a man who is prosperous in his private affairs.* καλῶς φερόμενος is analogous to καλῶς πράσσων. —— οὐδὲν ἧσσον than if his own affairs were in a bad condition. —— ξὺν (in ξυναπόλλυται) = *together with* the state. —— εὐτυχούσῃ, sc. πατρίδι. —— μᾶλλον than a prosperous citizen in a state brought to ruin. The political wisdom of these remarks is worthy of being engraved on the mind of every statesman. No individual can hope to enjoy permanent prosperity, independent of the sound and healthful condition of the state in which he dwells; and he legislates badly who overlooks the public good in his desire to benefit private interests, whether in reference to individuals or to particular sections of the country.

4. τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφοράς, i. e. τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνθρώπων. —— οἷά τε φέρειν, *able to support.* —— καὶ μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε for καὶ μὴ δρᾶν ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε. —— ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις, *at domestic calamities.* —— ἀφίεσθε is accommodated to ὑμεῖς, and is epexegetical of δρᾶτε. The regular construction would have been ἀφίεσθαι (*to desert*), in connection with ἀμύνειν. Cf. Mt. § 631. 4. For the construction of this verb with the genitive, cf. S. § 197. 2. —— ἐμὲ—δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε, *you blame me.* —— οἱ ξυνέγνωτε, *who jointly* (with me) *decreed it.*

5. καίτοι, *and yet.* —— ὃς refers to ἐμοί, and therefore takes οἶομαι in the first person. —— γνῶναι and ἑρμηνεῦσαι belong to ἧσσων as accusatives of specification: *inferior in respect to knowing*, etc. —— χρημάτων κρείσσων = *superior to the influence of wealth, incapable of being bribed.*

6. ὅ τε....ἐνεθυμήθη, *for he who has knowledge and does not express it clearly is* (sc. ἐστὶν) *in the same condition* (ἐν ἴσῳ), *as if he had given no thought* on the subject in hand. —— ὁμοίως as if he was φιλόπολις. —— τοῦδε, sc. τοῦ ἔννου τῇ πόλει elicited from τῇ πόλει δύσνους which precedes. Krüg. Reisk. supplies τοῦ οἰκείως ἔχειν τῇ πόλει. —— νικωμένου, sc. αὐτοῦ. —— τούτου ἑνὸς is the genitive of price and refers to χρήματα. —— πωλοῖτο is passive. The qualities of a good statesman are here briefly given, viz. knowledge, eloquence, patriotism, and integrity. Cf. Aristot. Rhet. II. 1. § 8, where a somewhat similar division of the qualifications of a statesman is made, viz. φρόνησις, ἀρετή, and εὔνοια.

7. μέσως = μετρίως. Schol. —— μᾶλλον ἑτέρων. See N. on I. 85. § 1. —— αὐτά, *these qualifications*, i. e. knowledge, eloquence, etc. —— εἰ—ἐπείσθητε—οὐκ ἂν—φεροίμην. The actual denial of the consequent would have required the indicative, but the speaker employs the optative as a more modest form of denial. Cf. K. § 339. 3. a; Mt. § 524. 2.

CHAPTER LXI.

When war can be declined without detriment, it is folly to undertake it, but when it necessary for the defence of rights, he is blameworthy who refuses to meet danger wit boldness (§ 1); the speaker claims the merit of not having changed his sentiments, bu charges his auditors with want of firmness to persevere in their former resolves, as soo as they feel the pressure of adversity (§ 2); the mind is easily weighed down with thi which is sudden and unexpected, and this was true of the Athenians in respect to th pestilence (§ 3); but as citizens of so powerful and well-regulated a state, they ought t bear afflictions with fortitude, and come to the aid of the state, for by falling short of the previous glory they would incur censure (§ 4).

1. γὰρ introduces the reason or proof of οὐκ ἂν—αἰτίαν φεροίμη at the close of the preceding chapter. —— αἵρεσις, *a choice* betwee peace and war. —— τἆλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, "*in other respects fortunatel circumstanced.*" Bloomf. τἆλλα except that for the attainment o which war was necessary. Goel. well explains this expression: *du ceterum liberi manentes de suo jure nihil cedunt.* Nam εὐτυχεῖ εὐδαίμονα εἶναι huic scriptori est *liberum esse.* Krüg. expresses som doubt whether τἆλλα εὐτυχοῦσι may not be connected with the word which follow. —— πολεμῆσαι has for its subject ἐκείνοις the omitte antecedent of οἷς. —— εὐθύς is to be taken with ὑπακοῦσαι and no with εἴξαντας as Reisk. supposes, for the participle denotes cause (*b submission*), and is opposed to κινδυνεύσαντας. Pericles refers here t the demands made by the Lacedæmonians (cf. I. 139), to which h said (I. 141. § 1) αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρίν τι βλαβῆν (i. e. ὑπακούειν εὐθύς). Poppo.

2. ὁ αὐτὸς (sc. τῇ γνώμῃ. Cf. III. 38. § 1), *of the same opinio* that I was formerly. οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι (sc. τῆς γνώμης) is added for th sake of explanation and emphasis. —— ἐπειδὴ introduces the proof o the charge made in ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε. —— πεισθῆναι to go to wa —— ἀκεραίοις is opposed to κακουμένοις, the general idea being, tha as soon as trials and dangers came, they changed their views in re spect to the war which they had decreed while in a state of security —— καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον. Repeat ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη. —— ἐν....γνώμης con tains the reason why the counsel of Pericles now appeared wrong t them, and διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν (= ἡ λύπη) κ. τ. λ. shows why the had changed their views (μεταμέλειν). —— ἔχει = κατέχει. —— ἄπ στιν, *is remote = out of the reach of observation*, it being opposed t ἔχει—τὴν αἴσθησιν in the preceding member. —— ἐξ ὀλίγου. See N on II. 11. § 4. —— ταπεινῇ—ἐγκαρτερεῖν = *too downcast to persever* See N. on I. 50. § 5 (end). —— ἃ (= τούτοις ἃ) ἴστε, *in what ye have resolved = in your resolution*

8. δουλοῖ, *enslaves, renders abject.* —— γὰρ introduces an apologetic sentence, intended to soften the cutting reproof just given. Compare with this the apology made by Ulysses (Il. 2. 291–298), after he had inveighed against the Greeks for wishing to return home before the object of the war had been accomplished. —— φρόνημα, *high spirit, intrepidity of mind.* Cf. II. 62. § 3. —— πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ, *most especially beyond calculation.* —— "δ interpretamur τὸ δουλοῦσθαι φρόνημα." Poppo. —— ἄλλοις in respect to the pestilence which is particularly mentioned. —— οὐχ ἥκιστα belongs to the words which follow.

4. ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ, *corresponding to it.* —— χρεών, *it is necessary.* K. § 73. 1. c. —— ξυμφοραῖς depends on ὑφίστασθαι, *to endure, to sustain.* K. § 284. 3 (2). This verb more frequently takes the accusative. Cf. Mt. § 401. 4. —— τὴν ἀξίωσιν. See N. on I. 69. § 1. —— ἐν ἴσῳ, *equally*, belongs to αἰτιᾶσθαι. —— τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης, "*his proper and natural character or reputation.*" Arnold. In support of this he cites τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως (II. 45. § 2). But I prefer the common rendering, *glory already acquired*, as better suited to the context. The genitive depends on ἐλλείπει. S. § 197. 2. —— τῆς—προσηκούσης follows ὀρεγόμενον (*who reaches after, who arrogates to himself*). S. § 192. 1. The words ἐν ἴσῳ....ὀρεγόμενον are enclosed, in most of the editions before me, in the marks of a parenthesis. —— ἀπαλγήσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια, *suppressing their grief on account of private calamities.* The construction is here resumed from ὅμως—χρεὼν—ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι at the commencement of the section.

CHAPTER LXII.

One remark respecting the attainment of empire has been alluded to, nor would the speaker now give utterance to it, but for the groundless alarm of his fellow-citizens (§ 1); the Athenian dominion is not limited to their subject allies but extends over the whole sea, one of the two parts in which the world is divided (§ 2); it is not therefore to be compared with the possession of towns or villas, and the loss of these should not be lamented, but they should rather be regarded as the decorations of wealth and dominion, easily recovered if they remain free, but the enjoyment of which is hopeless if they succumb to others; wherefore, showing themselves not inferior to their ancestors who acquired this dominion, nor being insensible to the great disgrace, which would attend the loss of that in which they have been put in possession, they should go against their enemies with disdain (§ 3), such as inspires those who feel their superiority to their foe in counsel and prudence (§ 4); for this begets firmness of daring, and is a far surer ground of confidence than hope, which is only exercised in times of extremity (§ 5).

1. τὸν δὲ πόνον is the accusative of specification, *but as to the labor* (cf. C. 438. γ), or perhaps it more properly depends on ἀπέδειξα, the

pronoun *αὐτὸν* being repeated (see N. on I. 80. § 8). Cf. Jelf's Kühn., Mt. § 472. 1. —— *μὴ περιγενώμεθα* depends upon *ὑποπτευόμενον*. For the use of *μή*, see N. on II. 13. § 1. —— *ἀπέδειξα....ὑποπτευόμενον*, *I have shown that this is wrongly regarded with suspicion.* Krüg. remarks that we can say in the passive *ὑποπτεύεται ὁ πόνος μή*, as well as in the active *ὑποπτεύω τὸν πόνον μή*. For the construction of *ἀπέδειξα* with the participle, see N. on I. 25. § 2. —— *δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε.* Render the expression, *but I will bring forward a thought.* The orator shows soon (*οἶεσθε μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ.*, § 2) what this thought is, to which, as he avers, utterance is now given for the first time in order to allay their fears. In the general construction of the very difficult sentence which follows, it is evident that *οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις* is to be constructed with *δοκεῖτε....ἐνθυμηθῆναι*, *which you yourselves seem never to have thought of, nor have I made mention of it in my former speeches.* With *οὔτ' ἐγὼ* repeat *ἐνεθυμήθην* with a modified signification, or supply *ἐχρησάμην* from the following context. The main difficulty lies in the words *ὑπάρχον....ἀρχήν*. Goel. constructs *ἐνθυμηθῆναι μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν* (i. e. *τῆς ἀρχῆς*), *ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν* (*quamquam vobis suppeditat*). Bloomf. in his last edition adopts this order, and translates *ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν*, *as to empire*, and *ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν*, *though the means for attaining it are in your power.* I am disposed on the whole to render it thus: *which you seem never to have reflected upon although belonging to you*, i. e. so connected with your condition and policy as a maritime state, that one cannot see how you could avoid thinking of it. The words *μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν* may then be taken as explanatory of *ὅ*. —— *ἔχοντι* refers to the subject about to be introduced, and to which *τόδε* referred. —— *προσποίησιν*, *pretension*, *claim.*

2. *γὰρ* introduces the explanation of *τόδε* in the previous section, and may be rendered, *namely*, *to wit.* —— *μερῶν* depends on *τοῦ ἑτέρου*, and is explained by *γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης* in apposition with it. —— *τῶν....φανερῶν* = *evidently given for man's use.* —— *ὑμᾶς—ὄντας* depends on *ἀποφαίνω*, *I affirm that you are.* —— *ἐφ' ὅσον*, *as far as.* —— *καὶ....βουληθῆτε*, *and more if you wish.* —— *καὶ οὐκ....κωλύσει.* Construct: *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε βασιλεὺς—ὅστις κωλύσει ὑμᾶς πλέοντας τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ*. Properly speaking *βασιλεὺς* (i. e. the Persian king) and *ἔθνος* are in apposition with *τίς*, the omitted antecedent of *ὅστις*.

3. *οὐ κατὰ—φαίνεται*, *is manifestly not to be compared with* = *not to be put on a level of comparison with.* The idea is that the empire of the sea is of immeasurably more value, than the objects of their regard to which reference is here made. This gives great point to *ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐστερῆσθαι* = *of which being deprived you think*

yourselves deprived of great things. μεγάλων is here in the predicate, and was probably uttered by the orator in a tone of irony. For the use of κατὰ to denote comparison, cf. K. § 292. II. 8. b. —— χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν, *to be despondent on account of these things.* Cf. Mt. § 368. 5. *a.* —— οὐ follows μᾶλλον ἤ, which implies a negative idea. The general principle is referred to in N. on I. 10. § 1 (end). Cf. K. § 318. R. 7; Mt. § 455. d. Krüger explains ἤ οὐ by ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄλλα. —— κήπιον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα are used in a tropical sense, as they refer literally to the pleasure-gardens surrounding Athens, or perhaps, as Poppo suggests, to the ornamental gardens which pertained to the houses of Athens. —— πρὸς ταύτην (sc. τὴν δύναμιν), *in comparison with this power* (i. e. the empire of the sea). K. § 298. III. 3. *d.* —— αὐτῆς depends upon ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, *clinging to it, holding fast upon it.* The pronoun is to be mentally repeated after διασώσωμεν. —— ταῦτα refers to κήπιον....πλούτου, and ἀναληψομένην is constructed after γνῶναι. See N. on γνόντες—οὖσαν, I. 25. § 1. —— ὑπακούσασι is the dat. incommodi after ἐλασσοῦσθαι. —— τὰ προσεκτημένα (sc. τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ), *whatever has been acquired in addition to freedom*, i. e. not only is freedom gone, but every thing else, which may have been enjoyed in addition to freedom. —— φιλεῖν. See N. on I. 78. § 1. —— καὶ ἀμφότερα, i. e. κατὰ τὸ κατεχεῖν τε καὶ διασώσαντες παραδιδόναι. Haack. —— φανῆναι and εἶναι, like γνῶναι, depend upon εἰκός. —— οὐ παρ' ἄλλων δεξάμενοι, *not by inheritance;* literally, *not by having received them from others.* —— προσέτι, *in addition.* —— αἴσχιον....ἀτυχῆσαι, *it is more disgraceful for those, who are in possession* [of a thing], *to be deprived of it, than to fail in its acquisition.* This is a parenthetic clause, and it is so marked in some editions. With the sentiment here expressed, cf. Sallust, Jug. c. 31. "Magis dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non paravisse." —— Notice the paronomasia in φρονήματι (see N. on II. 61. § 8) and καταφρονήματι.

4. αὔχημα, *boasting, vaunting*, is here opposed to καταφρόνησις, *disdain* that is dignified and well-founded. —— ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς, *from lucky ignorance.* —— ὅς ἄν, *whoever.* See N. on I. 70. § 6 (init.). The relative refers to ἐκείνῳ understood, which depends on ἐγγίγνεται to be repeated after καταφρόνησις. —— γνώμῃ denotes the respect in which προέχειν is taken. A discrimination is here made between physical force and brute courage, and that which is guided and controlled by prudence. Allusion seems indirectly to have been made to the different character of the Spartan and Athenian valor.

5. καὶ τὴν....παρέχεται, *and prudence arising from a lofty spirit with* (ἀπό. See N. on I. 91. § 7) *equal fortune* (i. e. if fortune be impartial), *renders a daring courage more sure.* Mt. (§ 574) incorrectly

translates ἐκ in ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος, *by means of, in consequence of.* Arnold says that "ἐκ here is *with*, as it expresses the circumstances attending an action, or that state from or with which an action sets out." —— ἐλπίδι τε ἧσσον πιστεύει—γνώμῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, *and trusts not in hope* (literally, *less to hope*), *but in counsel according to* (cf. Mt. § 573. p. 995) *existing circumstances.* —— ἧς....ἰσχύς. The general idea of this sentence is that hope is only exercised in times of extremity, or is, as Arnold expresses it, *the comfort of the desperate.* Hence those whose measures and actions result from wisdom and good counsel, will never trust to the influence of hope to excite courage, since its existence presupposes a state of difficulty and embarrassment, tending to diminish rather than increase true boldness. —— πρόνοια, *forethought, forecast.* What a prestige of success, resulting from confidence in the military wisdom of their commander, always inspired the armies of Napoleon Bonaparte.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The honor of dominion they should either decline, or else sustain with all its attendant toils, nor should they forget that freedom or servitude is not the only alternative for which they are contending, but that they are threatened with danger from the odium, which they have incurred in the exercise of their power (§ 1), a power which they cannot decline, even if through fear they should affect to be very good men (§ 2); for even an unjust assumption of power cannot be laid aside with safety, nor can inactivity be indulged in by a dominant state (§ 3).

1. τῆς τε πόλεως depends on τῷ τιμωμένῳ (*the honor.* See N. on τὸ μέλλον, I. 42. § 2), which participle follows βοηθεῖν, *to sustain, to defend.* Cf. I. 123. §§ 1, 2; 140. § 1. —— ἀπό, *resulting from.* —— ὥσπερ refers to τοῦ ἄρχειν. —— πόνους to obtain and secure empire. —— νομίσαι continues the construction commenced in εἰκὸς—βοηθεῖν. —— ἑνὸς is explained by the appositional clause δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, and as referring to the thing therein contained is put in the neuter. Cf. Mt. § 439. *Obs.* 1; S. § 157. 2. a. —— κινδύνου ὄν (= ἐκείνων οἷς) ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε = *danger resulting from the enmity of those whose odium you have incurred in the exercise of your dominion.* Krüg. makes ὄν = τούτων ἅ, *from those enmities which you have incurred.* Cf. Rost, § 104. N. 7. Arnold adopts this interpretation, but it gives no better sense, and is by no means the construction which is usual to the verb.

2. ἧς refers to ἀρχῆς. —— ὑμῖν ἔστιν, *it is in your power.* —— εἴ τις....ἀνδραγαθίζεται, *if any one of you at the present, through fear*

and a desire of ease, should in this (τόδε, i. e. τὸ ἑκστῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς) *play the honest man.* τόδε is to be constructed with ἀνδραγαθίζεται as an accusative synecdochical. Some refer it to κίνδυνον, and govern it by δεδιὼς or ἀπέχθεσθαι, elicited from ἀπήχθεσθε. But δεδιὼς is to be taken absolutely, and ἀπήχθεσθε is too remote to have any direct governing power in this sentence. —— ὡς....αὐτήν, *for as a tyranny you now hold this* (government over your allies). Less mildly was the same sentiment expressed by Cleon, III. 37. § 2. —— ἦν....ἐπικίνδυνον. The assumption of this dominion might be deemed unjust, yet to relinquish it would be attended with peril, and hence the truth is confirmed of what was said in ἧς οὐδ'....ἀνδραγαθίζεται.

3. τάχιστ' ἂν....οἰκήσειαν, *such men as these* (i. e. οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνδραγαθιζόμενοι. Krüg.), *if they could persuade others, or lived any where by themselves in a state of independence* ("velut in coloniam deducti." Poppo), *would quickly destroy the state.* This is substantially the interpretation given to this passage by Poppo, Goel., Arnold, and others. πείσαντες and οἰκήσειαν are connected by τε—καί, and contain the protasis. The variation of construction in the use of the participle and the verb, instead of two participles or two verbs, is not uncommon in Thucydides. For the use of ἐπί, cf. Mt. § 584. 3. Some think that Pericles refers here to the peace party headed by Nicias. —— τὸ ἄπραγμον, *otium.* Betant. —— ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύεις denotes the respect in which quietness is beneficial to a subject state, viz. *that it may serve in safety.*

CHAPTER LXIV.

The speaker exhorts his fellow-citizens not to be influenced by such persons, nor be angry at him on account of the inroads of the enemy or the visitation of the pestilence (§ 1); for it has ever been their custom to regard afflictions divinely sent as unavoidable evils, and to meet courageously those brought upon them by the enemy (§ 2); this has given the state the highest reputation, both in respect to its extensive sway in the Grecian confederacy, and its great and wealthy metropolis (§ 3); although the inactive may disapprove of this, yet it will be emulated by those who aim at distinction, and envied, as is natural, by those who attain not their object (§§ 4, 5); wherefore, mindful of the future to gain renown, and of the present to shun disgrace, they should zealously pursue both objects, and send no more suppliant embassies to the Lacedæmonians, nor be impatient under their calamities (§ 6).

1. τῶν τοιῶνδε refers to those persons against whom he had directed his remarks in the preceding chapter. Cleon probably belonged to the number. —— ᾧ....πολεμεῖν. Cf. καὶ ὑμᾶς....ἔχετε, II. 60. § 4. —— ἅπερ, sc. δρᾶν. —— μὴ....ὑπακούειν, *in consequence of your un-*

willingness to submit. —— *πέρα ὧν* (= *ἐκείνων ἃ*) *προσεδεχόμεθα, beyond what we expected.* —— *πρᾶγμα* is in apposition with *νόσος.* —— *ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον, beyond expectation*, i. e. surpassing in malignancy any thing which could have been expected. —— *μέρος τι, in some measure*, may be ranked with the explanatory accusative referred to in K. § 279. R. 10; S. § 182. —— *μᾶλλον* quam ob terræ devastationem. Poppo. —— *παρὰ λόγον.* See N. on I. 65. § 1. —— *ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε, you will attribute it to me.* Cf. VIII. 51. § 3.

2. *τά τε—τά τε.* In prose *τε—τε* is rarely found, unless whole sentences or complete portions are to be connected. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 754. 3; Rost, § 134. 4. a. —— *τὰ δαιμόνια, things divinely sent = evils inflicted by the gods.* —— *ἀναγκαίως*, "*necessario*, i. e. velut necessaria nec evitanda." Poppo. —— *ταῦτα....κωλυθῇ, these have been heretofore the habitual feelings in this city, and let them not now be hindered through you.* Krüg. says that *ἐν ἕθει* is like *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ—ὄντες*, I. 8. § 4. Some render *ἐν ὑμῖν, in your case.* But cf. Mt. § 577. 7; K. § 289. 3. a. Krüg. supplies *ἐν ἔθει εἶναι* with *κωλυθῇ.*

3. *γνῶτε—αὐτὴν* (i. e. *τὴν πόλιν*) *ἔχουσαν.* See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— *ἀναλωκέναι* is connected by *δὲ* to *εἶκειν*, and is therefore governed by *διά.* With *σώματα* it signifies *to be prodigal of their life, to shed their blood.* —— *μέχρι τοῦδε, until the present time.* —— *κεκτημένην* like *ἔχουσαν*, depends on *γνῶτε.* —— *ἧς* follows *μνήμη.* —— *ἐς ἀΐδιον, in perpetuum.* —— *ἢν....ποτέ, even if we should now once succumb.* —— *καταλελείψεται, will remain*, is put in the 3 fut. to show the permanency of the thing spoken of. Cf. Mt. § 498. *a*; S. § 211. 4. —— *Ἑλλήνων....ἦρξαμεν.* The exercise of supremacy over the Barbarians was an honor enjoyed in common by many; but to be the leading state of Greece was enough to confer everlasting renown. Bloomf. thinks that reference is had to the period about twenty-seven years previous, when the Athenians had attained to their greatest power and dominion. But I see no necessity for this conjecture, since the sway of the Athenians was never greater or more extensive than at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Nor is the reason which he gives for this, viz. the employment of the verb (*ἦρξαμεν*) in the past tense, of any weight, since the past tense is used in reference to the time expressed in *καταλελείψεται.* —— *πρὸς....ἑκάστους* is epexegetical of *πολέμοις μεγίστοις.* The words *καθ' ἑκάστους* are to be taken as a noun depending upon *πρός.* Cf. Butt. Ind. ad Demosth. Mid. cited by Poppo. —— *τοῖς πᾶσιν, with all things*, belongs to *εὐπορωτάτην.* —— *μεγίστην.* Cf. Xen. Anab. VII. 8. § 19. According to Xen. Memorab. III. 6. § 14, Athens contained 10,000 houses, but the estimate that each house averaged twelve persons is doubtless too large.

4. καίτοι, *and yet*, i. e. the argument is not affected by the disapproval of the inactive, since that might be expected. For this concessive use of καίτοι, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 772. 1. —— ταῦτα refers to the glory and power of the Athenian state, to which the speaker adverted in the previous section. —— μέμψαιτ' ἄν. See N. on I. 71. § 5. —— δρᾶν τι = *to do any thing worthy of note.* —— κέκτηται, "*possidet.*" Poppo.

5. τὸ μισεῖσθαι....εἶναι is the subject of ὑπῆρξε, which verb is limited by πᾶσι the antecedent of ὅσοι. —— ἕτεροι ἑτέρων, *the one the other*, is somewhat similar to Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες, *as Greeks over Greeks.* ἕτεροι conforms grammatically to ὅσοι, and ἑτέρων depends on ἄρχειν. —— ἐπὶ μεγίστοις, "*ob summas res et utilissimas actiones.*" Haack. —— μῖσος....ἀντέχει (cf. N. on I. 7. § 1), i. e. hatred ends with the life of the person who is the object of it. When compared with the succeeding ages, in which justice will be done to the one who was vilified and hated, it will be therefore of short duration (οὐκ ἐπὶ πολύ).

6. ἔς τε....προγνόντες, *looking forward in your decision* (literally, *knowing beforehand*) *to your future glory.* —— τὸ αὐτίκα stands opposed to τὸ μέλλον. —— μὴ αἰσχρόν. Repeat προγνόντες in the modified sense of *resolving, determining.* —— ἀμφότερα refers to τὸ μέλλον καλὸν and τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρόν. —— μήτε....βαρυνόμενοι, *nor be evidently burdened with your present calamities = nor let it appear that you are weighed down*, etc. In respect to the use of the personal instead of the impersonal construction, see N. on I. 40. § 4. —— ὡς = ἐπεί. Schol. —— οἵτινες refers to οὗτοι for its antecedent.

CHAPTER LXV.

Thus did Pericles endeavor to allay the resentment of the Athenians towards him, and turn away their thoughts from their calamities (§ 1); but though they adopted the public measures which he recommended, yet in private they grieved not the less over their afflictions (§ 2); nor did they cease from their anger until they had imposed a fine on Pericles (§ 3); yet it was not long afterwards that they conferred the supreme command upon him, as one to whom the guidance of the state could be the most safely intrusted (§ 4); for during his administration, while there was peace, he raised the state to the highest power, and when the war began, evinced his foresight in declaring its ability to sustain the contest (§ 5); this was more fully seen after his death (§ 6); for in all things they acted contrary to his advice and pursued measures, which if successful benefitted private persons only, and if unsuccessful injured the whole state (§ 7); whereas such were his talents, station, and integrity, that he was proof against corruption and popular dictation, and could even venture to contradict the Athenians (§ 8); when he saw them too confident, he played upon their fears, when too apprehensive, he aroused their courage, there being a democracy only in name as he was the chief ruler (§ 9); but his successors being more on an equality, and striving each to be first, became demagogues (§ 10); this gave rise, among many other ill-judged measures, to the disastrous Sicilian expedition, which was badly planned and conducted with great remissness (§ 11); and yet after this great defeat, their resources were seen in their ability for three years to maintain the war against overwhelming odds (§ 12); nor did they yield until internal dissensions effected their ruin. Thus was manifested the foresight of Pericles, in reference to their ability to withstand the Peloponnesian confederacy (§ 13).

1. *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς—ὀργῆς παραλύειν, to appease the anger of the Athenians;* literally, *to remove the Athenians from anger.* Cf. Mt. § 355. 4; S. § 197. 2. —— *ἀπάγειν, to turn off.*

2. *ἀνεπείθοντο,* "i. e. *μετεπείθοντο, ejus rationibus in aliam sententiam adducebantur.*" Gottl. cited by Poppo. —— *οὔτε....ἔπεμπον.* See II. 59. § 2. —— *μᾶλλον = more ardently, with more spirit and energy.* —— *ἰδίᾳ* stands opposed to *δημοσίᾳ.* It was by no means singular that, while listening to the eloquent and patriotic sentiments of Pericles, they should be ready to sacrifice every thing to the welfare of their country, but when left to the contemplation of their private calamities, they should relapse into a state of dejection, and renew their complaints against the supposed author of their sufferings. —— *ὁ μὲν δῆμος, the common people,* and *οἱ δὲ δυναταὶ* (sc. *τῷ πλούτῳ*), are in partitive apposition with *οἱ δὲ* at the beginning of the section. —— *ὅτι....τούτων, because going forth* (to the war) *with less resources* (than the rich) *they were deprived even of these. ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων,* literally, *from less resources,* the preposition conforming to the idea of motion contained in *ὁρμώμενος.* —— *πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς, expensive furniture,* i. e. the general establishment of the houses, comprising both the useful and ornamental. Some of this furniture was removed to Athens, but doubtless much was left behind, which with the fix-

tures of the dwellings, such as colonnades, ornamental shade-trees, flower-gardens, fountains, statuary, etc., were destroyed by the enemy. Gail and Krüg. construct these datives with *καλά*, but it seems better to refer them to what Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 604. 1) calls the accessory dative, i. e. that whereby any thing is accompanied. —— *τὸ δὲ μέγιστον.* See N. on I. 142. § 1.

3. *οὐ μέντοι.* I agree with Poppo that these words should have their usual signification, *non tamen*, as they respond to *δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο* (although *ἰδίᾳ.... ἐλυποῦντο* is also opposed to this member), *they were persuaded by his words—notwithstanding they did not cease*, etc. —— *οἱ ξύμπαντες*, i. e. both the classes of citizens referred to. —— *ἐπαύσαντο—ἔχοντες.* S. § 225. 7. —— *πρὶν ἐζημίωσαν.* See N. on I. 91. § 3. —— *χρήμασιν*, as denoting the punishment, is to be referred to the dative of manner. Cf. Mt. § 400. 5; K. § 285. 1. (3). d. Diod. says that the fine was 80 talents. Plut. says that some reckoned it as high as 50 talents, and others brought it down as low as 15. Bloomf. suggests that 80 talents was the fine imposed, and 15 the sum finally received after mitigation.

4. *ὅπερ.... ποιεῖν* shows that the fine had been decreed by or with the consent of the populace, and that Aristides (3. 300) is not correct in ascribing it to the judges. *ὅπερ* refers to what is detailed in the next sentence. —— *στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο.* He had been deprived, doubtless, of his command when he was fined, and so Plutarch relates. —— *πάντα.... ἐπέτρεψαν.* He thus became in fact dictator (*αὐτοκράτωρ*). —— *ὧν = τούτων ἅ*, of which the antecedent depends on *ἀμβλύτεροι* (S. § 195. 1). Kühn. (Jelf's edit. § 488) constructs *ἦλγει* with the genitive, in which case the equivalent would be *τούτων ὧν.* Both constructions are admissible. Cf. Mt. §§ 368. a; 414. p. 664. —— *ὧν* (in *ὧν δὲ*) = *ταῦτα* (i. e. *τὰ χρήματα*) *ὧν*, the antecedent being the synecdochical accusative with *πλείστου ἄξιον* referring to Pericles. Krüger unnecessarily supplies *κατά.*

5. *ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ*, i. e. the thirty years' truce. Cf. I. 115. § 1. —— *μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο, he ruled with moderation.* —— *ἀσφαλῶς, safely, cautiously.* Cf. II. 63. § 3. —— *ὁ πόλεμος* stands opposed to *ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ.* —— *τούτῳ*, i. e. the war. —— *τὴν δύναμιν*, sc. *τῆς πόλεως.*

6. *δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἐξ* from the commencement of the war. He died in the autumn of A. C. 429, after the plague had carried off his nearest connections, including his two sons Xanthippus and Paralus. The sickness of which he died was probably a mitigated form of the same disease. A brighter name has hardly ever adorned the pages of history. As a statesman, an orator, a general, and a patron of the fine arts, he shines resplendent among the most gifted of his country-

men; yet his greatest glory is comprised in his dying declaration, that no Athenian had through his means been made to put on mourning.

7. ἡσυχάζοντας and the participles which follow contain the protasis, (see N. on I. 75. § 6), *if they kept still*. i. e. risked no general engagement on land. The apodosis lies in περιέσεσθαι. —— θεραπεύοντας, *if they gave attention to*, is here used in a tropical sense. In respect to this advice of Pericles, cf. I. 143; II. 13. —— ἀρχὴν μὴ.... πολέμῳ. See N. on ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι, I. 144. § 1. —— οἱ δὲ (opposed to ὁ μὲν)....ἔπραξαν. This line of policy, so different from that pursued by Pericles, may be attributed in part at least to Cleon, who was violently opposed to his prudent measures, and took every means to annoy him in the latter part of his administration. —— καὶ ἄλλα is opposed to ταῦτά τε, and depends on ἐπολίτευσαν, *in other respects they administered the state*. —— ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου, i. e. foreign to the true object and interests of the war. Reference is had to such expeditions as that against Crete (II. 85), the attempt made on Cydonia, the unjustifiable attack upon Melos, and above all the disastrous expedition into Sicily, preceded, as Arnold remarks, by petty expeditions to that island before the great invasion, in which not only were their forces wasted, but the Doric states were estranged from Athens. I have placed a comma after εἶναι and κέρδη, to break up the long sentence, which in Dindorf's edition is without these punctuation-marks. —— κατά, *on account of, through*. K. § 292. II. 3. b. Bloomf. thinks that there is an allusion in κατὰ....κέρδη to Cleon, and Alcibiades, and partly to Demosthenes. —— ἃ refers to the measures alluded to in ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου. —— ἰδιώταις = πολίταις, inasmuch as it stands opposed to πόλει. —— μᾶλλον than to the state. —— σφαλέντα, "*if they miscarried*, as in the case of Cleon in Thrace and Nicias in Sicily." Bloomf.

8. αἴτιον δ' ἦν, sc. τούτου referring to the difference between the prudent measures of Pericles and the course pursued by his successors. —— ἐκεῖνος refers to Pericles. —— χρημάτων—ἀδωρότατος = *of incorruptible integrity*; more literally, *proof against bribery*. —— κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως, i. e. he administered the government with energy, and yet not so as to encroach upon the liberty of any of its citizens. —— οὐκ—μᾶλλον—ἤ, *not more—than = not so much as*. —— The negative μὴ belongs both to κτώμενος and to λέγειν. See N. on I. 12. § 1. The participle κτώμενος denotes cause, *since he had not acquired*. See N. on I. 9. § 4. —— ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων, *by means not befitting*. —— ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει, *being able by his high reputation*. —— πρὸς ὀργήν τι, "*somewhat warmly*." Bloomf. I prefer Arnold's interpretation, *so as to excite their anger*, inasmuch as these words are

antithetic to *πρὸς ἡδονήν τι*, which evidently signifies, *for their pleasure, so as to please them.* Instead of this being a jejune interpretation as Bloomf. avers, it is much more pointed and forcible, inasmuch as it embraces the more extensive idea, viz. that he spoke so vehemently and plainly as to excite their anger.

9. *παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας*, *puffed up with unseasonable confidence*, i. e. a boldness which was untimely and unsuitable. —— *κατέλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι*; literally, *he struck them down to the state of being afraid*, i. e. he inspired them with fear. Perhaps *ἐπὶ* may be taken in the sense, *in order that they might be in a state of fear* (cf. K. § 296. III. 8. a), which is not essentially different from the other interpretation. —— *δεδιότας αὖ ἀλόγως*, *on the other hand unreasonably alarmed.* —— *λόγῳ—ἔργῳ*, *in name—in reality* (see N. on II. 40. § 2). So the Latins employ *verbo et re.* —— *ὑπό.* See N. on I. 130. § 1.

10. The historian now proceeds to contrast with these features of the administration of Pericles, the policy and conduct of his successors. —— *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* follows *ἴσοι.* For the emphatic *αὐτοὶ* before the reflexive *ἀλλήλους* (*themselves with one another*), cf. C. § 511. 3. —— *ὀρεγόμενοι....γίγνεσθαι*, *striving after the pre-eminence* (literally, *each to be first*). Cf. K. § 273. 3. b. δ; S. § 192. —— *ἐτράποντο....ἐνδιδόναι* has received a variety of interpretations, according as the words are connected in construction. Bloomf. adopts the order: *ἐτράποντο τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἡδονάς, they turned to the people for their gratification = they applied themselves to gratify the people.* At *ἐνδιδόναι* he supplies *αὐτῷ* from *δήμῳ*, and understands by *τὰ πράγματα* the administration of affairs. Haack refers *καθ' ἡδονὰς* to *ἐνδιδόναι* which depends on *ἐτράποντο.* From *τῷ δήμῳ* he supplies *αὐτοῦ*, and thus is given the sense: *they turned to the people to gratify them with* (literally, *to give them for their pleasure*) *even the administration of public affairs*, i. e. not only in their speeches but in their public measures, they had principal reference to what would be agreeable to the people. This I conceive to be the sense of the passage, and so it is understood by Arnold. There is no necessity of making the sentence *bimembris*, resulting from *καί*, inasmuch as it often has the signification *even*, the corresponding sentence being easily supplied mentally from the context. Cf. K. § 321. R. 5.

11. *ἄλλα τε πολλὰ—ἡμαρτήθη*, *many other errors were committed.* *ἄλλα* in reference to the Sicilian expedition, which is particularly mentioned (*ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς*, sc. *ἡμαρτήθη*). *ὡς* relates to *πολλά.* —— *ὃς οὐ....ἐταράχθησαν.* This passage is in some respects very obscure and has received various interpretations. With Haack, Goel.,

Poppo, and other eminent critics, I am disposed to refer οὓς to the Syracusians, supplying the ellipsis *περὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς οὕς*. As the sentence is commonly interpreted, οὓς is referred to the Leontines, to aid whom the Athenians were induced to engage in the expedition. But as Poppo remarks, *ἐπιέναι πρός τινα* is always taken in a hostile sense for *ἐπιέναι τινί*. —— *οὐ....ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, not knowing what was requisite for the armament*, i. e. through ignorance the expedition was ill-furnished with the proper requisites, and hence proved unsuccessful. This will be fully illustrated in the account of that unfortunate enterprise. Dukas and Goeller say that on account of ἀλλὰ which follows, *ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες* should have been *ἐπεγίγνωσκον*. But Poppo constructs thus: *ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες τὰ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν, οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ (ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες) κατὰ—προστασίας*. Properly *ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες* should have been *ὅσον τῶν ἐκπεμψάντων* (sc. *ἁμάρτημα*), *οἱ οὐ*, in order to conform to the construction which precedes. —— διαβολὰς refers to such calumnious charges as were brought against Alcibiades, and which caused his removal from the command of the Sicilian expedition. —— *ἐποίουν* and *ἐταράχθησαν* are both to be referred to *οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες*, the connectives being *τε—καί*. —— *περὶ τὴν φυλὴν* stands opposed to *ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ*. —— *πρῶτον*. Arnold says "*for the first time* after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ;" but Bloomf. interprets, "*then first* during the Peloponnesian war," which seems to be the true sense. —— *ἐταράχθησαν* is limited by *τά τε* taken synecdochically, *were in a state of disorder in respect to the affairs*.

12. *σφαλέντες δ'—ὅμως, but although they were defeated—notwithstanding*. For the concessive use of the participle, see N. on I. 7. § 1. —— *τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* refers to the whole Athenian navy, the greatest part of which was destroyed at Syracuse. —— *τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντείχον*. It is quite difficult to determine what particular period of the war is here referred to. Haack (in his second edition) and Goel. would read *δέκα* for *τρία*, which would embrace the time, within a few months, which intervened between the loss of the Sicilian armament and the taking possession of Athens by Lysander. But this seems to be an unwarrantable alteration of the text. Krüg. refers it to the time between the termination of the Sicilian war, and the first coming of Cyrus into Asia Minor (A. C. 407). Arnold adopts the opinion that it was the three years, included in the time when Cyrus first came into Asia Minor, and the spring of A. C. 404, when Athens surrendered to Lysander. But the historian seems obviously to refer to the three years immediately succeeding the close of the Sicilian expedition, during which, notwithstanding the seditions at home, a vigor-



resistance was made, but after which the war was protracted for several years with but few operations on either side. So Bloomfield understands the passage. —— τοῖς τε....πολεμίοις, *both* (τε) *their former enemies*, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. To the same enemies αὐτῶν refers. —— πρότερον in reference to their more recent enemies, the Sicilians. —— καὶ τῶν....ἀφεστηκόσι, *and moreover against their allies the greater part of whom had revolted.* —— Κύρῳ depends upon ἀντείχον, and προσγενομένῳ = *coming to the aid of their enemies.* —— καὶ οὐ πρότερον, *and not* (then) *before.* καὶ refers to μὲν in τρία μὲν ἔτη. For examples of the use of μὲν—καί, and μὲν—τε, cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. pp. 276, 277. Kühner (§ 322. R. 3. Andov. edit.) says that καὶ and τε in such a connection are used by a kind of anacoluthon without any reference to μέν. Bloomf. says that καὶ introduces the six years that followed the severe struggle referred to in τρία ἔτη. —— ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι—περιπεσόντες is to be constructed ἢ αὐτοὶ περιπεσόντες ἐν σφίσι, the dative taking ἐν because dependent upon ἐσφάλησαν.

13. τοσοῦτον....προέγνω, *so abundant then* (i. e. at the commencement of the war) *were the means of judging to Pericles, by which he foresaw;* or, perhaps, *such abundant grounds had Pericles for prejudging.* Bloomf. renders *such was the superabundant sagacity of Pericles respecting those measures by which*, etc. But the sagacity or penetration of Pericles into the future is not the principal thing intended to be brought to view, but the immense resources of the Athenian state thoroughly tested in the long and arduous war, and from which in the outset that great man knew well the ability of the state to prosecute to a successful termination the approaching contest. Some make περιγενέσθαι the subject of ἐπερίσσευσε. But what is then to be done with τοσοῦτον? Didot takes ἐπερίσσευσε impersonally, and makes the clause tantamount to τοσοῦτον περιττὸς ἐγένετο, or διεφάνη ὁποῖος ὁ Περικλῆς. But this sheds no light on the passage. In respect to ἀφ' ὧν, I am inclined to construct it with προέγνω, as I have done in the translation. Its equivalent would then be τούτων ἀφ' ὧν, of which the antecedent would depend on τοσοῦτον. If, however, with Poppo and Goel., we take these words with περιγενέσθαι, the equivalent will remain the same, but our translation must be: *such abundance of resources—by the aid of which he foresaw that they could easily get the better of the Peloponnesians* (see N. on I. 55. § 1). Two brief but spirited critiques on this passage may be found in the Class. Museum, Vol. V. pp. 350, 475. —— αὐτῶν = μόνων. This whole chapter is one of the noblest specimens of composition to be found in any language, although from its excessive brevity of style it is in many places quite difficult of interpretation.

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12. *σφαλέντες δ'—ὅμως, but although they were defeated—notwithstanding*. For the concessive use of the participle, see N. on I. 7. § 1. —— *τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* refers to the whole Athenian navy, the greatest part of which was destroyed at Syracuse. —— *τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον*. It is quite difficult to determine what particular period of the war is here referred to. Haack (in his second edition) and Goel. would read *δέκα* for *τρία*, which would embrace the time, within a few months, which intervened between the loss of the Sicilian armament and the taking possession of Athens by Lysander. But this seems to be an unwarrantable alteration of the text. Krüg. refers it to the time between the termination of the Sicilian war, and the first coming of Cyrus into Asia Minor (A. C. 407). Arnold adopts the opinion that it was the three years, included in the time when Cyrus first came into Asia Minor, and the spring of A. C. 404, when Athens surrendered to Lysander. But the historian seems obviously to refer to the three years immediately succeeding the close of the Sicilian expedition, during which, notwithstanding the seditions at home, a vigor-

resistance was made, but after which the war was protracted for several years with but few operations on either side. So Bloomfield understands the passage. —— τοῖς τε....πολεμίοις, *both* (τε) *their former enemies*, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. To the same enemies αὐτῶν refers. —— πρότερον in reference to their more recent enemies, the Sicilians. —— καὶ τῶν....ἀφεστηκόσι, *and moreover against their allies the greater part of whom had revolted.* —— Κύρῳ depends upon ἀντεῖχον, and προσγενομένῳ = *coming to the aid of their enemies.* —— καὶ οὐ πρότερον, *and not* (then) *before.* καὶ refers to μὲν in τρία μὲν ἔτη. For examples of the use of μὲν—καί, and μὲν—τε, cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. pp. 276, 277. Kühner (§ 322. R. 3. Andov. edit.) says that καὶ and τε in such a connection are used by a kind of anacoluthon without any reference to μέν. Bloomf. says that καὶ introduces the six years that followed the severe struggle referred to in τρία ἔτη. —— ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι—περιπεσόντες is to be constructed ἢ αὐτοὶ περιπεσόντες ἐν σφίσι, the dative taking ἐν because dependent upon ἐσφάλησαν.

13. τοσοῦτον....προέγνω, *so abundant then* (i. e. at the commencement of the war) *were the means of judging to Pericles, by which he foresaw;* or, perhaps, *such abundant grounds had Pericles for prejudging.* Bloomf. renders *such was the superabundant sagacity of Pericles respecting those measures by which*, etc. But the sagacity or penetration of Pericles into the future is not the principal thing intended to be brought to view, but the immense resources of the Athenian state thoroughly tested in the long and arduous war, and from which in the outset that great man knew well the ability of the state to prosecute to a successful termination the approaching contest. Some make περιγενέσθαι the subject of ἐπερίσσευσε. But what is then to be done with τοσοῦτον? Didot takes ἐπερίσσευσε impersonally, and makes the clause tantamount to τοσοῦτον περιττὸς ἐγένετο, or διεφάνη ὅτι ὁ Περικλῆς. But this sheds no light on the passage. In respect to ἀφ' ὧν, I am inclined to construct it with προέγνω, as I have done in the translation. Its equivalent would then be τούτων ἀφ' ὧν, of which the antecedent would depend on τοσοῦτον. If, however, with Poppo and Goel., we take these words with περιγενέσθαι, the equivalent will remain the same, but our translation must be: *such abundance of resources—by the aid of which he foresaw that they could easily get the better of the Peloponnesians* (see N. on I. 55. § 1). Two brief but spirited critiques on this passage may be found in the Class. Museum, Vol. V. pp. 350, 475. —— αὐτῶν = μόνων. This whole chapter is one of the noblest specimens of composition to be found in any language, although from its excessive brevity of style it is in many places quite difficult of interpretation.

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Peloponnesians under Cnemus, a Spartan, undertake an expedition against Zacynthus, but are foiled in their endeavors to take the island (§§ 1, 2).

1. Ζάκυνθον, *Zacynthus*, now Zante. Its situation is so well known as to need no comment. —— ἀντιπέρας, *over against*. —— εἰσί, sc. Ζακύνθιοι elicited from Ζάκυνθον. —— Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. Cf. I. 47. § 2.

2. τὰ πολλὰ of the territory. —— ξυνεχώρουν refers to the Zacynthians. —— ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. See N. on I. 30. § 2.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Aristeus with certain Lacedæmonians going on an embassy to the king in Asia, proceed first to Sitalces, in order to induce him to desert the Athenian alliance and convey them over the Hellespont to Pharnabazus (§ 1); but at the instigation of some Athenian ambassadors, they are apprehended by Sitalces and sent to Athens (§§ 2, 3); where by way of retaliation upon the Lacedæmonians for cruelties of the same kind begun by them, they are put to death without trial or even a hearing (§ 4).

1. τοῦ....τελευτῶντος, *at the end of the same summer*. —— ἰδίᾳ, *in a private capacity*, not being sent by the state. Poppo suggests as a reason of his being associated with the embassy, that the Argives not having engaged in the war with the Persians, an Argive ambassador, who might falsely say that he was sent by his state, would have great influence at the Persian court. —— εἴ πως πείσειαν. See N. on I. 58. § 1. —— Σιτάλκην—τὸν Τήρεω. Cf. II. 29. § 2. —— μεταστάντα, *having deserted* (see N. on I. 107. § 7), takes the genitive according to S. § 197. 2. —— ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, i. e. for the relief of Potidæa. —— οὗ, *where*. —— καὶ responds to τε in πεῖσαί τε, and πορευθῆναι depends on βουλόμενοι. —— ἧπερ ὥρμηντο, *whither they were desirous to go*. —— δι' ἐκείνου, *by his aid*. —— ἔμελλεν—ἀναπέμψειν, *would send them up*, i. e. into upper Asia, or the parts more remote from the sea-board. —— ὡς. See N. on I. 31. § 2.

2. παρατυχόντες—παρὰ τῷ Σιτάλκῃ, *happening to be with Sitalces*. —— τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον. Cf. II. 29. § 5. —— τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν, i. e. Athens, of which he had been made a citizen, and which was therefore his city. —— τὸ μέρος, *as far as they were able*, belongs to βλάψωσιν which refers to the Peloponnesian ambassadors. Some take τὸ μέρος with πόλιν, and render it, *what was in a measure his city*.

But as he was an adopted citizen, such a qual'i ... would have been improper and offensive.

3. ἔμελλον—περαιώσειν, *were to cross over.* —— ἄλλως ξυμπέμψας κ. τ. λ. shows how they were arrested. According to Dahlman this event occurred A. C. 430. Cf. Class. Mus. I. p. 189. —— ἐκείνους refers to the Athenian ambassadors.

4. ἀφικομένων to Athens. —— ἔτι πλείω, *still more than before.* —— διαφυγών, *if he should escape.* See N. on I. 71. § 6. —— πρὸ τούτου = *before this time.* —— τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης (sc. χωρίων) depends on τὰ the same as Ποτιδαίας. —— ἐφαίνετο πράξας. See N. on I. 2. § 1. —— ἔστιν ἄ, *something.* See N. on I. 65. § 3. —— αὐθημερόν, *on the very day*, lest, as Blcomf. remarks, the public commiseration, as in the case of the Mitylenians (III. 50. § 4), should be interested in their favor. —— ἐς φάραγγας, *into pits*, i. e. into some place where there were pits, the plural form being used to give indefiniteness to the expression. This disposition of the bodies was even more contumelious than to cast them out unburied into the fields. —— δικαιοῦντες.... ὑπῆρξαν, *thinking it just to inflict the same punishment* (upon them), *which the Lacedæmonians had first employed.* τοῖς αὐτοῖς (dative of means) ἀμύνεσθαι = τὴν ἴσην τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν. With ὑπῆρξαν supply ἀμυνόμενοι to which ὥσπερ is to be referred, as τοῖς αὐτοῖς is taken with ἀμύνεσθαι. - - - - τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον—ἀποκτείναντες, *by putting to death the merchants whom they took.* This belongs to ὑπῆρξαν as denoting the way or manner (see Ns. on I. 33. § 1; II. 34. § 4) in which the Lacedæmonians set the example of cruelty. —— ὅσους λάβοιεν, *whomsoever they might take* (see N. on I. 50. § 1). The optative denotes indefinite frequency (see N. on I. 49. § 3), and hence the verb of the principal clause is in the imperfect (διέφθειρον). K. § 333. 4. —— καὶ τοὺς—καὶ τοὺς are in apposition with ὅσους. —— μηδὲ μετ' ἑτέρων (repeat ξυμπολεμοῦντας), *allied with neither*, i. e. remaining neutral.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

The Ambraciots undertake an expedition against Argos in Amphilochis (§ 1); their hostility to the Argives arose from this: many generations after the country was settled by Amphilochus, they called in as joint colonists the Ambraciots, from whom they learned the Greek language, and by whom they were afterwards driven out (§§ 2–6); they then in conjunction with the Acarnanians, under whose protection they had put themselves, call in to their aid the Athenians, who take Argos, and make slaves of the Ambraciots (§§ 7, 8); the enmity thence conceived was the cause of the present expedition of the Ambraciots (§ 9).

1. τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος. See N. on II. 67. § 1. —— Ἀμπρακιῶται. The country *of the* Ambraciots lay north of the Ambracicus Sinus



. . . this place from that of th
lochia lay along the eastern shore of

3. *μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, after the Troja*
στάσει, having returned home and bei
of things in Argos. The Schol. gives
tion, that he found his mother Eriphy
The accounts of the doings of Amphil
Trojan war, are quite conflicting, on w
Rom. Mythol. I. p. 149. For the cons
στάσει, cf. Mt. § 411. 5. *Obs.* 2.

5. *πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον, many ge*
ὁμόρους....Ἀμφιλοχικῇ, bordering (lit
Amphilochia. —— *ξυνοίκους* is the secon
called in as joint colonists. S. § 185. ——
σαν, were taught the use of the Greek lan
literally, *were made the Greeks they nou*
The original colonists from Argos were
language in process of time became lo
again from the Ambracians. Perhaps
correct, that the Hellenian language too
spoken by the chiefs in the Trojan exp
which as being Pelasgian bore a greater r
respect to the construction, *γλῶσσαν* m
tive synecdochical, or as the equivalent
the notion contained in the verb. Cf. Je
—— *βάρβαροι* in respect to

the verb to which *προσπαρακαλέσαντες* belongs, the intermediate words *οἱ αὐτοῖς....ἔπεμψαν = πεμψάντων τε τούτων αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνα.* —— *ᾧκησαν.* See N. on I. 8. § 1. —— *Ἀμφίλοχοι* who had been driven out by the Ambraciots. —— *Ἀκαρνᾶνες* whose protection had been invoked by the Amphilochians.

8. *ἡ ξυμμαχία.* Cf. II. 9. § 4.

9. *ἐς τοὺς = κατὰ τῶν.* Schol. —— *ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ*, i. e. the Peloponnesians. —— *Χαόνων.* The Chaonians bordered on the Thesprotians to the north-west, both countries lying on the sea-coast. —— *χώρας* depends on *ἐκράτουν.* —— *προσβαλόντες, by storm.*

CHAPTER LXIX.

An Athenian fleet under Phormio sails around Peloponnesus, and takes its station at Naupactus in order to guard the entrance of the Crissean gulf; another fleet is sent to Lycia and Caria, the forces of which disembarking are defeated and their commander slain (§§ 1, 2).

1. *Φορμίωνα.* Cf. II. 58. § 2. When this commander left Chalcidia he probably returned direct to Athens. —— *μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν—μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, that no one might sail in or out.* These infinitives denote the object or purpose of *φυλακὴν εἶχε.* —— *ὅπως ἀργυρολογῶσι, in order to lay these places under contribution.* For the same construction of this verb with the accusative of the thing, cf. III. 19. § 2; VIII. 3. § 1.

CHAPTER LXX.

The Potidæans, finding that they derived no benefit from the irruptions of the Peloponnesians into Attica, and being sorely pressed with famine, make proposals of surrender to the Athenian generals (§ 1); which being accepted, they are suffered to depart with their families to Chalcidia and other places which they may choose (§§ 2, 3); the Athenians blame their generals for concluding this treaty, and send out colonists of their own to people Potidæa (§ 4); thus end the events of the second year (§ 5).

1. *πολιορκούμενοι ἀντέχειν, to hold out being besieged = to sustain the siege.* —— *οὐδὲν....Ἀθηναίους, did not the more cause* (S. § 207. 2) *the Athenians to raise the siege.* —— *βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας, in respect to obtaining their necessary food;* perhaps, in respect to the *things which they were forced to eat.* —— *ἀλλήλων ἐγέγευντο.* S. § 192.

1. —— *οὕτω δή*, *so then*, i. e. in these circumstances. —— *περὶ ξυμβάσεως*, *concerning a treaty*. —— *ἐπί*, *against*, in a hostile sense

2. *οἱ δέ*, i. e. the Athenian generals. —— *προσεδέξαντο*, sc. *τοὺς λόγους* from the preceding section. —— *χειμερινῷ*, *wintry*, *bleak*. —— *ἀναλωκυίας....πόλεως*, *and because* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) *the city* (Athens) *had already expended*. —— *τε* responds to *μὲν* after *ὁρῶντες*, two reasons being given why terms were granted to the Potidæans. —— *δισχίλια τάλαντα*. Isocrates reckons the expense at 2400 talents, a part of which Pericles took from the public treasure. Boeckh (Pub. Econ. Athens, p. 290) pronounces the reading *χίλια* found in two MSS. to be false. —— *ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν*. In many editions the article is omitted.

3. *τοὺς ἐπικούρους*, i. e. the Corinthian auxiliaries. Cf. I. 60. —— *ξὺν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ*. "Sic sæpe in pactis." Poppo. As the women always wore two garments (cf. Herodot. II. 36), they were permitted to take two on this occasion, and yet it was but one suit. —— *καὶ—ἔχοντας* = *and with*, the construction being varied from *ξὺν* with the dative. —— *ἐφόδιον*, *for the journey-expenses*, is in apposition with *ἀργύριον* to denote its purpose.

4. *ἕκαστος ᾗ ἐδύνατο*, *each wherever he was able* (to go), i. e. each went to whatever place chance or inclination led him. —— *ἄνευ*. See N. on I. 128. § 3. —— *ᾗ ἐβούλοντο*, *in whatever way they pleased*. —— *καὶ ὕστερον κ. τ. λ.* Diod. says that the Athenians sent out 1000 of their citizens as colonists, among whom the country was divided.

CHAPTERS LXXI.—CIII.

These chapters comprise the events which took place in the third year of the war. The operations of the summer are narrated in chaps. 71–92, which Poppo subdivides into four divisions, in the first of which, comprised in chaps. 71–78, negotiations are entered upon between Archidamus and the Platæans (chaps. 71–74), which being fruitless the city is besieged (chaps. 75–78. The second division is comprised in chap. 79; the third in chaps. 80–82; the fourth in chaps. 83–92. The history of the events of the winter is contained in chaps. 93–103, the minor divisions of which are (1), chaps. 93, 94; (2), 95–101; (3), 102, 103. This portion of the history is highly interesting, especially the brilliant achievements of Phormio (chaps. 83–92), which are narrated in a singularly clear and graphic style.

CHAPTER LXXI.

The Peloponnesians under Archidamus make an expedition against Platæa and ravage its territory (§ 1); upon this the Platæans send ambassadors to them, who set forth the injustice of this war upon Platæa, since for their services in the Persian war, Pausanias and the confederated Greeks had solemnly guaranteed to them their independence (§ 2); this pledge the Peloponnesians at the instigation of the Thebans are now violating (§ 3); from which injustice they are adjured by the gods to cease, and neither to injure the territory of the Platæans nor to infringe upon their liberties (§ 4).

1. καθίσας τὸν στρατόν, *having caused his army to encamp.* From this general encampment detachments could sally forth to ravage the surrounding country. —— ἔμελλε. He had not yet fairly commenced ravaging, when the Platæans were sent to him.

2. ὑμῶν, i. e. of your honor and dignity. —— ὧν ἐστέ, *from whom you are sprung.* —— στρατεύοντες, *in making an expedition*, explains οὐ δίκαια. See N. on I. 37. § 5. —— ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, *to share in the danger.* The genitive is the more common construction with this verb. —— παρ' ἡμῖν, i. e. in our territory. —— θύσας ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν κ. τ. λ. Aristides in an assembly of all the Greeks procured the enactment of a decree, that this festival of liberty should be annually celebrated, at Platæa, by delegates from the whole of Greece. The town was also declared inviolable and sacred, as long as its inhabitants offered these sacrifices on behalf of Greece. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 375. The Platæans refer to Pausanias by name, either because he was the leader of the confederated Greeks, or to add force to the argument by attributing the thing spoken of to a Lacedæmonian. —— ἀπεδίδου is rendered by some, *gave back*, referring to its temporary occupation by the Persians. But the main idea of the grant is evidently lodged in αὐτονόμους, and hence I prefer the sense, *granting, conferring as a favor.* The clause ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν is epexegetical, denoting the result or effect of the verb ἀπεδίδου. Oftentimes ὥστε is added to make the statement more definite. Cf. K. § 306. R. 7. See N. on I. 34. § 3. —— στρατεῦσαί τε μηδένα. Supply ἐκέλευσε elicited from ἀπεδίδου. —— ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, i. e. in order to reduce them to servitude.

3. ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἑμετέρᾳ directly contrary to the grant of Pausanias. See N. on ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, § 2.

4. μάρτυρας....ποιούμενοι, *calling the gods to witness* who were *invoked as witnesses of the oaths then made.* With this may also be combined the idea referred to in N. on I. 71. § 5. These gods would be

particularly offended at a violation of the oaths which they had been called upon to witness. The tutelary deities also of Lacedæmon and Platæa would be offended, the former at the injustice of their worshippers in making war upon a country which they were sworn to defend; the latter in seeing the country, where their worship was established, overrun and devastated by an army of enemies.

CHAPTER LXXII.

Archidamus in reply admits the truth of what the Platæans had said, but avers that it was to rescue them and others from bondage to the Athenians, that such an expedition as the present was undertaken, and exhorts them to remain free and assist in liberating others from servitude, or if unwilling to do this, to pursue a strict neutrality (§ 1); the Platæans reply that they can do nothing without the concurrence of the Athenians, and express their fears that either that people will compel them to engage in war, or that the Thebans taking advantage of their neutrality will seize upon their city (§ 2); to which Archidamus responds by pledging to preserve their territory, in case they will retire somewhere else, and to deliver it to them at the expiration of the war (§ 3).

1. *ὑπολαβών.* Bloomf. supplies *τὸν λόγον.* —— *γάρ, namely, that is,* explains the idea contained in the imperative *αὐτονομεῖσθε.* K. § 324. 2. —— *τῶν τότε* (in the Persian war) *κινδύνων.* Cf. *κίνδυνον τῆς μάχης,* I. 71. § 2. —— *ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις, in subjection to the Athenians.* —— *παρασκευή τε.... ἐλευθερώσεως.* This passage is made clear by referring *αὐτῶν* to the persons included in *ὅσοι.... ξυνώμοσαν,* and *τῶν ἄλλων* to other states which had not united in these oaths, but were in like manner subject to the Athenians. —— *πόλεμος,* i. e. the Peloponnesian war. —— *ἧς.... ὅρκοις, in which especially partaking, do you also abide by your oaths.* I concur with Krüg. in referring *ἧς* to *παρασκευὴ* as containing the leading idea. *μάλιστα μὲν—εἰ δὲ μή.* See N. on I. 82. § 1. —— *ἅπερ* refers forward to *ἡσυχίαν.* —— *τὸ πρότερον.* We are not informed by Thucydides when this proposal was previously made. —— *νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, enjoying your own possessions.*

2. *ἄνευ.* See N. on I. 128. § 2. —— *παρ' ἐκείνοις,* i. e. the Athenians. —— *εἴησαν* is put in the optative as though *ὅτι* or *ὡς* had preceded. Cf. Mt. § 529. 3. In respect to the thing spoken of, cf. II. 6. § 4. —— *ἐκείνων* refers to the Lacedæmonians. —— *σφίσιν οὐκ ἐντρέπωσιν, would not permit them* (sc. to receive both as friends). The ellipsis is supplied very naturally from *δέχεσθε δὲ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους, at the close* of the preceding section. —— *ὡς.... δέχεσθαι, since the*

men were bound by the agreement (i. e. embraced in the oath) *to admit both parties.* The idea is that if the Platæans were to admit both parties as friends, they would be obliged to admit their enemies the Thebans, since they were members of the Peloponnesian confederacy, and thus their liberties might be endangered.

3. *ὁ δέ*, i. e. Archidamus. —— *πρὸς ταῦτα*, i. e. in respect to the grounds of fear entertained by the Platæans. —— *δένδρα* refers to fruit-trees, and such other trees as might be valuable for timber or ornament. —— *ἀριθμῷ*, *by number.* —— *ἄλλο....ἐλθεῖν*, *whatever else can be numbered;* literally, *can come into number.* Reference is probably had to houses, barns, sheds, and other immovable property. —— *ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ*, *as long as the war may continue.* *ἂν* imparts indefiniteness to the time spoken of = *as long as* (however long it may be). Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 847. 3. —— *μέχρι δὲ τοῦδε*, i. e. until the termination. —— *ἐργαζόμενοι*, sc. *τὴν γῆν.* Schol. —— *ἱκανὴ* for subsistence.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Platæans express their willingness to accede to these proposals, if the Athenians will consent, and ask and obtain a truce to enable them to send to Athens (§ 1); the ambassadors being sent report, on their return, that the Athenians promise them assistance and conjure them not to change their alliance (§§ 2, 3).

1. *ἃ* = *ἐκεῖνα ἅ*, of which the antecedent depends on *κοινῶσαι*, and the relative on *προκαλεῖται.* —— *αὐτούς*, i. e. the Athenians. The subject of *ποιεῖν* is the Platæans, and *ταῦτα* refers to the proposals of the Lacedæmonians. —— *ἡμέρας—ἐν αἷς*, *days in which* = *as many days as.* —— *κομισθῆναι* (*to return*) refers to the Platæan ambassadors.

2. *οὔτ' ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ—ἐν οὐδενί*, *at no time whatever before this.* Some take *ἐν οὐδενὶ* in the sense of *in no respect.* —— *ἀφ' οὗ* = *since.* —— *ἡμᾶς*, *προέσθαι ἀδικουμένους*, *have they permitted us to be injured.* Goel. edits *ὑμᾶς*, which Krüg. says is inadmissible, inasmuch as the Platæans as well as the Athenians are referred to in *ἐγενόμεθα.* —— *περιόψεσθαι* (sc. *ἀδικουμένους*). See N. on *περιορᾶν*, I. 24. § 6.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

The Platæans resolve to remain true to the Athenians, and announce this determination to the Lacedæmonians (§ 1); Archidamus invokes the gods to be witnesses of the justice of the invasion, and implores their aid in bringing the Platæans to punishment (§§ 2, 3).

1. ἀνέχεσθαι....ὁρῶντας, *would bear even to see their country ravaged, if it must needs be.* —— γῆν depends upon ὁρῶντας, which properly should have been ὁρῶντες, but is put in the accusative to conform to the construction which εἰ δεῖ would have demanded. —— ἄλλο in respect to γῆν τεμνομένην.

2. ἐντεῦθεν, *then.* —— ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν—θεῶν—κατέστη, *called the gods to witness;* literally, *proceeded to an attestation of the gods.* Poppo explains the words by ἐπεμαρτύρατο (*contestatus est*) θεούς. Cf. Xen. Cyr. III. 3. § 22; Livy, I. 22.

3. τῶνδε refers to the Platæans. —— αὐτὴν is put for ἣν. —— εὐμενῆ ἐναγωνίσασθαι, *favorable to fight in* (see N. on ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, II. 20. § 4). The words ἐν ᾗ....Ἕλλησιν are parenthetic. —— ἤν τι ποιῶμεν is euphemistically said for, *if we shall take and destroy the city.* —— προκαλεσάμενοι. See N. on ὄντες, I. 7. § 1. —— οὐ τυγχάνομεν, *we cannot gain our purpose,* i. e. we cannot bring them to accede to our equitable proposals. —— ξυγγνώμονες....προτέροις, *grant* (literally, *be consenting*) *that those who first began to act unjustly may be punished for their iniquity.* τῆς ἀδικίας belongs both to ὑπάρχουσι and κολάζεσθαι (= κολάσεως τυγχάνειν), according to the formula κολάζειν τινά τινος. In respect to τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι with the infinitive, if the leading verb by itself governs another case than the accusative, either that case or the accusative may accompany it, when the infinitive follows. Cf. Mt. § 537; K. § 307. 1; S. § 224. —— τῆς δὲ....νομίμως = τοῖς δὲ ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως τὴν τιμωρίαν τυγχάνειν αὐτῆς.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Archidamus commences the siege of Platæa by palisading it so as to prevent all egress (§ 1) he then constructs a mound protected from falling away by timber brought from Cithæron, the army working in relief-parties incessantly upon it for 70 days (§§ 2, 3); the Platæans by counter works raise their wall to a height corresponding to that of the mound (§§ 4, 5); they also devise a method to draw away the earth from the opposing mound (§ 6).

1. τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας, *when he had thus invoked the gods,* or *called the gods to witness.* —— τοῖς δένδρεσιν. There were trees in the

vicinity of the city, such as fruit-trees, and those left for ornament or shade. It was for the construction of the mound that timber was supplied from the heavy trees of Cithæron. —— τοῦ μηδένα ἔτι ἐξιέναι, *in order that no one might afterwards go forth = that all further egress might be cut off.* —— χῶμα ἔχουν. The object of raising a mound, was to enable the besiegers, by filling up the interval between the mound and the wall, or connecting them by a bridge, to ascend the wall and thus get possession of the city. —— αὐτῶν refers to τῶν Πλαταιῶν implied in πόλιν which precedes. Kistem. refers it to δένδρων, and translates αἵρεσιν, *carrying* or *conveying* them from the place where they were felled to the city. But this is flat and trifling.

2. οὖν, *therefore*, i. e. in order to build the mound just spoken of. —— ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. Mount Cithæron, which was 3500 feet high, lay to the south of Platæa, a distance of only three or four miles. Indeed the southern angle of an enclosure, which Leake thinks to be as old as the Persian war, is only separated by a level of a few yards from the great rocky slope of Cithæron. Cf. Leake's North. Greece, II. p. 325. —— ἑκατέρωθεν, *on both sides* of the mound. The reason is given in ὅπως....χῶμα. —— φορμηδόν, *crosswise like mat-work*, i. e. at right angles, thus, ⊞. This timber framework was only on the right and left side of the mound, the front being left sloping so that an army could be marched up, when things were in a state of readiness to scale the walls of the enemy. On the opposite side, the earth and other materials were suffered to slide down unobstructed, except by the wall against which the mound was raised. —— εἴ τι—μέλοι. The oratio obliqua is used, because reference is had to the notion of the verb as it passed in the mind, not of the writer, but of the actors in the affair. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 885. *Obs.*

3. διῃρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας, *being divided into relief-parties.* —— οἱ ξεναγοί, i. e. Spartan officers placed over the quotas furnished by the auxiliary states, and to whom the generals of the allies were subordinate. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 1065. —— ξυνεφεστῶτες, "*una præpositi*, i. e. una cum propriis ducibus præpositi." Kistem.

4. ᾗ προσεχοῦτο, *where the mound was raised against* (the wall). The object of this wooden framework was to secure for the wall a higher elevation than the mound raised by the enemy. —— ἐσῳκοδόμουν ἐς αὐτὸ πλίνθους, "*they built up into it* (in the interstices of the wood-work) *bricks.*" Bloomf. —— ἐκ....οἰκιῶν is to be constructed with πλίνθους. —— καθαιροῦντες = *having pulled them down for this purpose.*

5. τοῦ....οἰκοδόμημα, *in order that the structure, being high, might not be weak.* —— εἶχε. Supply οἰκοδόμημα or τεῖχος. —— διῤῥεις καὶ



with the wall, and thus the counter
in the same relative situation as whe
τοῦ τείχους, *opening the part of the*
Cf. Mt. § 321. 5; Jelf's Kühn. § 533.

CHAPTER .

**The Peloponnesians by a counter device render the
ans ineffectual (§ 1); the besieged then dig a tren
draw away the earth from the bottom of it (§ 2); a
tional defence in case the main wall is taken (§ 3);
tering rams against the wall, but these are rendered**

1. ἐν....ἐνειλλοντες, *inclosing clay
in clay into large wattled cases made
(Lexil. No. 44) by a long and labored
that εἰλεῖν does not signify *to turn ro
ways has essentially the same sense, *to
here it is used with ἐν, because the acti
ing in firmly and tying up. —— ἐς τὸ ἐ
ing made in the wall by the besieged. –
neuter as being referable not only to πη

2. οἱ δέ, i. e. the Pl

drawn away from below. The genitive absolute here denotes cause. S. § 226. —— *ἰζάνοντος* is used intransitively.

3. *οὕτω*, i. e. by this contrivance. The disparity of their numbers convinced them, that they could not remove the earth from beneath as fast as it was heaped up above. Hence they invented an additional contrivance (*προσεπεξεῦρον τόδε*). —— *ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν.* Cf. Xen. Anab. IV. 3. § 28. —— *αὐτοῦ* depends on *ἔνθεν*, and refers to *οἰκοδόμημα.* —— *ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος τείχους, from the lower part of the wall*, i. e. at the point on each side, where the wall which had been elevated against the mound returned to its original elevation. A construction of the inner wall beyond these extremities would have been unnecessary, since the breach or entrance would be made, if any where, from the mound, and against this point only it would be necessary to build counter works of defence. *ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος τείχους* serves therefore to designate at what points on either end (*ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν*) the inner wall joined to the old town-wall. —— *ἐκ....πόλιν, on the inside in the form of a crescent towards the city.* A wall thus shaped would enable the besieged to half inclose a force brought up against it. —— *μέγα τεῖχος*, i. e. the wall whose height had been increased to overtop the mound. —— *διπλάσιόν τε πόνον, a twofold trouble*, resulting from having another wall to pass. —— *ἐν....γίγνεσθαι, be more exposed to missiles on both sides.* It will readily be seen that in approaching a wall bending inward and having two projecting angles, as this new wall would have, the besiegers would be exposed to missiles discharged on either side as well as in front.

4. *μηχανάς.* The following context shows that battering-rams are referred to in this word. —— *τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδουμήματος* depends on *ἐπὶ μέγα, a considerable part of the great wall*, i. e. the wall raised against the mound. Some translate, *shook the large superstructure very considerably.* It is evident that the battering-ram was directed against that portion of the wall which had been recently built up to overtop the mound, as the engine was worked from the top of the mound. —— *κατὰ τὸ χῶμα προσαχθεῖσα, being brought up upon the mound.* —— *ἄλλας δὲ* responds to *μίαν μέν*, and is in partitive apposition with *μηχανὰς* at the commencement of the section. —— *ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους, in other parts of the wall.* —— *ἀνέκλων, drew upwards*, i. e. diverted them from a direct blow against the wall. —— *καὶ* connects *ἐνέκλων* and *ἀφίεσαν.* —— *δοκοὺς....ἐγκαρσίας, suspending huge beams by long iron chains at each end, and drawing them up in a slanting direction by two cranes placed obliquely and stretching over the wall.* *τομὴ* refers to the end of the beam where it was cut off. *ἀπὸ κεραιῶν* is to be joined with *ἀνελκύσαντες.* Notice the omission of the copula

tive between the participles *ἀρτήσαντες* and *ἀνελκύσαντες*. —— *ἀφίεσαν τὴν δοκὸν—ἀπεκαύλιζε*. Regularity of construction would have required *ἀφέντες τὴν δοκὸν—ἀνεκαύλιζον*, since *ἅς*, by the force of *τε*, refers also to the last member beginning with *καὶ δοκούς*. On account of the intervening words, and because the writer wished to explain what sort of a machine it was, which they used to break off the head of the battering engine, the construction was changed. —— *χαλαροῖς ἔχοντες, with slackened chain and not holding it in their hands*, i. e. letting it go through (*διὰ*) their hands.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Being baffled in all their efforts to take the city, the Peloponnesians make preparations to completely invest it (§ 1); they determine to try, however, first to burn the city, being unwilling to undergo the expense of a blockade (§ 2); for this purpose they heap up combustibles between the mound and the wall, and from this elevation toss them into the city (§ 3); with these they make a great fire, and are only kept from effecting their purpose by the want of a sufficient breeze, and by a heavy rain which is reported to have come on (§§ 4–6).

1. *τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα* refers to the crescent-shaped wall. Cf. II. 76. § 3. Krüg. refers it also to the newly constructed portion of the old wall. Cf. II. 75. § 4. —— *ἀπὸ....δεινῶν, by the present means of terror.* Reference is had to the mound and to the battering-rams. —— *πρὸς τὴν περιτείχισιν* in order to reduce the place by famine.

2. *εἴ πως—προσαχθείη*. See N. on *εἴ πως πείσειαν*, I. 58. § 1. —— *δαπάνης καὶ πολιορκίας* is put by hendiadys for *δαπάνης τῆς πολιορκίας*. The expense of besieging a city is seen in the investment of Potidæa. See N. on II. 70. § 2.

3. *ἐς....προσχώσεως, first into the space between the mound and the wall.* The mound on the side towards the wall sloped down, so that while the base touched the wall, there would be quite a space left open at the summit. The necessity of filling this will be obvious to all. —— *γενομένου*, sc. *τοῦ μεταξύ*. —— *ἐπιπαρένησαν....μετεώρου*. The order is: *ἐπιπαρένησαν* (*heaped up side by side*) *καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον πλεῖστον ἐδύναντο ἐπισχεῖν* (*to reach*) *ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου* (*from the height of the mound*). *πόλεως* depends on *πλεῖστον*, and is employed as though the wall against which the fagots (*φάκελλοι*) were thrown was a part of the city. *τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως* refers to the space between the old wall and the lunar-shaped one newly built, for it is evident that beyond the last-mentioned one, fagots could not be thrown otherwise than by machines.

4. ξὺν θείῳ καὶ πίσσῃ in order to make the fire take more readily and burn more surely. —— φλὸξ....εἶδεν, *so great a fire as no one ever until that time saw kindled by men's hands.* —— ἤδη, *already, heretofore.* —— ὕλη τριφθεῖσα—πρὸς αὐτήν, *the branches of the forest being rubbed one against the other.* —— ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, i. e. from this attrition of the branches. This allusion to fire upon the mountains is a kind of reply to an anticipated objection, in respect to the greatness of this fire in the city compared with other conflagrations. The train of thought is: the fire in Platæa was greater than any which had ever yet been kindled with hands, for the mountain-fires which have burned so fiercely and extensively, were enkindled not by human agency but by the mutual action of the forest branches agitated by high winds. The words ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου are therefore highly emphatic.

5. τἄλλα disasters and dangers. —— ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι, *wanted but little of destroying* (= *well nigh destroyed*). ἐλαχίστου is the genitive of separation. K. § 271. 2. ἐδέησε, sc. τοῦτο, i. e. τὸ πύρ. —— ἐντὸς....πελάσαι, *for within a large space of the city it was impossible to approach* on account of the flames. Some without sufficient reason make χωρίου to depend on πελάσαι, *for it was impossible to approach a large part of the city within.* —— πνεῦμα....ἐναντίοι furnishes the reason for the collection of such a mass of combustibles. The besiegers hoped that the high wind would carry the flames and burning materials such a distance as to reach the dwellings. —— αὐτῇ i. e. τῇ φλογί. —— ἐπίφορον, *favorable.*

6. ὕδωρ—σβέσαι is epexegetical of τόδε ξυμβῆναι.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Being disappointed in their attempt to leave the city, the Peloponnesians proceed to draw the lines of investment (§ 1); after which, dividing the duty of watching the place between a detachment of their own forces and the Bœotians, they depart to their respective cities (§ 2); the Platæans who stand this siege number 400, besides 80 Athenian auxiliaries, and some women who are left to prepare their food, all the rest having been sent to Athens (§§ 3, 4).

1. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες. These words are regarded as spurious by Poppo, and are bracketed in all the best editions. —— διελόμενοι.... χωρίον, *distributing the space among the several cities*, i. e. a portion of the space to be circumvallated was assigned to each state (cf. Nehem. chap. III., where the work of building the wall was divided

off into portions). In respect to the use of this circumvallation, see N. on II. 77. § 1. The previous wall (II. 71. § 1) was only a palisade. —— *ἐντὸς* against the besieged, and *ἔξωθεν* against an invading enemy of the besiegers.

2. *περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς*, i. e. about the middle of September, when this star rises a little before sunrise and is visible. Bredow has written a valuable note on this passage, which I am compelled to omit for the sake of brevity.

3. *πλῆθος τὸ ἀχρεῖον*, *the multitude useless* for war.

4. *κατεσκευάσθη*. Cf. II. 85. § 1; VIII. 5. § 1.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

About the same time with the events just narrated, the Athenians make an expedition into Chalcidia and attempt to take Spartolus (§ 1); auxiliary forces having been sent, however, from Olynthus, the citizens make a sally but are compelled to retreat before the Athenians into the city (§§ 2, 3); the horse and light-armed of the Chalcidians, however, defeat those of the Athenians, and this gives rise to a change in the battle, so that the Athenians become the retreating party and are compelled to fly for safety to Potidæa, with the loss of 430 men and all their commanders (§§ 4–7).

1. *τῶν Πλαταιῶν* is the objective genitive. —— *ἑαυτῶν* in distinction from their allies. —— *ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου*. See N. on II. 19. § 1. —— *τρίτος αὐτὸς* (see N. on I. 46. § 2). The other leaders were Pharnomachus and Calliades. Cf. II. 70. § 1. —— *ὑπὸ Σπάρτωλον*, "*sub mœnia Spartoli.*" Poppo. So Bloomfield, who supposes the situation of Spartolus to have been on a chain of hills which skirt the coast. Poppo (Proleg. II. p. 359) and Kiepert fix its situation west of Olynthus; but Leake says (North. Greece, III. p. 456), that it lay at no great distance to the northward of Olynthus. —— *πρασσόντων*, *aiming* or *contriving* to bring about a surrender.

2. *τῶν οὐ ταῦτα βουλομένων*, i. e. who belonged to the opposite party. —— *ἦλθον* from Olynthus. —— *φυλακὴν* of Spartolus. —— *πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει*, *close to the city*.

4. *εἶχον* refers to the Chalcidians, for *οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς* is responded to most clearly by *ἄλλοι πελτασταί*, and must therefore refer to forces belonging to the same party. So Poppo and Krüger understand it.

5. *τοῖς τε προσγιγνομένοις*, *by the reinforcement* which their friends had received. —— *πρότερον* this accession of force. —— *ἀναχωροῦσι*. refers to the Athenians.

6. *ἐνεδίδοσαν*, i. e. the Chalcidians and Spartolians. —— *ἀποχωροῦσι*, sc. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. —— *ἐνέκειντο* and *ἐσηκόντιζον* refer to the Chalcidians and their party. —— *ᾗ δοκοῖ* (sc. *καιρός*), *wherever opportunity offered.*

7. *τῷ περιόντι τοῦ στρατοῦ*, *with the army which remained* after the slaughter.

CHAPTER LXXX.

At the urgent solicitation of the Ambraciots, the Lacedæmonians fit out an expedition against Acarnania and the adjacent places, the Corinthians joining heartily in the enterprise and preparing to furnish their quota of ships (§§ 1–3); having eluded the observation of Phormio, they make preparation for the land expedition (§ 4), with the auxiliary forces of the Ambraciots, Leucadians, Anactorians, Chaonians, Thesprotians and others; the Spartan admiral without waiting for the Corinthian navy, ravages Limnæa, and marches against Stratus (§§ 5–7).

1. *Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Χαόνες*. These people were united in the Amphilochian war. Cf. II. 68. § 9. —— *ναυσὶ....σφῶν*. "Bene Portus, *cum navibus simul et peditatu secum.*" Poppo. —— *ξυμβοηθεῖν*, *to assemble for defence, to render joint aid.* —— *τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων*, i. e. *τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης*, the preposition *ἀπὸ* being used by way of accommodation with *ξυμβοηθεῖν*, as denoting whence the assistance proceeded. See N. on I. 18. § 1. —— *ἂν* belongs to *κρατήσουσι*, and denotes the existence of a condition on which the verb may be supposed to depend. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 424. 8. Some may prefer to construct *ἂν* with *σχόντες* = *ἢν σχῶσι*. —— *κρατήσουσι—ἔσοιτο*. Such an interchange of moods in dependence upon the same verb is quite frequent, as the writer wishes to express certainty or probability only. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 802. 3. *d*; Mt. § 529. 5. —— *ὁμοῖος*, *the same* as before. —— *ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι*. The construction is here varied from *ὅτι* with the indicative, and then with the optative, to the accusative with the infinitive.

2. *ἔτι ὄντα*. The office of admiral was with the Spartans limited to a definite period. Thus in VIII. 20. 85, it appears that the command was limited to one year. In the beginning of the war, when Sparta was ignorant of maritime affairs, there were obvious reasons why the term of command should have been somewhat longer. —— *ἐπὶ ναυσίν*. "Rarius dictum pro *ἐπὶ νεῶν* seu *ἐν ναυσίν*." Poppo. —— *τῷ ναυτικῷ*, *the fleet* is here put for the *sailors* who manned it. —— *ὡς τάχιστα* belongs to *παρασκευάσασθαί τε ὡς τάχιστα καὶ πλεῖν*.

3. *ἀποίκοις οὖσι*, *because they were their colonists* (see N. on I. 9. § 4) The Ambraciot colony was one of the earliest of the Corinthian

colonies, being founded by the Heraclidæ. Cf. Müller's Dorians, I. p 180. —— *ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦν* = *παρασκενάζετο*. —— *πρότερον ἀφικόμενοι* because they were nearer to the place of rendezvous.

4. *ὃς....ἐφρούρουν*. Cf. II. 69. § 1.

5. Χάονες. See N. on II. 68. § 9. —— *ἀβασίλευτοι, not ruled over by kings.* —— *ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους, of the family eligible to the magistracy.*

6. Μολοσσοὺς—καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας. The former of these people occupied the district north of Ambracia (see N. on I. 136. § 2), and the latter bordered on the Molossians to the north-west, embracing the upper streams of the south-eastern branch of the Aous (cf. Kiepert's Map), and, according to Leake (North. Greece, p. 118), the mountainous country between the Apsus and the Aous. —— Παραυαίους. This people seem to have occupied a district north-east of Atintania, on the upper streams of the north-eastern branch of the Aous. —— Ὀρέσται. The location of this tribe is involved in obscurity. Some place them in the north-west part of Epirus, and others regard them as occupying a more easterly position.

7. *κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. Cf. II. 29. § 7, where it appears that Perdiccas formed an alliance with the Athenians. See N. on I. 56. § 2. —— *ὕστερον* (= *ὕστερόν*), *too late*, i. e. after the fight was over.

8. Ἀργείας of Amphilochia. —— Λιμναίαν, now according to Leake (North. Gr. IV. p. 244) Kervasará. It was the nearest harbor to Stratus, on the southern shore of the Ambracian gulf. —— Στράτον, *Stratus* lay S. E. from Limnæa, on the right bank of the Achelous, and was a place of much importance, being situated where the valleys of Lipuní and Achelous meet, and open into the great Ætolian plain. —— *ἂν* gives to *προσχωρήσειν* the idea of probability. Cf. S. § 215. 5; Mt. § 599. *d*. See also Xen. Anab. II. 3. § 18.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

The Acarnanians act on the defensive, and send to Phormio for assistance (§ 1); the Peloponnesians march towards Stratus in order, if necessary, to force it to submission (§ 2); the order of march (§ 3); the Greeks proceed with due caution, but the Chaonians and other Barbarians with foolhardy confidence press forward in order to take the place and bear off the honor (§ 4); the Stratians perceiving this, and forming ambuscades, attack the Chaonians, slay many, and compel the rest to flee back to the Grecian camp (§§ 5-7); where they still continue to annoy them with their slings (§ 8).

1. *αἰσθόμενοι—ἐσβεβληκυῖαν*. See N. on I. 26. § 3. —— *ξυνεβοήθουν* (see N. on II. 80. § 1). The suddenness of the invasion gave

them no time to concert measures of defence. —— *Φορμίωνα.* Cf. II. 69. § 1. —— *ναυτικοῦ....ἐκλπεῖν.* Cf. II. 80. § 3.

2. *τρία τέλη.* See N. on I. 48. § 2. These divisions had respect to the breadth, not the length of the army. —— *λόγῳ.* All the editions before me except Dindorf's have *λόγοις.* The singular corresponds the best with *ἔργῳ.* In respect to the use of these two words, see N. on II. 40. § 2.

3. *μέσον μὲν ἔχοντες* because they were the weakest portion of the army. The article is omitted with *μέσον,* because the expression in military language is already sufficiently definite. —— *οἱ μετὰ τούτων.* Haack thinks that these were the Œniadæ, but it appears from the following chapter, that this people joined them after the retreat from Stratus. Auxiliary forces of theirs is doubtless referred to, unless with Arnold we consider them the Perioeci of the Leucadian peninsula, which sort of inhabitants almost every town in Greece had in greater or less numbers. —— *ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἑωρῶντο, sometimes were out of one another's sight.* See N. on I. 65. 3 (end).

4. *διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες* (sc. *ἑαυτούς*) *being on their guard.* —— *ἐπιτηδείῳ.* See N. on II. 20. § 4. —— *ἀξιούμενοι—μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι, being esteemed the most warlike.* —— *οὔτ' ἐπέσχον,* sc. *ἑαυτούς.* —— *τὸ στρατόπεδον* which they had been directed, or were expected to occupy. —— *ῥύμῃ, with a rush, with headlong speed.* —— *αὐτοβοεί,* "*primo clamore atque impetu.*" Betant. *At the first onset.* —— *ἂν —ἑλεῖν.* See N. on II. 80. § 8. —— *τὸ ἔργον = the honor of the victory.*

5. *ἔτι προσιόντας, yet advancing.* So Haack: *antequam cursum absolvissent.* —— *μεμονωμένων, while thus alone,* i. e. separated from the other forces. —— *ὁμοίως,* i. e. with as much alacrity and boldness as before. —— *προλοχίζουσι—ἐνέδραις, beset—with ambuscades.* There is a partial pleonasm in these words, in respect to which, cf. Mt. § 636. p. 1144. —— *ἔκ τε τῆς....προσπίπτουσι, they joined battle with those from the city, and fell upon them from the ambuscades.*

6. *αὐτούς,* i. e. the Chaonians.

7. *τῶν....στρατοπέδων,* i. e. the right and left wings which were encamped at this time. —— *ἤσθετο τῆς μάχης.* S. § 192. 1. —— *διὰ....ἐπείγεσθαι, because they* (i. e. the Barbarians) *were far in advance, and they* (i. e. the Greeks) *thought that they had hurried on to occupy some encampment.* The true reason for the disorderly advance of the Chaonians was unknown to them.

8. *ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες, pressed upon them* (i. e. the Greeks) *in their flight.* *ἔγκειμαι* is more usually employed of a pursuing army. —— *αὐτούς,* i. e. the Chaonians. —— *ἐς χεῖρας—ἰόντων, coming to an en-*

gagement. —— *μήπω, not yet,* implies that efforts were making to rally the surrounding country to follow up the victory which the Stratians had gained over the Chaonians. —— *ὅπλων.* Some take this word in the sense of *ὁπλιτῶν* (cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 353. 1). I prefer, however, with Poppo, Arnold, and Bloomfield to take it in its usual sense, *armor*, especially their shields and defensive armor. —— *κινηθῆναι* to obtain their necessary supplies. —— *τοῦτο*, i. e. *τὸ σφενδονᾶν.*

CHAPTER LXXXII.

Cnemus retreats by night to the river Anapus, and thence to Œniadæ, from whence his allies return to their respective homes (§ 1).

1. *τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμόν.* This was a small stream flowing from the north-west into the Achelous, some distance below Stratus. The object of Cnemus, whose retreat Bloomf. pronounces to have been very able, was to place this stream between his army and the pursuing enemy. —— *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, the next day.* —— *Οἰνιαδῶν.* The retreat had brought the Peloponnesians near this people, who lived at the mouth of the Achelous, and who were at enmity with the Athenians. Cf. I. 111. § 3. —— *τὴν ξυμβοηθείαν* (of the Acarnanians). See N. on II. 80. § 1.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

At the same time with the battle at Stratus, the Corinthian fleet and that of their allies are compelled to come to an engagement with Phormio, who has been watching their voyage (§§ 1, 2); not supposing that the Athenians would hazard an engagement with a superior force, they are not well prepared for a sea-fight, and therefore, when they perceive the threatening demonstrations of the enemy, endeavor to cross over to the continent by night, but are compelled about midway in the passage to come to an engagement (§ 3); the Peloponnesian order of battle (§§ 4, 5).

1. The narrative is here resumed from II. 80. § 3. —— *ὅπως.... Ἀκαρνανες* by attraction (see N. on II. 80. § 1) for *ὅπως μὴ οἱ παρὰ θαλάσσῃ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ξυμβοηθῶσιν* (see N. on II. 80. § 1). The word *ἄνω* refers to motion from the coast up into the interior. See N. on II. 67. § 1.

2. *ὁ γὰρ ...ἐτήρει.* There is some obscurity in this passage resulting from *ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου*, which, if connected with *ἐτήρει*, as Haack supposes, and which the natural order of the words seems to justify, would make Phormio to have left Naupactus, and to have

sailed into the open sea, while the enemy was yet within the gulf, which seems to me to be incredible. Goel. gives to παραπλέοντας—ἔξω—ἐτήρει the pregnant sense παραπλέοντας καὶ πλέοντας ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου ἐτήρει, and supposes that it was the design of Phormio to prevent the egress of the enemy's fleet from the Crisæan gulf, which they were coasting along the southern shore to effect. But why then did Phormio suffer them to pass, as they did, through the straits into the open sea? Poppo would cut the Gordian knot by substituting ἔσω for ἔξω. It seems to me that the general sense is clear, and that from this we may evolve the meaning of the parts which are obscure. The Corinthian fleet coasted along the southern shore of the gulf, sailed through the narrows, and still continued to hug (as the sailors say) the same shore until they reached Patræ. As they passed along by Naupactus, the Athenians weighed anchor and sailed along the north-western shore, opposite to them, in order to watch their motions and seize a favorable opportunity to attack them, when they reached the open sea (ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι). Thus they passed through the narrows, and were outside of the inner gulf, coasting along opposite to each other, the Athenians keeping a close eye on their adversaries. Now instead of repeating all this, the historian has given us the relative position of the two fleets in the outer gulf, as descriptive of their movements and relative position from the time the Athenians left Naupactus. ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου belongs then in sense to both παραπλέοντας and ἐτήρει. The evidence that the Athenians were coasting along the north-western shore is contained in § 3, οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ὑφορμισάμενοι, by which it appears that the object was to conceal the place of their anchorage, and thus prevent the Athenians from knowing where to stop, so as to be opposite to them. —— βουλόμενος.... ἐπιθέσθαι. He desired sea-room on account of the numerical inferiority of his fleet. Cf. II. 89. § 8.

8. ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, = *with the expectation of a sea-fight.* —— στρατιωτικώτερον, "*rather as troop-ships.*" Liddell and Scott. ——.ἄν belongs to τολμῆσαι. —— αὐτοὺς refers to the Athenians. —— σφῶν κομιζομένων. Instead of this genitive absolute, we should have expected the nominative, inasmuch as it refers to the subject of ἑώρων (i. e. the Corinthians), but emphasis is promoted by the present construction (cf. K. § 313. 2). Render, *while they themselves were sailing along the shore.* —— Πατρῶν, *Patræ*, was an important port of Achaia, at the south-eastern shore of the outer gulf, nearly opposite Chalcis. It appears that the Corinthian fleet had coasted along as far as this place, and were passing over (διαβαλλόντων) to Acarnania, when they descried the Athenian fleet approaching them from Chalcis and the



...ρμ αὐτόθεν. —— ἐωμο
Ἀχαίους on a coast of the i
i. e. in consequence of the stat
asis began with ἐπειδή. See N

4. παρεσκευάζοντο. See N.

5. ὡς....ἦσαν, *as large as t*
on διέκπλοι, I. 49. § 3. —— τὰ
ποιοῦνται = *brought, put.* Cf. 1
ἐτάξατο from the preceding ἐτάξ
distance. It is difficult to see any
some, *at intervals.* The design o
aid wherever and whenever requi
being so stationed as to be near at

CHAPTER

The Athenians in a single line keep sailing aro
a smaller space (§ 1), being ordered by Phor
the signal, for he expected that the nauti
would soon throw them into disorder, especi
gulf (§ 2); it happened as he expected, and
utmost confusion, he gives the signal for the
the Athenians having erected a trophy retur
sail to Cyllene, where they are joined by Cn

1. κατὰ...

2. ἤλπιζε, *he expected.* —— τὰ πλοῖα, i. e. the small craft spoken of in II. 83. § 5. —— ὅπερ ἀναμένων, *waiting for which*, denotes another reason why he kept sailing around the enemy instead of immediately attacking them. —— οὐδένα....αὐτούς, *they would remain still* (i. e. in their respective positions) *no time at all.* These words and τὰ πλοῖα—παρέξειν are connected by τε in εἶτ'. In respect to taking the advantage of the wind, Bloomf. remarks that a similarly adroit manœuvre was practised by Themistocles at the battle of Salamis. Cf. Plut. Themist. ch. 14. —— τότε, *then*, when the wind arose. —— καλλίστην for the Athenians, because their ships being more skilfully manned and better constructed, would be less affected by the waves.

3. ὡς....κατῆει is well rendered by Arnold, *when the wind came down upon them and caught them.* —— τῶν τε πλοίων refers to the transports and small craft which lay in the centre. —— τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθοῦντο, *and were continually pushing each other's vessels off with poles.* —— βοῇ τε χρώμενοι—οὐδὲν κατήκουον, *by the noise of their shouting—they were unable to hear.* —— τῶν παραγγελλομένων refers to the orders of the officers, who had the general command of the ships, while τῶν κελευστῶν relates to the inferior officers, whose business it was to superintend the rowers, mark the time by the beating of a pole or hammer, and cheer them on by songs and words of exhortation. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 778. —— ὄντες *by being*, denotes the reason or cause. —— ἀναφέρειν depends on ἀδύνατοι. —— ἄνθρωποι ἄπειροι, *being men of inexperience.* —— ἀπειθεστέρας, *less manageable.* —— τότε....τοῦτον. See N. on I. 58. § 1. τότε δὴ begins the apodosis, the protasis having commenced with ὡς δὲ at the beginning of the section. —— σημαίνει refers to Phormio. —— χωρήσειαν, i. e. the Athenians. —— διέφθειρον. See N. on I. 29. § 4. —— κατέστησαν αὐτῶν, *effected that no one of them could turn to make resistance.* —— Δύμην, *Dyme*, which lay on the coast of the outer gulf, nearly west of Patræ.

4. ἐξ αὐτῶν....ἀνελόμενοι, *having taken on board* (their own ships) *the most of them.* Goel. remarks that the meaning *having killed* (adopted by some interpreters) would have required ἀνελόντες. —— Μολύκρειον, *Molycria*, lay S. W. of Naupactus, and near Antirrhium. belonged to Locris. Cf. Leake's North. Greece, I. p. 111; Kiepert's Map of Locris, etc. —— τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. Probably there was a temple of Neptune on this promontory.

5. δὲ καί, *and also.* —— Κυλλήνην, *Cyllene*, was situated on the promontory, where commences the entrance into the outer Corinthian gulf, nearly opposite to Zacynthus. —— Κῆμος. Cf. II. 82. § 1. —— αἱ ἐκεῖθεν νῆες. By a reference to II. 80. § 8, it will be seen that Leu-



The Lacedæmonians send out three perso angry and thinking it strange that their give orders to Cnemus to prepare for an for a reinforcement (§ 3); twenty ships stop at Crete, and ravage the territory of

1. δὲ καί. See N. on II. 84. of sending counsellors along with with the Lacedæmonians and the by the Romans. It must in many cial to success. —— Βρασίδαν. See ζεσθαι. Most of the editions have θαλάσσης. This was virtually th hindered them from making their i nian coast.

2. ἄλλως....πειρασαμένοις, *espe in naval warfare.* Reference is h in the Persian wars the Spartans h that time, however, their naval expe were compelled in the present conte as the only means of successfully op Athens. —— λείπεσθαι in skill. Cf. ority was not a matter of

Anab. I. 3. § 19. —— *ἣν ἐνίκησαν, which he had gained.* S. § 184. N. 1. —— *ὡς....ναυμαχήσειν, because he was in continual expectation every day of being brought to a battle;* literally, *because there was expectation*, etc.

5. *τῷ δὲ κομίζοντι* refers to the Athenian commander of the reinforcements, and not to Nicias of Gortyn, as Dukas supposes. *Γορτύνιος.* Gortyn was situated in the central part of Crete, a short distance S. E. of Mount Ida. There were three principal cities of Crete, viz. Gnossus, Gortyn, and Cydonia. This was a bad step, inasmuch as the greatest haste was demanded by the perilous situation of Phormio. —— *πρόξενος.* See N. on II. 29. § 1. —— *Κυδωνίαν.* This place lay on the northern coast of the western division of Crete. The Cydonians had not joined the Peloponnesian confederacy, but probably were well disposed towards it, since the Cretans were allied to the Doric family (cf. Müll. Dor. I. p. 34), by the original migration from the Doric settlement at the foot of Olympus, as well as by colonies from Peloponnesus, which in subsequent times spread over all Crete. Arnold well remarks, that mutual enmity would naturally exist between the Athenians and Cydonians, as many of the latter were Æginetan colonists who had settled there, Olymp. 65. 2. —— *προσποιήσειν, would bring over* to the Athenians.

6. *καὶ....ἀπλοίας, from winds and calms*, or perhaps *ἀπλοίας* may refer to the more general hindrances to navigation.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

While the events spoken of are taking place in Crete, the Peloponnesians coast along to Panormus, and Phormio taking his position at Antirrhium, they come to anchor at the opposite Rhium of Achaia (§§ 1–4); for several days both sides make preparations for battle, yet fear to hazard an engagement unless in a favorable sea (§ 5); the Spartan commanders wishing, however, to bring on a battle before any assistance could reach Phormio from Athens, assemble their men and arouse their courage by an address (§ 6).

1. *παρεσκευασμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, prepared for battle.* —— *Πάνορμον, Panormus.* This port, on a bay now called Tekiah (cf. Leake's Morea, III. p. 195), lay about 15 stadia beyond the promontory of Rhium as one sails into the inner gulf. It was nearly opposite to Naupactus. This movement of the Peloponnesian fleet was one of defiance, but Phormio, in no wise intimidated, coasted east-

ward, and took his position at Antirrhium directly opposite to them. —— *οὔπερ.* See N. on I. 134. § 4.

4. *ἐπὶ οὖν τῷ Ῥίῳ κ. τ. λ.* It appears from this that the Peloponnesians stopped a little short of Panormus, at Rhium. *ἐς Πάνορμον* may therefore be rendered *towards* or *near to Panormus.* —— *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,* sc. *ὁρμισαμένους.*

5. *μελετῶντες, practising.* —— *γνώμην ἔχοντες, having it in their mind, determining.* —— *οἱ μὲν* refers to the Peloponnesians, *οἱ δὲ* to the Athenians. The reason why it was for the advantage of the former to fight in the gulf, and for the latter to come to an engagement in the open sea, we learn from the speech of Phormio (II. 89. § 8). —— *πρὸς ἐκείνων = for their advantage.*

6. *ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων = from Athens.* Cf. Mt. § 429.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

The speaker commences with remarking that the result of the late battle should excite no alarm (§ 1); for it was the result of adverse circumstances combined with the inexperience of the party defeated (§ 2); this should not daunt men of courage, for whatever may be their reverses and disappointments the brave are always the same (§ 3); the skill of the foe unaccompanied by bravery will be useless amidst the terrors and alarms of battle (§ 4); to their skill must therefore be opposed valor (§ 5); moreover the Peloponnesians are superior in the number of their ships, are near a friendly coast where are their heavy-armed, so that in no respect does there appear to be any danger of defeat (§§ 6, 7); every one should therefore do his duty with alacrity and with full confidence that the commanders will plan well the battle, and administer suitable rewards and punishments (§§ 8, 9).

1. *οὐχὶ ἐκφοβῆσαι, furnishes no just ground to fear.* Matthiæ (§ 541) makes *τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι* the subject of *ἔχει,* of which Poppo says: "*recte ut videtur.*" Herm. (ad Soph. Aj. 114) makes it stand for *ὥστε ἐκφοβῆσαι.* This mode of construction is adopted by Haack, Goel., and Arnold, and is probably the true one. The infinitive is explanatory of *τέκμαρσιν,* showing what it is in respect to which there is no ground of fear. It properly has the relation to *τέκμαρσιν* of a substantive in the genitive. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 670.

2. *οὐχὶ—μᾶλλον ἤ, not—rather than = not—but rather, not so much—as.* —— *ἐς ἐπλέομεν.* Cf. *στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι,* II. 83. § 3. —— *τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης* and therefore not the subject of human foresight or control. Reference is had to the effect of the wind upon the close and circular order of the ships, spoken of in II.

84. § 3. —— καὶ πού τι, i. e. in some small degree. It would have been foreign to the ends of the speaker, to have admitted any great inferiority in the naval skill of the Peloponnesians.

3. οὐδὲ δίκαιον κ. τ. λ. This difficult passage has received many different interpretations. Poppo constructs τῆς γνώμης with ἀμβλύνεσθαι, and refers to II. 65. § 4. But Goel. denies that these passages are parallel, and says that the sense to be given here to ἀμβλύνεσθαι demands the construction with the dative. Bloomf. thinks that τῆς γνώμης is an error of the scribes for τῇ γνώμῃ or τὴν γνώμην. Arnold makes τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ—νικηθὲν answer to τῆς ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι, *nor should our spirit's unvanquishedness and confidence be dulled by the issue of the event.* In this interpretation τὸ—νικηθὲν is taken like τὸ δεδιὸς and τὸ θαρσοῦν, I. 36. § 1. But I prefer on the whole to take τὸ νικηθὲν in the sense of τοὺς νικηθέντας (cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 442. b), and to render it *those unbeaten in spirit, unvanquished in mind*, the genitive denoting that *in respect of which* the notion of τὸ νικηθὲν is affirmed. Cf. S. § 195. 1. —— ἀντιλογίαν is taken by Arnold in the sense of *defiance*, but may it not be rendered *plea, ground of defence*, in respect to their recent defeat by the enemy? —— ἀμβλύνεσθαι finds its subject in τὸ νικηθὲν (i. e. τοὺς νικηθέντας). —— νομίσαι. Repeat δίκαιον. —— ἐνδέχεσθαι is here employed impersonally (cf. I. 124. § 2; 140. § 1; 142. § 9; IV. 18. § 5), and τοὺς ἀνθρώπους is the subject of σφάλλεσθαι. Render, *that men are liable to be disappointed.* —— τοὺς αὐτούς, *the same.* —— ὀρθῶς is opposed to εἰκότως in the sense of ὥσπερ ὀρθῶς ἔχει (*as is right*). —— μὴ in καὶ μὴ belongs to γενέσθαι which depends upon νομίσαι. —— προβαλλομένους, *by pretending.*

4. ὑμῶν—ἡ ἀπειρία λείπεται is put by a varied construction for ὑμεῖς λείπεσθε ἀπειρίᾳ, *you do not fall so much* (τοσοῦτον) *below them in your want of skill.* —— τῶνδε, i. e. the Athenians. —— μνήμην, "*presence of mind.*" Bloomf. —— ἐπιτελεῖν depends on μνήμην ἕξει. Krüg. compares μεμνῆσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, Xen. Anab. III. 2. § 39.

5. ἀντιτάξασθε, *set off, balance against.* —— τὸ—τυχεῖν (sc. ὄντες) is the object of ἀντιτάξασθε to be repeated from the preceding member.

6. ὁπλιτῶν παρόντων. Cf. II. 86. § 1. —— ναυμαχεῖν (the article being omitted. Cf. Mt. § 542. p. 938) is the subject of περιγίγνεται, being connected to πλῆθος by τε—καί. —— τὰ δὲ πολλά. See N. on I. 13. § 1. —— τῶν—παρεσκευασμένων—ἐστίν. S. § 190; C. § 390.

7. ὥστε....σφαλλομένους, *so that in no one particular do we find any probability that we can fail.* For ἄν with the participle, cf. N. on I. 73. § 4. —— ὅσα is the accusative synedochical. —— αὐτὰ ταῦτα, i. e. the knowledge and correction of these faults. —— προσγενόμενα,

being added, i. e. the defect being remedied. Arnold quotes the verb, *τὰ παθήματα μαθήματα*, as illustrative of the sentiment o passage.

8. *κυβερνῆται* and *ναῦται* are in apposition with *ὑμεῖς*, the or subject of *ἔπεσθε*. —— *τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν*. See N. on II. 11. § 3.

9. *τῶν—ἡγεμόνων* depends on *χεῖρον*. The words *οὐ χεῖρον* (= *σον*) are used *per modestiam*, or perhaps, as Dukas thinks, o regard to the feelings of the previous commanders. —— *καὶ* *βουληθῇ* gives it emphasis, which as Arnold happily remarks, i the emphasis which we lay upon the auxiliary verb: *if any* s *choose to behave so*. —— *τιμήσονται* has the force of a passive Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 88.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Phormio seeing his men in danger of being dejected and losing their confidence in t periority over the enemy, calls them together and encourages them with an (§§ 1–3).

1. *ὅτι....ἐφοβοῦντο*. The order is: *ὅτι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς στάμενοι* (see N. on *κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γεγνόμενοι*, II. 21. § 2) *ἐφο το τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν* of the enemy. —— *ἐν τῷ παρόντι*, *on the sent occasion*, or *in the present circumstances*, in reference to *πρό* in the next section.

2. *ὡς* depends on *ἔλεγε*, the words *καὶ....γνώμας* being in a ner parenthetic. —— *οὐδὲν—πλῆθος—τοσοῦτον*, *no number so g* Cf. Mt. § 483. p. 805. —— *ὅ,τι....ἐστι*, *which* (= whose attack) *not be sustained by them*. *ὅ,τι* refers to *πλῆθος*. For the constru of the verbal, cf. S. § 178. N. —— *τὴν ἀξίωσιν* is explained by *μ* *....ὑποχωρεῖν*. The verb *ὑποχωρεῖν* here takes the accusative, its sense *to shun*, *to avoid* (see Jelf's Kühn. § 548. *Obs.* 2) derived its original sense, *to retire from*, *to give place to*, which takes the tive. —— *Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες*, *inasmuch as they were Athenians* = *as A ians*. This sense of naval supremacy had been fostered and strer ened ever since the time of Themistocles.

3. *ὄψιν*, *aspect* of things. —— *ὑπόμνησιν....θαρσεῖν*, *to re them of being courageous*, i. e. to excite their courage by remin *them of* the things which promise victory.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

The speaker begins by saying, that the Athenians have no just grounds of alarm neither on account of the numerical superiority of the enemy, nor their reputed bravery, since in the latter they are equal, and the Lacedæmonian allies are brought into battle, after so signal a defeat, against their wills (§§ 1–4); the confidence, which the Athenians exhibit in their readiness to fight the enemy when so greatly superior in numbers, is adapted to inspire them with fear (§§ 5, 6), and many armies have been defeated by an inferior force (§ 7); the speaker gives his reasons for preferring a battle in the open sea (§ 8); and professing his determination to take the most prudent measures, exhorts his men to maintain strict discipline, to stand firm, and charge bravely, inasmuch as the combat is one on which depends momentous results (§§ 10, 11).

1. *οὐκ ἀξιῶν.* See N. on I. 36. § 3. —— *ἐν ὀῤῥωδίᾳ ἔχειν, to be in dread.*

2. *οὗτοι* is here an expression of contempt. —— *μηδὲ—ὁμοῖοι, unequal* in skill and bravery. —— *τὸ πλῆθος* depends upon *παρεσκευάσαντο.* —— *οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου* refers to inequality of numbers. —— *ᾧ* = *τούτῳ ᾧ*, of which the antecedent is explained by *ὡς....εἶναι*, it being constructed as though preceded by *θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν* (cf. § 3 infra), and the relative depends on *πιστεύοντες.* It is unnecessary with some to suppose, that Phormio had learned what he here refers to from spies or deserters, since their superior bravery was a common boast in all the Lacedæmonian speeches. —— *ἄλλο τι* is used synecdochically. —— *κατορθοῦντες* is connected with *οἴονται*, as though it was written *ὅτι κατορθοῦσι καὶ οἴονται*, inasmuch as in these are contained the grounds of the Lacedæmonian confidence. There is, as Goel. remarks, a blending of two constructions, since two verbs or two participles would have been the more natural construction. In respect to *σφίσι*, I prefer with Goel. and Arnold to make it depend on *ποιήσειν*, the subject of which is either *τοῦτο ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, and that their boasted courage will do the same for them* (i. e. give them the same success) *by sea;* or *τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν*, which is Krüger's solution. —— *τὸ αὐτὸ* is to be referred to *τὸ κατορθοῦν* elicited from *κατορθοῦντες.*

3. Krüg. after Bloomf. in his earlier edition refers *τὸ δ'* to *τὸ κατορθοῦν* in *τὸ αὐτό*, but Goel. with the approbation of Poppo, Arnold, and Bloomf. in his later edition, refers it to *ᾧ....προσέρχονται*, on the ground that if it had referred to *τὸ κατορθοῦν*, it would have been followed by *ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότως* and not *ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου.* —— *περιέσται.* See N. on I. 144. § 3. —— *τούτοις* refers to the Lacedæmonians, and *ἐν ἐκείνῳ* = *ἐν τῷ πεζῷ.* The verb *περίεστι* is to be supplied in this

clause from *πιριέσται*. —— *τῷ....ἐσμεν* = *τῷ δέ, ὅτι ἑκάτεροί τι ἐμπειρότεροί ἐσμεν, θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν*. Goel. *ἐμπειρότεροι* is in the nominative by attraction. See N. on II. 42. § 4. The argument of this whole passage may be thus stated: we have juster grounds of confidence now (i. e. on the eve of a naval battle) than they have, just as they might be expected to excel us in confidence if the approaching battle was a land-engagement, inasmuch as they do not excel us in natural bravery, and in whatever we both (i. e. Athenians and Lacedæmonians) are the more skilful, in that we are the more brave. As the Athenians were confessedly the more skilful and experienced in naval warfare, it followed from the reasoning here adopted, that they would be the bravest in sea-fights.

4. *διὰ....δόξαν* is to be constructed with *προσάγουσι*, and not with *ἡγούμενοι*, which would be very flat and inapposite. The design is to show that the Lacedæmonian allies could not be expected to fight bravely, being dragged into battle, as they were, to uphold the glory of the leading power. —— *ἐπεί, since otherwise*. In the idea of *ἄλλως* thus residing in *ἐπεί*, lies the omitted protasis, *εἰ μὴ ἄκοντας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσῆγον*. —— *παρὰ πολὺ* is to be taken with *ἡσσηθέντες*.

5. *μὴ—δείσητε*. S. § 218. 3. —— *ἄν* belongs to *ἀνθίστασθαι*. —— *μὴ....πράξειν, unless being about to do something very great* (literally, *something equivalent to what is very great*). This explanation regards *τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ* as a substantive, which seems to me better than with Poppo to supply *πράσσειν*, or with Goel. and Bloomf. *προνενικηκέναι*, or to read *ἄξιον τοῦ*. Cf. K. § 244. 11; S. § 169. 1.

6. *ἀντίπαλοι....οὗτοι*. Goel. constructs *οἱ πλείους ἀντίπαλοι* (*ὄντες*) *ὥσπερ οὗτοι*. I prefer, however, with Poppo, to construct *ὥσπερ οὗτοι* with the following words, which gives this sense, *for most men, when equally matched* (even), *relying as these do* (who are greatly our superior in numbers) *upon their physical power, rather than upon their skill and prudence* (*τῇ γνώμῃ*), *come to an engagement*. —— *οἱ δ'*, sc. *ἐπερχόμενοι, but those who come*. —— *ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων, with greatly inferior forces* (as we do now), is opposed to *ἀντίπαλοι*. —— *μέγα....βέβαιον, some very great firmness of mind*. —— *ἅ*, i. e. *ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων—ἀντιτολμῶσιν*. —— *οὗτοι* refers to the Lacedæmonians. —— *τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι* = *on account of the improbability* that we should advance against them with such a force. —— *κατὰ λόγον were in proportion* to the present exigency.

7. *ἤδη*. See N. on II. 77. § 4. —— *ὧν....μετέχομεν*. Poppo remarks that the argument to have been in point, should have been *utrumque autem vitium in illos* (Peloponnesios) *cadit*. But is not this implied in the words taken in their connection?

8. ἑκὼν εἶναι, *willingly, if I had my choice.* Cf. S. § 223. 9. —— ναυσὶν limits ξυμφέρει. —— ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειε, *could sail up.* Opposed to this is ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν. The protasis is μὲν ἔχων, *unless he has.* S. § 225. 6. See N. on I. 71. § 6. —— ἐκ πολλοῦ, *from a distance.* —— ἐν δέοντι, *at the necessary time, opportunely.* —— διέκπλοι. See N. on I. 49. § 3. —— ἀναστροφαί. This word expresses the backward motion of a ship, after having charged the opposing ship with its beak, in order to gain space to give impetus to another charge. —— νεῶν depends on ἐστίν.

9. τούτων depends on τὴν πρόνοιαν. —— κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. See N. on I. 53. § 4. —— τά τε....δέχεσθε. See N. on II. 11. § 9. —— δι' οὔσης, "*as we are watching one another's movements at so short a distance.*" Arnold. I would prefer: *as the enemy is watching us*, etc. —— ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, *in the action.*

10. τὴν ἐλπίδα is here followed by two genitives, *the hope of the Peloponnesians of a navy*, i. e. the hopes entertained by the Peloponnesians of raising a navy. The clauses ἢ καταλῦσαι and ἢ καταστῆσαι, illustrate the magnitude of the contest by expressing its obvious result. —— ἐγγυτέρω καταστῆσαι, *to bring nearer.*

11. ἀναμιμνήσκω δ' αὖ refers to ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας, *the contest is great —but again* (cf. § 2) *I will remind you.* —— ἀνδρῶν limits αἱ γνῶμαι. —— οὐκ εἰθέλουσιν, *are not accustomed = cannot.* —— ὁμοῖαι in respect to their former bravery and confidence.

CHAPTER XC.

The Peloponnesians sail towards their territory within the gulf, with their right wing in advance in order to inclose Phormio (§§ 1, 2), who fearing that their design is to attack Naupactus, coasts along his own shore (§ 3); the Peloponnesians suddenly turn upon the Athenian fleet, hoping to inclose the whole (§ 4); eleven, however, make their escape, and the rest are run ashore and their crews in part slaughtered (§ 5); some of their ships the Peloponnesians succeed in drawing off (§ 6).

1. οὐκ....στενά. In respect to the position of the Athenian fleet, cf. II. 86. § 2; and of the Peloponnesian, cf. II. 86. § 4. τὰ στενὰ refers to the straits between Rhium and Antirrhium, by which the Crissæan gulf was connected with the sea, or rather the inner with the outer gulf. —— ἄκοντας. See II. 89. § 8. —— ἀναγόμενοι. See N. on ἀνήγοντο, I. 48. § 1. —— ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, *with four ships abreast.* Matthiæ (§ 584. 2) translates *four deep*, which is evidently incorrect. —— ἐπὶ



the general direction was towards Corin
the greater part of the fleet belonged,
along their own shore instead of sailing
Their direction is still further defined by
the gulf. —— δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἡγουμένῳ, *the r*
the circumstantial or modal dative. H
ward, the left wing would have taken t
μονν, i. e. in the same relative position in

2. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ, i. e. upon the right w
direction towards Naupactus. —— νομίσα
Peloponnesians were not sailing directly t
their course and design would have been
ledge. See N. on § 1. —— μὴ....κέρως, i
might not escape their charge [by sailing
πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν is not pleonastic, bu
expression, *the charge made with full sail*
compares it with the *belli impetus navigavi*

3. ὁ δέ, i. e. Phormio. —— χωρίῳ, i. e. N
N. on II. 4. § 4. —— ἀναγομένους. See N. o
σπουδήν, *unwillingly and with speed*, i. e. I
leave his advantageous position and sail i
obliged to do it, and that too in great hast
Naupactus. Cf. I. 103. § 3.

4. κατὰ....κέρως, *in column one by one*,
another in single line. See N. on II. 84. §
the land

6. *ἀναδούμενοι*. See N. on I. 50. § 1. —— *κενὰς* of men, since *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν* is opposed to it. —— *τὰς δέ τινας, but some.* A part only of the ships captured by the enemy were at this time recovered, as appears from I. 92. § 2. —— *ἑλκομένας ἤδη, when they were already being towed away* by the Lacedæmonians. This brave and daring act of the Messenians is worthy of all praise, as it was performed in circumstances where the odds were entirely in favor of the enemy. Their ancient wrongs from the hands of the Lacedæmonians were no doubt remembered, when they plunged into the water, boarded the ships, and fought with such fury from the decks.

CHAPTER XCI.

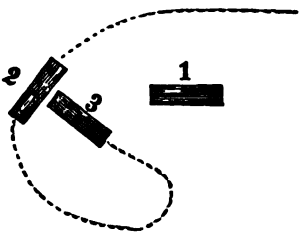
The right wing of the Peloponnesians gives chase to the Athenian ships which had escaped, but they all with one exception reach Naupactus, and form in line to resist the enemy (§ 1); these coming up too late, sing notwithstanding the pæan of victory, when the Athenian vessel which had fallen behind, by a bold and skilful manœuvre sinks the pursuing vessel (§§ 2, 3); by which unexpected occurrence the Peloponnesians are thrown into a state of consternation and consequent confusion (§ 4).

1. *ταύτῃ, hac parte.* —— *αἱ....αὐτῶν.* Cf. II. 90. § 2. —— *ὑπεξέφυγον....εὐρυχωρίαν* (see N. on II. 90. § 5). There is a prægnans constructio in *ἐς* (see N. on I. 18. § 2) = *they escaped the wheel* (of the Lacedæmonian ships) *and reached the wide part* of the gulf (see N. on II. 90. § 5). —— *φθάνουσιν αὐτοὺς—προκαταφυγοῦσαι ἐς τὴν Ναυπάκτον*, i. e. the Athenian ships outsailed their pursuers and reached Naupactus first. —— *μιᾶς νεὼς* referred to in § 2 infra. —— *ἴσχουσαι....ἀμυνούμενοι, lying at anchor under the temple of Apollo with their prows towards* [the enemy], *they made preparations to defend themselves.* The participle after *παρασκευάζω* is frequently accompanied by *ὡς*.

2. *ὕστερον, too late* to cut off the retreat of the Athenians to Naupactus, or to reach them before they came to anchor under the town. —— *ἐπαιώνιζόν τε ἅμα πλέοντες, began to sing the pæan while they were sailing.* How prematurely this was done will appear in the sequel. —— *τὴν μίαν* spoken of in § 1. —— *πολὺ πρό, far before.* —— *τῶν ἄλλων* of the Lacedæmonian ships.

3. *μετέωρος, in the sea*, in the deep water just outside of the haven. *περὶ ἣν* is to be taken with *ἐμβάλλει*, although some may prefer to construct it with *φθάσασα, around which the Athenian ships sailing first.* In some editions we find *φθάσασα καὶ περιπλεύσασα*, but the

reading of Dindorf seems preferable, as more accordant with brevity of Thucydides, and the full idea may be elicited easily fi *φθάσασα* taken as a *vox prægnans*. —— *ἡ Ἀττικὴ ναῦς*. According Polyæn. III. 4. § 8, this ship belonged to Phormio and was the P lus. The manœuvre was certainly executed by a master spirit. – *ἐμβάλλει....καταδύει, strikes in the midst* (i. e. midship) *and sinks* The position of the ships in relation to the merchantman is not ea understood from this passage. It seems to me, however, that Leucadian ship was struck while in the act of doubling the merch vessel in pursuit of the Athenian ship. The latter, instead of conti ing to sweep in a circle around the stationary vessel, turned sh and by the impetus obtained from the previous sweep, struck the L cadian ship on the side, as it was turning in the wake of the retreat ship. The following diagram will explain the manner in which manœuvre was executed:



1. Merchantman. 2. Peloponnesian ship. 3. Athenian ship.

4. *ἀτάκτως διώκοντες*. Deeming their victory secure, the Pelop nesian ships were pursuing in a somewhat disorderly manner, wl this sudden reverse happened to them. —— *ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ*. § 197. 2; K. § 271. 2. —— *ἀξύμφορον....ἀντεξόρμησιν, thus doing very prejudicial thing, on account of* (literally, *in respect to*) *the att being about to be made upon them from so short a distance* by Athenians. Such seems to be the sense, which I could not well press clearly in a less periphrastic translation. *δρῶντες* and *βουλόμε* conform to the gender implied in *αἱ μέν*, i. e. the ships. It is qu common to predicate of ships, actions which belong to the men w navigate them. See N. on I. 49. § 8. —— *τὰς πλείους, the main bo* of the Peloponnesian fleet. —— *ἀπειρίᾳ χωρίων*. The ships were na gated probably by foreigners (cf. I. 143. § 1), and therefore had v few good pilots, or perhaps they were so panic-struck by the sudd and awful fate of the Leucadian ship, as to run upon the shoals wi *out thought* or consideration.

CHAPTER XCII.

The Athenians now rush forth with a shout upon the Peloponnesians, and pursuing them as they attempt to escape to Panormus, take six ships and recover all their own (§§ 1, 2); the captain of the ship which was sunk, kills himself (§ 3); both the Athenians and Peloponnesians erect trophies, after which the latter sail towards Corinth, and the former are reinforced by twenty ships (§§ 4–7).

1. *ἀπὸ ἑνὸς κελεύσματος*, *with one shout*, i. e. all at once. —— *οἱ δέ*, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. —— *ἐτράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον*, *turned to Panormus*, by prægnans constructio (see N. on I. 18. § 2) = *turned and fled to Panormus*. It is probable that the left wing and centre of the Peloponnesian fleet took no part in the engagement, not being able to keep up with the twenty fast-sailing vessels stationed on the right wing (cf. II. 90. § 2). The rout of this right wing and the loss of the six ships, must have followed speedily upon the destruction of the Leucadian vessel.

2. *ἐκεῖνοι*, i. e. the Peloponnesians. —— *πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες*. Cf. II. 90. § 5. —— *ἀπέκτειναν* refers to the Athenians.

3. *Τιμωκράτης*. Cf. II. 85. § 1. —— *ἐξέπεσεν*, *was carried* by the wind and current.

4. *ὅθεν* (= *ἐκεῖ ὅθεν*) *ἀναγόμενοι ἐκράτησεν*. Cf. II. 91. § 1. —— *ὅσα....ἦν*. Cf. *τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς*, I. 54. § 2. —— *τὰ ἐκείνων* refers mainly to *τοὺς νεκροὺς* (= *τὰ σώματα*).

5. *τροπαῖον....διέφθειραν*. The order is according to the Schol. *τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες* (*ἕνεκεν*) *τῆς τροπῆς τῶν νεῶν* (see N. on I. 88. § 2) *ἃς πρὸς τῇ γῇ διέφθειραν*. Krüg. makes *τῆς τροπῆς* to depend on *τροπαῖον*, and so also Poppo, who puts *τροπαῖον τροπῆς* for *μνημεῖον τροπῆς*. This is the better construction, as it dispenses with the necessity of supplying a preposition with *τροπῆς*. —— *ἥνπερ ἔλαβον ναῦν*. Cf. II. 90. § 6. —— *ἀνέθεσαν*. See Ns. on I. 13. § 6; 132. § 2. The dedication of the ship was made to Neptune, who had a temple there. Cf. II. 84. § 4. —— *τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν*, i. e. on the Achæan side of the straits.

6. *ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. See N. on II. 86. § 6.

7. *οἱ—Ἀθηναῖοι* (cf. II. 85. §§ 5–6) is the subject of *ἀφικνοῦνται* —— *αἷς ἔδει*. The accusative was employed in II. 83. § 1. Here however we may supply *αὐτοὺς* with *παραγενέσθαι*, which is the more natural construction. Cf. Mt. § 391. 2.

CHAPTER XCIII.

The Peloponnesians plan an attack upon Piræus by proceeding from Corinth across to Athenian sea, and with the ships lying at Nysæa, sailing to Piræus which was unguard there being no apprehension of any attack (§§ 1–3); the plan is in part carried into exe tion, but no attack is made upon Piræus (§ 4).

1. διαλῦσαι is to be taken actively, the subject αὐτοὺς referring the commanders being supplied. —— διὰ....ναυτικῷ, *on account their great naval superiority.* They had no apprehension of an atta from those who could hardly keep the sea in their own parts.

2. λαβόντα....κώπην. Arnold cites this in proof that the oar w worked only by one man, and not by several, as some imagine. — τὸ ὑπηρέσιον, *the cushion*, or *seat-cover*, on which the rower sat, prevent himself from sliding, as he would, on the bare seat ma smooth by long use. Cf. Bloomf. —— τὸν τροπωτῆρα, *the leathe loop*, or *thong*, by which the oars were kept in their place in the sid of the ship.——αὐτῶν refers to the Megareans.

3. ἂν in μὴ ἂν implies a condition not expressed, as μή, εἰ ἐπιπλε σειαν, ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν ἄν. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. §§ 810. 81 *c;* Mt. § 520. p. 888. —— τολμῆσαι depends on προσδοκία in the pr ceding member, from which it is easy to elicit προσεδόκων or προσεδ χοντο. Cf. Mt. § 537. p. 932; Jelf's Kühn. § 889. —— καθ' ἡσυχία *deliberately.* —— διενοῦντο, sc. πολέμιοι. Commentators generally fe the want of οὔτε λάθρα in the place of οὐδέ, as being opposed to οὐ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, and Dukas does not hesitate to supply with εἰ δ νοοῦντο, the words λάθρα καὶ ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεῦσαι. But this too harsh an ellipsis, and one which could not well be conceived fro the preceding context. It seems to me that the difficulty may b removed by conceiving the sense to be this: a sudden attack of th enemy was not to be expected, since a force adequate to take such place could not be brought against it secretly or suddenly; and deliberate and concerted attack could not be made, without its bein known by the Athenians long enough beforehand to enable them t be ready to meet and repel it. προαισθέσθαι I would then take in th sense, *to know beforehand*, so that adequate preparations for th defence of the place might be made.

4. ὡς....εὐθύς, i. e. ὡς καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐχώρουν εὐθύς, *as soon a they had determined on this they forthwith set out.* For this transpo sition of καί, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 761. 3. —— ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος. Repea

ἔπλεον. —— τὸ ἀκρωτήριον....ὁρῶν, *the promontory facing Megara.* It was called Budorus. —— τοῦ—ἐσπλεῖν denotes the object or purpose of the guard-ships. —— κενὰς of their crews. —— ἀπροσδοκήτοις refers to τοῖς Σαλαμινίοις implied in τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

CHAPTER XCIV.

The Athenians being warned of the enemy's approach by fire-signals, are greatly alarmed, and fit out a fleet with all haste for Salamis, leaving their land forces to defend Piræus (§§ 1, 2); but the Peloponnesians, on hearing of this, immediately set sail for Nisæa, and thence proceed to Megara and so to Corinth (§ 3); the Athenians take precautionary measures for the defence of Piræus (§ 4).

1. ἐς....πολέμιοι, *but fire-signals of the enemy's approach were raised towards Athens.* πολέμιοι is an adjective belonging to φρυκτοί, *war-signals, alarm-beacons.* Cf. III. 22. § 7. In like manner they had their φρυκτοὶ φίλιοι. —— οὐδεμιᾶς....ἐλάσσων (i. e. οὐκ ἐλάσσων μιᾶς), *less than no one* (= greater than any) *which happened in the war.* See N. on I. 91. § 5 (end). ——οἱ μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. A similar fear is described in VIII. 92. —— ὅσον οὐκ, *almost, all but;* literally, *as far as not,* i. e. just as much as not to do a thing. —— εἰ.... κατοκνῆσαι, *if they had not been afraid;* literally, "*if they had been disposed not to have hesitated.*" Bloomf. —— For the repetition of ἂν before ἐγένετο, see N. on I. 76. § 4. —— οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσε, *and the wind would not have hindered them* (cf. II. 93. § 4). This is added to show that the adverse wind would have proved no hinderance, if their courage had been equal to the enterprise.

3. ὡς....βοήθειαν, *when they perceived the approaching succor.* ἤσθοντο = *saw with their eyes,* and is therefore followed by the accusative. Cf. K. § 273. R. 18. —— καταδραμόντες, *having overrun, laid waste.* —— τὰς τριῆρις. Cf. II. 93. § 4. —— κατὰ τάχος, *quickly.* —— ἔστι—ὅ,τι, *somewhat* (literally, *there was in respect to which.* See N. on I. 65. § 3), qualifies ἐφόβουν. —— καὶ before νῆες is *also,* and gives an additional reason why they set sail so speedily. —— διὰ χρόνου, *a long time.* —— πεζοί, *by land.*

4. οὐκέτι....Σαλαμῖνι, *finding them no longer at Salamis.* —— λιμένων depends upon κλήσει.

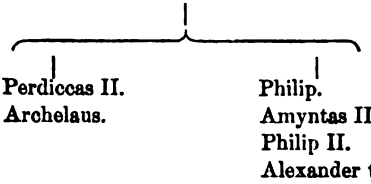
CHAPTER XCV.

Sitalces undertakes an expedition against Perdiccas, partly because the Macedonian prince had broken his promise made to the Odrysian king, and partly because of the promise made by the latter to the Athenians, to bring to a conclusion the Chalcidian war in Thrace (§§ 1, 2); for these reasons he resolves upon the invasion in question, and takes with him Amyntas the son of Philip to place upon the Macedonian throne (§ 3).

1. Σιτάλκης ὁ Τήρεω. See the genealogical table of the royal family of Odrysæ, II. 29. § 2. —— Περδίκκαν. See N. on I. 57. § 3. —— δύο ὑποσχέσεις conforms in case to τὴν μὲν—τὴν δέ, on the principle that the noun denoting the whole, is sometimes put in the same case as its parts. Cf. Mt. §§ 289. *Obs.* 8; 319. *Obs.*; K. § 266. 3. Hence there is no grammatical necessity of retaining διά, which is found in some editions before δύο ὑποσχέσεις. —— ἀναπρᾶξαι, *to exact, enforce the fulfilment of.* This refers to the promise made to Sitalces, and not to the one made by him.

2. γὰρ introduces an explanation of the two promises referred to in the preceding section. —— ὑποσχόμενος. We are not told what this promise made by Perdiccas was, but the conjecture of the Schol. is perhaps the true one, χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα. —— διαλλάξειεν ἑαυτόν. Cf. II. 29. § 6. —— Φίλιππον—μὴ καταγάγοι. See N. on I. 57. § 3. —— αὐτός, i. e. Sitalces. —— ὅτε....καταλύσειν (cf. II. 29. § 5). This is the promise which he himself was now to fulfil.

3. Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν. It would seem from this, that Philip was now dead, and that his son followed up his claims to the appanage of Upper Macedonia. The following genealogical table will help to explain the two branches of the royal family of Macedonia.



—— ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, *in order to place him upon the throne.* —— ἔδει, i. e. it was so engaged on their part. —— ὡς πλείστην, *as large as possible.*

CHAPTER XCVI.

This chapter contains a list of the tribes, which were under the sway of Sitalces, and followed him on this expedition. It is an interesting geographical sketch, yet replete with difficulties, inasmuch as the boundaries of these people were perpetually shifting, as conquest or defeat enlarged or diminished their respective territories. This will account in part for the apparently conflicting statements of those who have undertaken to define the limits of these states and countries. Some of these tribes too, were so migratory and unsettled in their places of abode, that it were as easy a task, to establish the exact locality and boundaries of our most uncivilized Indian tribes. The most which can be done in such cases is to give the general locality, and leave the specific boundaries to be determined, if ever, when the light of the splendid geographical researches, which are now being made, shall shine back upon the dark points of ancient geography, and enable us to discover in part at least what now lies hidden from our view.

1. *ἀνίστησιν, he summoned* to the expedition. —— *ἐντὸς*....*Ῥοδόπης*, between Mount Hæmus and Mount Rhodope. This valley was drained by the Hebrus, now called Marissa. —— *ὅσων ἦρχε, as many as were subject to him.* —— *μέχρι Θαλάσσης* is explained by *ἐς*.... *Ἑλλήσποντον.* —— *τοὺς*....*πόντου.* The country here spoken of is what is now called Bulgaria, lying between the Balkan (i. e. Mount Hæmus) and the Danube (i. e. the Ister). *ὑπερβάντι, to one going over* = *over.* The use of *μᾶλλον* will appear in the translation, *and as many other parts as are inhabited within the Ister* (and Mount Hæmus) *and more* (*μᾶλλον*) *towards the Euxine sea* (than those parts in the interior). It seems from this that the Getæ did not touch upon the Euxine. They occupied the country north and south of the Ister, the northern division being by far the more uncivilized. Although they are particularized by another name, from their having acquired a character different from the rest of the nation, yet they belonged to the Thracian race. Cf. Müll. Dor. I. p. 478. —— *τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου* is annexed to *Θάλασσαν*, because *πόντος* with *Εὔξεινος* is often taken for the region bordering on the sea, and the expression is here = *the sea* [viz.] *that of the Pontus Euxinus country* = *the Euxine sea.* Bloomf. however, takes *Θάλασσαν* in the sense of *sea-coast*, which is a use of the expression quite common, even in our language. Still I prefer the other explanation. —— *κατῴκητο.* See N. on I. 120. § 2. —— *οἱ ταύτῃ ὅμοροι* refers also to *ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη.* —— *τοῖς Σκύθαις.* The Scythians here referred to are those beyond the Ister, although I formerly thought that reference was had to a tribe of that people, living in the region made by the great bend of that river, as it flows northward and then eastward into the sea.

2. *τῶν ὀρεινῶν*....*αὐτονόμων.* Poppo (Proleg. II. p. 406) gives us

the names of some of these independent mountaineers, the Dii, B
sæ, Satræ, Odemanti, and Dersæi. —— μαχαιροφόρων (cf. VII. 9
§ 1). Bloomf. remarks that the *long sword* (= Highland *lochma*
was the usual weapon of the Asiatic mountaineers. —— τοὺς μ
μισθῷ ἕπεσθεν. Like the Swiss of Europe, these mountaineers see
to have been ready to enter any one's service for pay. In VII. 9
§ 1, we find that 1300 of these mercenaries accompanied the army
Demosthenes into Sicily.

3. Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους. The Agrianes were the most northe
of all the Pæonian tribes, and dwelt in the country about Mount Rh
dope and the sources of the Strymon. The Læœans lived farth
down the Strymon, by which river their territory was divided. The
on the east bank were subject to the Odrysian power, while those
the west bank were independent. Thus the Strymon here formed t
western boundary of Odrysia. There is a difficulty, however, if
διὰ Γραικῶν is meant *through the territories of the Graœans*, for
these people are declared to be independent (cf. ἔσχατοι....Παιόνω
the Strymon could not have been the western boundary of Odrys
as Thucydides asserts in οὗ ἀρχή. But διὰ....ῥεῖ may signify, *flo
between the territory of the Graœans and the Læœans*, and then all
clear, the eastern bank being inhabited by the subjected Læœans, a
the western bank by the Læœans (not subject), and by the Graœa
If, however, διὰ is to be taken, as Poppo contends, in the sense
through the territories of the Graœans and the Læœans, then the on
way to reconcile the conflicting statements, is to regard the Strym
as forming the western boundary of Odrysia as far as pertains to t
country of the former. Arnold on the authority of certain MS
reads μέχρι γὰρ Γραικῶν καὶ Λαιαίων Παιόνων, but not to say that t
reading is quite conjectural, I cannot see that the difficulty is remov
thereby. —— οὗ is referred by some to ποταμοῦ, but Poppo refers
in the sense of *ubi*, to the Graœans and Læœans. If διὰ is to be re
dered *between* it is better to refer οὗ to ποταμοῦ, but if the prepositi
signifies *through*, then Poppo's reference is the correct one. ——
πρός, *on the side towards*. —— ἤδη. See N. on III. 96. § 1.

4. Τριβαλλούς. According to Gatterer (who is cited largely
Poppo in his Proleg., and to whom I am indebted for many of t
views here given), the Tribelli formed a part of the western bounda
of the Odrysians, beginning from the river Oscius, and extending
far west as Illyria, along the right bank of the Ister. This great ter
tory was probably inhabited, in part, by other nations subject to the
or else independent. —— Τρῆρες—Τιλαταῖοι. These people formed t
north-western portion of the Odrysian empire, as appears from wh

follows. It may here be remarked, that the Mount Scomius or Scombros (as some read Σκόμβρου instead of Σκομίου) of Thucydides belongs to the great range of Hæmus as one of its summits, and which as Col. Leake says (North. Greece, III. p. 474) sends tributaries to all the great rivers of the northern part of European Turkey, being the most central part of the continent, and nearly equidistant from the Euxine, the Ægæan, the Adriatic, and the Danube. It may be remarked also that here the four great mountain-ranges meet in a centre, forming, as Arnold remarks, nearly a St. George's cross. The Oscius, now called Morava, flows from the south into the Danube a little below Belgrade. —— Νέστος. This river, now called Karasou, is east of the Strymon, and rising in the Rhodope mountains, flows into the sea nearly opposite Thasos. —— ὁ Ἕβρος, *the Hebrus.* See N. on § 1 supra. —— ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, i. e. Scomius.

CHAPTER XCVII.

In this chapter the historian proceeds to give an idea of the power of Sitalces, from the extent of his dominions, and the revenue and military resources at his command.

1. ἐπὶ....καθήκουσα, *extending along the sea-coast.* —— Ἀβδήρων. Abdera was on the western boundary of Thrace, at the mouth of the Nestus (cf. II. 96. § 4). It was noted for the stupidity of its inhabitants, although it was the birth-place of some distinguished men. —— τὸν....ποταμοῦ. The article gives the sense, *as far along the sea as the river Ister = to where the Ister flows into the sea.* —— περίπλους (adjective) ἐστίν, *can be sailed around.* —— ἡ γῆ refers to the coast from Abdera to the Ister. —— τὰ ξυντομώτατα, *by the nearest way.* —— ἢν....πνεῦμα, *if the wind blows continually upon the stern = if the wind is constantly fair.* —— νηὶ στρογγύλῃ, *by a ship of burthen* These ships had flat bottoms and were propelled mainly by sails. Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 877. According to Herodot. IV. 86, a day's voyage of one of these vessels was 700 stadia, and a night's voyage was 600 stadia. This would make the distance here spoken of 5200 stadia, or about 566 English miles. The distance from the mouth of the Ister to that of the Bosphorus is full three degrees or 221 miles. The length of the Bosphorus is 16 miles, of the Propontis 120 miles, and of the Hellespont 60 miles, to which if 90 miles be added, the distance from the mouth of the Hellespont to Abdera, it

makes 286 miles, and this added to 210 gives the whole distance 496 miles. As no vessel could coast along in a direction entirely straight, this estimated distance may be safely increased by 50 miles, and as much allowance must be made for the inaccuracy of a calculation based on so uncertain a thing as the sailing of a ship, the estimate is as near to that made by Thucydides as could be expected. For the substance of this note, I am indebted to Arnold. For the construction of *τεσσάρων....νυκτῶν*, cf. S. § 196. —— *ἀδῷ*, *by land*, is opposed to *περίπλους*, and is the dative of manner. —— *ἐνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ*. The distance travelled in a day by a person on foot, is set down by Herodot. IV. 101, at 200 stadia, or 21.75 miles. This would make the distance from Abdera, across the country to the mouth of the Ister, 239.25 miles. The actual distance, however, is upwards of 280. Some allowance, as Arnold remarks, is to be made for the epithet *εὔζωνος*, which shows that something more than ordinary speed was intended.

2. *τὰ μὲν πρὸς θάλασσαν*. See N. on *ἐπὶ....καθήκουσα*, § 1. —— *ἀπὸ....Στρυμόνα*, i. e. from the eastern to the western extremity of the country. —— *ταύτῃ*, i. e. in the direction just mentioned. —— *ἄνω*. See N. on II. 83. § 1. —— *διὰ πλείστου*. See N. on II. 29. § 2. —— *ἡμερῶν—τριῶν καὶ δέκα*. Why the number of days' journey should be larger, when the distance was far less between the places here mentioned, than between Abdera and the mouth of the Ister, is not easily seen, unless they were shorter in consequence of the difficulties of the way.

3. *ὅσον προσῆξαν ἐπὶ Σεύθου* (cf. II. 29. § 2), *as much as accrued* (literally, *as they brought in*) *in the reign of Seuthes*. The form *προσῆξα* is rare. Cf. Soph. Gr. Verbs, p. 76. —— *δύναμις*, *worth*, *value*, is the predicate of *ἐστι* to be supplied with *φόρος*. —— *ἀ....εἴη*, *as much of it as might be gold or silver*. The optative is employed because the annual revenue is spoken of, and not that of any particular year. Cf. Mt. § 527; R. § 333. 4. —— *δῶρα....προσεφέρετο*. In the oriental nations much of the revenue was made up of gifts. Diodorus says that the revenue of Sitalces (he should have said Seuthes) was 1000 talents. This harmonizes with the statement of Thucydides, that the revenue of Seuthes in gold and silver was 400 talents, his gifts in gold and silver as much more, and the remaining 200 talents may be included in the *ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα*. —— *τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσι*, *those who ruled with* (= held power under) *the king*, *those who were in authority*. I like this better than the usual translation, *those who had influence with the king*.

4. *τοὐναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας*, *the contrary to that of the*

Persian kingdom. The contrariety consisted in the habit of giving rather than receiving presents, the former being the custom of the Persian the latter of the Thracian kings. —— ὅμως....ἐχρήσαντο, *but notwithstanding* [that all the Thracians practise this] *they* (i. e. the Odrysians) *practise it more on account of their power* (διὰ τὴν δύναμιν. Schol. "Recte." Poppo). ὅμως δὲ responds to ὅντα μέν. —— οὐ δῶρα, *for unless one gave presents it was impossible to effect any thing.* Cf. Xen. Anab. VII. 3. § 16.

5. ὥστε, *so that* (ecbatic. See N. on I. 65. § 1), denotes the result of their extent of country and great revenue, and must not be limited to what was said about the Thracian custom of receiving gifts, since that could not have raised the kingdom to great power. —— ἐπὶ μέγα —ἰσχύος. See N. on I. 118. § 2. —— ἰσχύν δὲ μάχης, *in military strength;* literally, *in strength of battle* (i. e. pertaining to battle). —— πολὺ....Σκυθῶν, "*easily* or *decidedly second to the Scythians*, i. e. although inferior to the Scythians, yet far superior to all others." Arnold; "longe inferior Scythis, quamquam secunda ab iis." Poppo. The latter I think to be the true interpretation.

6. ταύτῃ, i. e. in military strength and number of forces. —— οὐχ ὅτι—ἀλλ' οὐδ', *not only—but not.* The ellipsis may be thus supplied, *not* to say *that* the nations in Europe cannot be compared—*but not a nation in Asia*, etc. Cf. K. § 321. 3. d; Butt. § 150. p. 433. —— ἓν πρὸς ἕν, *taken singly*, i. e. stripped of all their dependencies, for although the Persian empire, which the historian may have had in his eye, taken as a whole, was far greater than that of the Scythians, yet Persia by itself was far inferior to it. "Sic Austria et Russia majores sunt, quam Francia, et non si spectes ἕθνος ἓν πρὸς ἕν. Hoc sensu Franciæ populus in Europa maximus est." Goel. —— οὐ μὴν οὐδ'. Bloomf. in his later edition adopts the interpretation of this passage given by Poppo, Goeller, and Arnold: *but yet it cannot be said, either that in other respects in prudent management and understanding—they are equal*, etc. This I regard as the true sense, although at first I was disposed to join οὐδ' with ὁμοιοῦνται, and then to take οὐ μὴν οὐδ'—ὁμοιοῦνται in the sense of *nor indeed are they inferior*, and refer εὐβουλίαν....βίον to the sagacity, which savages and barbarians manifest in providing themselves with the necessaries of life, by hunting, fishing, predatory excursions, and the like, or to the skill with which they form beautiful fabrics from rude materials, as is seen in the ingenious works of our North American Indians.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

Sitalces sets out on his expedition, and passing over Mount Cercine marches between the territories of the Pæonians and the Sinti and Mædi to Doberus (§§ 1, 2); during the march his army is greatly augmented, both by infantry and cavalry furnished by the surrounding tribes (§§ 3, 4).

1. *οὖν* is here resumptive, the thread of the history being taken up from II. 96. § 1, at which place commenced the digression respecting the extent and resources of the Odrysian kingdom. —— *ἑτοῖμα*. See N. on II. 3. § 4. —— *διὰ τῆς αὑτοῦ ἀρχῆς, through his own dominion.* Poppo (Proleg. II. p. 396) understands by this the country of the Læans and the subjected Pæonians (see N. on II. 99. § 4) on the Strymon (see N. on II. 96. § 3), and that the mountain Cercine lies between the Sinti and the Pæonians (i. e. the free Graæans and the free Pæonians. See N. l. c.) In passing over the mountain from the east (i. e. from Odrysia) the Pæonians (i. e. the independent Læans and Graæans) would be upon the right, and the Sinti and Mædi upon the left as is here stated. Doberus, to which place the army of Sitalces came after crossing the mountain, was situated on a tributary stream of the Axius, a little above its entrance into Macedonia (cf. Kiepert's Map). Arnold says that Cercine divided the streams which fed the Strymon from those which ran into the Axius. The same critic agrees with Gatterer, that the country of the Mædi was on the western side of the Strymon above Bisaltia. We should be greatly assisted in the topography of these places, if we knew the place where Sitalces set out on his march. —— *ἐποιήσατο, had made.* See N. on I. 62. § 1. —— *τεμὼν τὴν ὕλην, by cutting down the wood* in order to clear a road through the forest.

2. *δεξιᾷ*. As the march was westerly, the position of the Pæonians would be north of the mountain.

3. *προσεγίγνετο δέ, but it was increased.* By the force of the antithesis *ἀπεγίγνετο* must be rendered *was lost, suffered loss*, i. e. the army suffered no diminution. —— *πολλοὶ....Θρᾳκῶν*, i. e. the Sinti, Mædi, the independent Pæonians, and some of the Dii (cf. II. 96. § 2).

4. *τριτημόριον....ἱππικοῦ, but about one-third were cavalry.* This kind of troops has always formed a principal part of the Tartar armies. —— *μαχαιροφόροι*. See N. on II. 96. § 2. —— *οἱ....κατα Ϛάντες*, i. e. the independent mountaineers who descended from Rhodope.

CHAPTER XCIX.

The historian proceeds to give a brief but highly valuable sketch of the kingdom of Macedonia, showing its origin, and how by conquest and otherwise it had reached its present extent and power. The geographical difficulties noticed in the remarks on chap. 96, are to some extent experienced here. The general divisions here given are Upper and Lower Macedonia, the former comprising the Lyncestæ and the Elimiotæ (called usually the Macedonians in Lyncus, or the Macedonian Lyncestæ (cf. IV. 83), to which some add the Orestæ. These tribes were governed by their own princes (cf. II. 80. § 6; IV. 79. § 2; 83. § 1). Besides these there were other tribes (ἄλλα ἔθνη), whose names have not reached us. In Lower Macedonia, may be included the part called Maritime Macedonia, comprising the territory between the Strymon and Axius, and also that lying between the Axius and the Cambunian mountains, besides part of Pæonia, Eordæa, and Almopia (cf. Bloomf.). Perdiccas reigned over this part, having seized upon the portion which belonged to Philip and after him to Amyntas.

1. The Thracian hosts having crossed the Circene mountain, now proceed downward (*κατὰ κορυφὴν*) into Macedonia.

3. *τὴν....Μακεδονίαν*, i. e. Lower or Maritime Macedonia. —— *Ἀλέξανδρος*. This was Alexander I. the son of Amyntas I. and the seventh king of Macedonia. He figured in the time of the Persian invasion, being ostensibly on the side of the Persians, but secretly inclined to the Greeks, whom he informed, on the night before the battle of Platæa, of the intention of Mardonius to fight on the following day. —— *Πίερας*. Pieria comprised the western coast of the Thermaicus Sinus, the chief town of which was Pydna. It extended on the south nearly to Tempe and the mouth of the Peneus (cf. Kiepert's Map), although some place its southern boundary near Dium. —— *Φάγρητα*, *Phagres*, which Col. Leake (North. Greece, III. p. 177) thinks occupied the site of some ruins, which he found on the height overhanging to the eastward the village of Orfaná. In Kiepert's Map, it is placed a little S. E. of Amphipolis. —— *Πιερικὸς κόλπης*, *Pieric gulf*. This was an extensive hollow or vale N. E. of Phagres, which Col. Leake (l. c.) says reached from Orfaná to Právista, and is included between Mount Pangæum and a lower maritime ridge, which at Právista form a junction with each other, and separate the head of this valley from the plain of Philippi. Along this valley the army of Xerxes passed, leaving Mount Pangæum on the right. Cf. Herodot. 7. 112. —— *Βοττίας*. *Bottiæa* lay north of Pieria and west of the Axius. Its chief cities were Ichnæ and Pella. —— *οἱ....οἰκοῦσι*. Reference is had in this place to the more recent settlements of the Bottiæi, near Olynthus in Chalcidice. Cf. I. 65. § 3; II. 79. § 7; 101. § 5.

4. Παιονίας, *Pæonia*, which was the name originally given to all Macedonia, except that portion included in Thrace (cf. Leake's North. Greece, III. p. 462). As the Macedonian empire increased, Pæonia was curtailed of its dimensions. A portion of it, however, remained nominally independent of Macedonia, until some fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great. The banks of the Axius were the chief centre of their power, although they extended eastward to the Strymon (see N. on II. 98. § 1). —— στενήν τινα (limited by τῆς Παιονίας), *a narrow strip* or *tongue*. This strip of land was on the western bank of the Axius, as Pella was on that side. Perhaps, however, it lay on both sides of the river. Grote (Hist. Greece, IV. p. 17) discredits this geographical position of the Pæonians, inasmuch as, if it were true, so inconsiderable is the space between the rivers Axius and Haliakmon, that hardly any room would be left for the Bottiæans, who, it appears, occupied some portion of the coast. But this hardly furnishes ground to impugn the accuracy of such a writer as Thucydides. I know of no place where it is said that the Bottiæans dwelt on the coast, but on the contrary it appears from Herodot. VII. 127, that they dwelt between the Lydias and the Haliakmon, which rivers unite just before their communication with the sea. And if they did occupy the coast, we know not how narrow may have been their maritime district. —— πέραν....Στρυμόνος. See the remarks on this chapter. —— Μυγδονίαν, *Mygdonia*. Thucydides seems to have made the Strymon the eastern boundary of this country, but Herodotus, whom Müller pronounces to have possessed a very accurate knowledge of this region, calls the maritime district west of the Strymon and the land further in the interior, *Bisaltia*. The boundaries of these countries were perpetually changing, and it is no wonder that there should be a slight confliction apparently in the statements of two such independent writers (see the remarks on chap. 95). Perhaps all that Thucydides means is, that Mygdonia lay between the Axius and the Strymon. —— Ἠδῶνας, *Edonians*, a Thracian tribe on the left bank of the Strymon, who seem from this passage to have had a previous footing on the right bank, whence they were expelled by the Macedonians. Cf. Poppo's Proleg. II. p. 340.

5. Ἐορδίας. This name was given to the tract of country lying between Lyncus and Edessæ, in the upper valley of the Lydias, as appears from the Egratian Roman road from Dyrrachium to Edessa and Pella, which passed through the country of the Lyncestæ and the Eordians. Cf. Müll. Dor. I. p. 459. —— βραχὺ δέ τι, *a small portion*. —— Φύσκαν, *Physca*. This place is conjectured by Kiepert, to have been on the Echedorus in the northern part of Mygdonia. —— Ἀλ

μωπίας, *Almopia*, now called Móglena (cf. Leake's North. Greece, III. p. 445), lay north of Berrhœa and Edessa, on the sources of the Rhoidias, a tributary of the Lydias. It was one of the earliest acquisitions of the Temenidæ.

6. τόν τε....Βισαλτίαν. These places were all situated in the more southern part of the region between the Axius and the Strymon, Bisaltia being the most eastward, and Crestonia lying north of Anthemus (cf. Kiepert's map). —— Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν, *a large part of the Macedonians themselves.*

CHAPTER C.

At the approach of the Odrysian forces, the Macedonians betake themselves to their fortresses and strongholds, of which they had at that time but very few (§§ 1, 2); the territory belonging to Philip is first invaded, and several places are taken by storm or otherwise (§ 3); after which Mygdonia and other places are ravaged (§ 4); the Macedonians make no resistance with their infantry, but are very successful in their cavalry charges, although they fight at great odds with such immense numbers (§§ 5, 6).

2. πολλὰ strongholds and fortified places. By this it appears (as Grote remarks, Hist. Greece, IV. p. 11) that the Macedonians were chiefly village residents. Cf. IV. 124. —— Ἀρχέλαος. This prince, whose reign was so beneficial to Macedonia, was an illegitimate son of Perdiccas II., and obtained the kingdom by the murder of his uncle, cousin, and half-brother. He reigned from A. C. 413 to 399. —— ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε, *he cut straight roads* (cf. II. 98. § 1; Herodot. IV. 136). This verb is usually employed to denote the construction of roads through a rough and woody country. —— διεκόσμησε, sc. τὴν χώραν. Cf. II. 15. § 2, where it is fully written. —— τε in τά τε connects ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις to τἄλλα, the construction being varied, *he furnished the country in other things and in what pertains to war, with horses*, etc. Poppo and Haack bracket τε. —— ὀκτὼ refers to οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, *the eight before him.* The words οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι are epexegetical of οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς.

3. ἐς....ἀρχήν, i. e. the northern part of Macedonia on the Axius, which in the division (see N. on I. 57. § 3) fell to Philip. —— Εἰδομένην, *Idomene*, was situated on the right bank of the Axius, and further down were Gortynia, Atalanta, and Europus. It will be seen that Sitalces was descending the valley of the Axius.

4. ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν, i. e. into the part belonging to Perdiccas. —— ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης, i. e. eastward of it, since the march

was southward. —— *ἐς τὴν Βοττιαίαν.* See N. on II. 99. § 3. No reference is here had to their more recent place of settlement.

5. *ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων* (i. e. *ἄλλα ἔθη....ὑπήκοα.* Cf. II. 99. § 2). Müller (Dorians, I. p. 485. N. y) includes among these highland allies, the Lyncestæ and Elimiotæ. —— *ὅπη δοκοῖ, wherever there seemed to be a favorable opportunity.* The expression is equivalent to the *ubi videretur* of the Latins. —— *ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλούς, few against many*, is an appositional clause with *οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες.*

6. *ὑπὸ....καθίσταντο = but being shut in by superior numbers, they exposed themselves to danger by encountering a multitude so many times more numerous than themselves.*

CHAPTER CI.

The Athenians being tardy in furnishing their promised aid, Sitalces opens a correspondence with Perdiccas (§ 1); the countries south of Macedonia as far as Thermopylæ, are under apprehension that he will invade them, and prepare to make resistance (§ 2); the Thracians beyond the Strymon and the Greeks who are enemies of the Athenians, have the same apprehension (§§ 3, 4); but disappointed in the object of his expedition, and being in want of provisions, Sitalces is induced by Seuthes to depart home, after which Perdiccas fulfils his promise made to Sitalces (§§ 5, 6).

1. *λόγους ἐποιεῖτο, entered into negotiation = began to treat with.* —— *οὐ....ναυσὶν* according to their engagement (cf. II. 95. § 3 end). —— *ἀπιστοῦντες* (causal. See N. on I. 37. § 2). —— *μὴ ἥξειν.* See N. on I. 15. § 1; 29. § 3. —— *τε* in *ἔς τε* looks forward to *καὶ* before *τειχήρεις ποιήσας* (*having shut them up in the strongholds*).

2. *Μάγνητες, Magnesians.* Their country was a narrow strip of land lying between Mount Ossa and the sea. They formed at one time a part of the Amphictyonic body (cf. Cramer's Anc. Greece, I. p. 420). They appear at this time to have been subject to the Thessalians. —— *ἐφοβήθησαν—χωρήσῃ.* For the subjunctive after an historical tense, see N. on I. 26. § 2. —— *ὁ στρατὸς* of Sitalces.

3. *Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι κ. τ. λ.* Little is known about these people, except that they lived east of the Strymon, in the more northern parts of the champaign country, and that they were independent.

4. *ἐπὶ τοὺς—Ἕλληνας.* The more usual construction after *παρέσχε λόγον* would have been *τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.* —— *ὑπ' αὐτῶν*, i. e. by the Athenians. —— *ἀγόμενοι* refers to the Thracians, as *οἱ Θρᾷκες* is naturally suggested by *παρέσχε* referring to their king Sitalces

—— κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν is to be constructed with χωρήσωσιν, and καὶ signifies *even*, *also*.

5. ἅμα ἐπέχων, *while staying there*, or perhaps *while having possession of it*. —— αὐτῷ is the dative of the agent. —— στρατιὰ—αὐτῷ, *his army*. S. § 201. 5. —— μεθ' αὑτόν, *next to himself*. —— ἀπελθεῖν. See N. on I. 119. § 1. —— ἐπ' αὐτῇ, *with her*, i. e. as a dowry with her.

6. ὁ μέν, i. e. Sitalces. —— τριάκοντα....ἡμέρας, *thirty days in all*. "When πάντες stands between the article and the substantive, or after both, the notion of the *whole* is expressed." Jelf's Kühn. § 454. 1. β. —— τούτων, i. e. of the thirty days. —— τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφήν, *his sister*. The pronoun here loses its exclusive power. Cf. K. § 802. R. 4. b.

CHAPTER CII.

The Athenians under Phormio make an expedition into the interior of Acarnania (§ 1), but are hindered by the season from proceeding against Œniadæ (§ 2); the historian describes the situation of that place and the formation of the Echinades from the deposit made by the Achelous (§§ 3, 4), and relates the story of Alcmæon, who first inhabited these islands (§§ 5, 6).

1. οἱ δὲ....Ἀθηναῖοι. Cf. II. 92. § 7. —— ἐπειδὴ....διελύθη, i. e. after the expedition against Salamis. Cf. II. 93. —— Ἀστακοῦ. Cf. II. 30. § 1. —— ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν I have constructed with ἐστράτευσαν by adopting Arnold's punctuation, thus making παραπλεύσαντες.... ἀποβάντες a sort of parenthesis. This is the pointing also of Krüger, Goeller, and Bloomf. Dindorf puts a period after Ἀστακοῦ, in which case ἀποβάντες must be taken in the pregnant sense of *disembarking and proceeding*. —— ἔκ τε. In some editions we find καὶ ἔκ τε, which would be inadmissible if Dindorf's punctuation is retained. —— Κόροντα. Poppo (Proleg. II. p. 150) cites Poqueville, who identifies with this place some ruins, shown to him in the way from Vustri to Catuna. —— βεβαίους to the Athenian interest.

2. ἐς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας (see N. on I. 111. § 3) is to be constructed after στρατεύειν. —— ἀεί ποτε = *always in all times*. This is more emphatic than ἀεὶ alone. —— οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατόν. The reason is given in the next sentence. —— χειμῶνος ὄντος, *while it was winter*. See N. on I. 51. § 4.

3. ὁ—Ἀχελῷος ποταμός. So we say, *the Hudson river*, *the Merrimack river*, as well as *the river Hudson*, etc. Cf. K. § 244. R. 6. —— Πίνδου ὄρους. Pindus is the range which separates Thessaly from Epirus. —— ἄνωθεν = ἄνω, "*high up the river*." Arnold. —— ὃ ἐξιὼν

is commonly edited *διεξιείς*. —— *τὴν....περιλιμνάζων.* Col. Leake (North. Greece, III. p. 570) says, that on the northern side of Œniadæ there is a great expanse of lake or marsh, which has no connection with the Achelous, but is formed by subterranean springs, and by superficial torrents from the hills, and has an outlet distinct from the Achelous. There has not been that filling up of the mouth, which Thucydides anticipated, the increase of soil being slower than at the mouths of many other rivers of Greece. —— *τῶν ἐκβολῶν—ἀπέχουσα.* S. § 197. 2.

4. *αἵ τε....γίγνονται, and these islands are thickly set and connect the depositions* (of the river), *so that they are not dispersed* into the sea. *προσχώσεως* depends on *σύνδεσμοι, bindings together of the deposits.* *τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι.* I prefer with Poppo the reading *τοῦ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι*, and have translated it accordingly. With this too Arnold substantially agrees. Bloomf. however, constructs and explains: *καὶ γίγνονται ξύνδεσμοι ἀλλήλαις (διὰ) τῆς προσχώσεως τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι*, sc. *τὴν πρόσχωσιν, the rubbish.* He also takes *τῷ μὴ* for *διὰ τῷ μή*. —— *παραλλάξ, in quincuncial rows*, thus . ˙ . ˙ . ˙ . and not *κατὰ στοῖχον, in rows*, thus : : : : : It will readily be seen that in the alternate order, the channels to the sea would suffer obstruction far more than in the other order.

5. *Ἀλκμαίωνι—τὸν Ἀπόλλω....οἰκεῖν.* The order is, *τὸν Ἀπόλλω χρῆσαι Ἀλκμαίωνι ταύτην τὴν γῆν οἰκεῖν, that Apollo provided this land to Alcmæon to inhabit.* —— *ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι.* The accusative with the infinitive is used after particles which begin a protasis. Cf. Mt. § 538; Jelf's Kühn. § 889. —— *μετὰ....μητρός.* He did this in obedience to the command of his father, who had been drawn into the Theban war by Eriphyle, she having been bribed to this by Polynices, though she knew from her husband (being possessed of the gift of divination), that he would there lose his life. Cf. Smith's Dict. Mythol. I. p. 104. See also Odyss. 15. 247. —— *πρὶν ἂν....κατοικίσηται, before he should find such a place to live in.* *ἄν* belongs to the participle. See N. on I. 73. § 4. The student will readily perceive the literal rendering of the participle and the verb. —— *αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης*, "*was defiled with respect to him.*" Bloomf.

6. *ἐδόκει....σώματι, there seemed to him to be a place of residence* (*δίαιτα.* See N. on I. 185. § 8) *heaped up sufficient to furnish him sustenance;* or the force of *ἂν* may be seen perhaps better in the translation, *it seemed to him that there might be heaped up a place sufficient*, etc. —— *ἀφ' οὗπερ, from the time when.* —— *παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ.* See N. on II. 101. § 5.

CHAPTER CIII.

Demosthenes and his forces return to Naupactus, and thence in the spring to Athens, bringing with them their prisoners and the ships taken from the enemy (§§ 1, 2).

1. ἦμν. They wintered in Naupactus. —— τούς τε ἐλευθέρους. The other prisoners they had either sold, or put to death, or brought to Athens to retain in servitude. —— ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρός, *man for man.* The first instance perhaps on record of the custom of a mutual exchange of prisoners between belligerent powers. —— τρίτον ἔτος. The article is omitted with ordinals.

The Peloponnesians on the return of summer a
devastate the country, but are restrained by
ravages in the vicinity of the city (§§ 1, 2).

1. *ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι.* See N.
took place A. C. 428. Olymp. 87. 4. ——
ὅπη παρείκοι, wherever opportunity off
100. § 5. —— *εἶργον τὸ μὴ—κακουργεῖν,*
For *τὸ—κακουργεῖν*, where we should
infinitive, see N. on II. 53. § 3. In res
on I. 10. § 1. —— *τῶν ὅπλων, the enca*
Krüger, and Arnold translate. Cf. I. 11

2. *οὗ* depends on *τὰ σιτία*, in the s
48. § 1.

CHAPTER

All Lesbos except Methymna revolts from the Ath
desirous of doing before the war, but were deferrin
be completed (§§ 1, 2); the intelligence of their de
the Athenians, they are compelled to hasten their re

1. Μηθύμνης, *Methymna* was ...
island ...

delay, and the γὰρ in § 3, the suddenness of the revolt which now took place. By attending to this the construction will be clear. —— οὐ προσεδέξαντο on account of the thirty years' truce between them and the Athenians, which was then in force.

2. ὅσα....ἀφικέσθαι = ἀφικέσθαι, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ (i. e. the countries of the Euxine) ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι. The mental repetition of a verb from the context is in such a construction quite frequent. —— μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν = μετεπέμποντο.

3. Τενέδιοι....Μηθυμναῖοι. Cf. Arist. Pol. V. 4; Diod. XII. 814, cited by Wasse. The island of Tenedos lay N. of Lesbos, and a short distance to the S. W. of the ancient city of Troy. —— Μυτιληναίων depends on ἄνδρες, and κατὰ στάσιν (*propter factionem*) is to be taken with μηνυταὶ γίγνονται. —— πρόξενοι. See N. on II. 29. § 1. —— ὅτι βίᾳ, *that they were compelling the Lesbians* (literally, *Lesbos*. See N. on βουληθέντες, § 1) *to resort to Mytilene as the metropolis* (see N. on II. 15. § 2). ἐς gives to the verb a pregnant signification. See N. on I. 18. § 2. —— ξυγγενῶν belongs only to Βοιωτῶν. —— ἐπείγονται is used transitively, the object being τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν (*every kind of*). Cf. IV. 5. § 2; VI. 100. § 1; VIII. 9. § 1. —— στερήσεσθαι = στερηθήσεσθαι. Notice the transition from ὅτι with the indicative to the infinitive. —— αὐτοὺς refers to the Athenians.

CHAPTER III.

The Athenians are unwilling at first to give credit to the reported defection of Lesbos, but when they are made certain of the fact by their ambassadors, they dispatch a fleet in great haste, hoping to fall upon the Mytilenians, while solemnizing the approaching feast of Apollo out of the city (§§ 1–3); meantime they seize upon the Mytilenian triremes at Athens, and put their crews in custody (§ 4); the Mytilenians being apprised of the expedition preparing against them, omit the celebration of the festival and prepare to defend themselves (§§ 5, 6).

1. ἄρτι καθεσταμένου, *being now on foot.* —— Λέσβον προσπολεμῶσαι, *to bring on a war with Lesbos in addition* to the war already upon their hands. This infinitive is the subject and ἔργον the predicate of εἶναι. —— μεῖζον....εἶναι, *giving too much weight to the wish that they might not be true.* Unpleasant truths are not easily believed. At ἀληθῆ supply τὰ κατηγορημένα from κατηγορίας. —— τήν τε ξυνοίκησιν. See N. on ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσι, III. 2. § 3. —— προκαταλαβεῖν, *to be beforehand with them*, is taken in an absolute sense.

8. *γὰρ* introduces the reason why the expedition was put on foot so suddenly, and is therefore explanatory of *ἐξαπιναίως*. The pronoun *αὐτοῖς* refers to the Athenians and not to the commanders of the fleet. —— *ὡς εἴη—ἐλπίδα εἶναι*. The construction is changed from the substantival clause to the infinitive, there being but little if any difference between the constructions. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 804. 4. —— *Μαλόεντος*. This epithet was given to the god because he was worshipped at Malea. —— *ἐπειχθέντας*, *by making haste*, refers to the Athenians. —— *καὶ....πεῖρα*. Supply *καλῶς ἔχειν ἔφασαν* as the apodosis. —— *Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν* (sc. *ἐκέλευσαν*) *they command them* (i. e. the leaders of the expedition) *to order the Mytilenians*. —— *μὴ πειθομένων*, *if they disobeyed*. See N. on I. 71. § 6.

4. *τὰς—τριήρεις*. The article refers forward to the relative *αἳ*, and is therefore = *those*. See N. on III. 22. § 7. —— *ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο*, *put under guard*. See N. on II. 88. § 5.

5. *ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης*. Cf. I. 137. § 2. —— *πλῷ*. See N. on *πλοῖς*, I. 137. § 2. Arnold I think erroneously translates *by sea*, as opposed to *πεζῇ*, for this is sufficiently manifest in *ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης*.

6. *τά τε ἄλλα*, *in other things*, i. e. not only did they keep within the town, but took precautionary measures in other respects. Reference is had to the warlike preparations and works of defence spoken of in III. 2. § 2. —— *περὶ—ἐφύλασσον*, *they stationed guards around*. —— *φραξάμενοι*. With *τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα* Bloomf. supplies *αὐτὰ* referring to *μέρη* understood.

CHAPTER IV.

The Athenian commanders, receiving no satisfactory reply to the demands which they were ordered to make upon the Mytilenians, commence hostilities; whereupon the Mytilenians ask and obtain a suspension of arms, until they can send ambassadors to Athens (§§ 1-4); meanwhile, they secretly send to Lacedæmon for aid (§§ 5, 6).

1. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—ὡς ἑώρων*, i. e. *ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑώρων*. The apodosis is *ἀπήγγειλαν* (sc. *τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις*) *μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κ. τ. λ.*

2. *ἔκπλουν μέν τινα ἐποιήσαντο—ὀλίγον*, *sailed some little distance*. —— *ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ*, *for the purpose* (see N. on I. 95. § 2) *of a naval engagement*. —— *ἔπειτα = ἔπειτα δέ*. See. N. on I. 98. § 2. —— *βουλόμενοι....ἀποπέμψασθαι*, *wishing, if possible, to rid themselves of the fleet for the present* (i. e. until they were in a better state of readiness to carry on war) *on some moderate conditions*.

3. *αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι*, *being themselves afraid*.

4. *τῶν τε διαβαλλόντων ἕνα, one of the informers.* Cf. III. 2. § 3. —— *ᾧ μετέμελεν ἤδη, who had now repented* that he gave information to the Athenians of the intentions of the Mytilenians. —— *εἴ πως ἀπελθεῖν = σκοπεῖν* (see N. on I. 58. § 1) *εἴ πως πείσειαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπαγαγεῖν τὰς ναῦς.* Cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. p. 259, where are cited numerous examples of this metonymy. —— *ὡς....νεωτεριούντων, how that they were not going to engage in* (i. e. had given up) *revolutionary movements.* I agree with Bloomfield, that this individual did not mean to retract his former statement, but only to say that the Mytilenians had now abandoned their revolutionary designs.

5. *ἐν τούτῳ, at this same time.* —— *λαθόντες....ναυτικόν, escaping the notice of the Athenian fleet.* —— *οἳ ὥρμουν....πόλεως, who lay at anchor off Malea to the north of the city.* Strabo describes the promontory of Malea (now *Cape Zeitoun*), as lying in the south-eastern part of the island, seventy stadia from Mytilene. But the expression *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* (§ 8) could hardly be used of a place seventy stadia distant, nor can we well suppose that the Athenians would have had their market in Malea (as we find they did, III. 6. § 2), while laying siege to the city, if it was so far off. I prefer, therefore, with all the best modern commentators, to suppose the Malea of Thucydides a different place from that of Strabo, lying much nearer to the city on the north side of it. *οἳ* refers ad sensum to *ναυτικόν.* See N. on the constructio *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, I. 136. § 1. —— *οὐ γὰρ....προχωρήσειν*, "*non enim confidebant, legatis Athenas missis ab Atheniensibus aliquid processurum.*" Poppo. This translation is founded on the use of *ἀπό*, as denoting, by a sort of prægnans constructio, previous motion to Athens. Cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. p. 176. This explanation seems to me to be far-fetched, and I concur, therefore, in the one proposed by Goel., and adopted by Bloomf., and in substance by Arnold, *non enim fidebant iis*, (*τοῖς* neuter,) *quæ ab Atheniensibus expectabant, fore ut bene cedant.* The subject of *προχωρήσειν* (see N. on I. 109. § 3) is *αὐτὰ* referring to *τοῖς* (= *τοῖς πράγμασι*). —— *αὐτοῖς, for themselves* (dat. commodi).

CHAPTER V.

The embassy to Athens being unsuccessful, the Mytilenians prepare for war (§ 1); after having made a vigorous but indecisive attack upon the Athenian camp, they shut themselves again within their walls, and wait for succor from Lacedæmon (§§ 2–4).

1. *οἱ δ'....πράξαντες = ὡς δ' οἱ πρέσβεις ἦλθον ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐδὲν πράξαντες.* —— *οὗτοι*, i. e. the Methymnians. The constructio

κατὰ σύνεσιν (see N. on I. 136. § 1) is again employed here. —— *Ἴμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι.* The islands Imbros and Lemnos lay north of Lesbos, and were both subject to the Athenians.

2. *οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες*, *though not worsted*, i. e. the engagement was indecisive. —— *οὔτε ἐπηυλίσαντο*, *they did not pass the night on the battle field*, which they should have done to have claimed the victory. The next clause *οὔτε....αὐτοῖς* is epexegetical of this.

3. *ἐκ....κινδυνεύειν.* The order is: *ἐκ Πελοποννήσου εἰ προσγένοιτό τι, καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς (εἰ προσγένοιτο), βουλόμενοι κινδυνεύειν*, *intending to venture an engagement* (again), *if any aid should come from Peloponnesus, and with any other* (auxiliary) *force which might arrive;* i. e. with any aid which might come from Peloponnesus or any where else. There are other modes of constructing and translating this passage, which for brevity's sake I must omit. On *εἰ προσγένοιτο*, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 855.

4. *οἱ προαπεστάλησαν* by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans. —— *φθάσαι....ἐπίπλουν*, i. e. they were not able to reach the place before the Athenian fleet. —— *μετὰ τὴν μάχην.* Cf. § 2. —— *τριήρη ἄλλην.* Cf. III. 4. § 5.

CHAPTER VI.

The Athenians summon to their aid their allies, and proceed to blockade the city by sea, but are unable to cut off its communication by land (§§ 1, 2).

1. *θᾶσσον* than if the Mytilenians had been more powerful. —— *ὁρῶντες*, *when they saw* (see N. on I. 13. § 6). —— *περιορμισάμενοι.... πόλεως*, *bringing round their ships to anchorage on the south side of the city.* The fleet had hitherto had its station on the north of the place (cf. III. 4. § 5). —— *στρατόπεδα*, i. e. naval camps. One of these was on the north side where the fleet was first moored; and the other, on the south side, to which place the fleet had removed its anchorage.

2. *τῆς....Μυτιληναίους*, *they kept the Mytilenians from the use of the sea.* *θαλάσσης* properly depends on *χρῆσθαι*, but is attracted into the principal sentence as the object of *εἶργον* (S. § 197. 2), *μὴ χρῆσθαι* being added epexegetically. Cf. K. § 347. 3; Mt. § 532. d. The use of *μὴ* is explained in N. on I. 10. § 1. —— *ἄλλης* in reference to *τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ* which the Athenians had possession of. —— *ναύσταθμον....Μαλέα*, *for* (*δὲ* causal) *Malea was rather a road-*

stead for their (S. § 201. 5) *ships and a receptacle for their supplies.* It is evident, as Poppo observes (Proleg. I. pp. 210, 282), that a word of more extensive signification is to be repeated from ναυστάθμοις before ἀγορᾶς.

CHAPTER VII.

The Athenians fit out an expedition under Asopius, who ravages the Laconian coast and proceeds to Naupactus, having previously sent all his ships home except twelve (§§ 1–3); he makes an unsuccessful attempt on Œniadæ and Leucas, in the retreat from the latter of which places he is slain (§§ 4–6).

1. The scene now changes to Western Greece, from whence Phormio had sailed home (II. 103). —— *Φορμίωνος....ἄρχοντα.* Phormio had either died soon after his return with the captives in the spring (cf. II. 103. § 1), or had become so enfeebled by age or disease, as to be unable to endure the fatigue and hardship of another expedition. The request here made by the Acarnanians shows the high estimation in which he was held in Western Greece.

4. *ἀναστήσας, having raised,* or *summoned.* See N. on II. 96. § 1. —— *ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας.* The repeated efforts to take this place show that it occupied an important position in relation to the war. —— *κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον,* "*on the side of the Achelous,* opposed to *κατὰ γῆν, on the land side.*" Arnold.

5. *Νήρικον, Nericus,* afterwards called *Leucas.* Strabo says that the name was changed by the Corinthian colony, and that Leucas was built on a different site from that of Nericus. But cf. Leake's North. Greece, III. p. 16. N. 2. —— *αὐτὸς* is repeated, the first being opposed to *πεζόν,* the latter to *μέρος.* —— *ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτόθεν, by the inhabitants of the country,* distinguished from *φρουρῶν,* the regular guards, stationed to repel any sudden attack.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Mytilenian ambassadors repair to Olympia and there address the assembly of Peloponnesians.

1. *ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεώς.* Cf. III. 2. § 5. —— *ὡς, when.* —— *ὅπως, in order that.* See N. on I. 65. § 1. Mitford argues the little dispos-

tion manifested by the Lacedæmonians to engage in their cause, that instead of calling a congress of the confederacy, they directed the Mytilenians to repair to Olympia, and there consult such prominent persons as might happen to attend the festival which was at hand. I see no reason, however, for such a surmise, as the course here recommended was more convenient and equally expeditious, and besides there would be a larger and more general gathering at Olympia, than would take place at the call of a special congress. Whether it was not, however, abusing this venerable institution, thus to use it for party purposes, is justly questioned by Smith. —— ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς κ. τ. λ. Another instance in which Thucydides adopts the practice of recording events by Olympiads is found in V. 49.

CHAPTERS IX.—XIV.

These chapters contain the speech of the Mytilenians, which in respect to its general style is like all the speeches in Thucydides, concise, pointed, serious, adapted to convince rather than to persuade, and full of pure and lofty sentiment. A great portion of the oration, as Thirlwall observes, turns on a question of political morality, whether the Mytilenians were guilty of a breach of faith, in their defection from the Athenian alliance. To their vindication from this charge, most of the oration is specially devoted, and this its manifest design, if borne in mind, will assist greatly in evolving the meaning of many obscure and difficult passages. The Schol. divides the oration into three heads; τὸ δικαίον, τὸ δυνατόν, τὸ συμφέρον. But Poppo says, that the τὸ δυνατὸν and τὸ συμφέρον are joined in chap. 13, the former being urged in §§ 3, 4, and the latter in §§ 5–7, and that the Schol. has overlooked the τὸ ἀναγκαῖον in chap. 12. The peroration is found in chap. 14.

CHAPTER IX.

The orator begins by remarking upon the odium which attends the desertion of former friends and allies (§ 1); which odium is well deserved, if the seceders and those from whom they separate are equally balanced in power and resources, and if there is no sufficient reason for the secession, which was not the case in respect to them and the Athenians (§ 2).

1. καθ' ὅσον, *as long as.* —— ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι, *regard them with favor;* literally, *have them in pleasure.* —— νομίζοντες δέ, *but when*

(see N. on I. 13. § 6) *they take into view.* —— χείρους ἡγοῦνται, *they regard them with less favor* = hold them in low estimation for their treachery. Bloomf. aptly illustrates this by the adage, "they love the treason, but they hate the traitor." χείρους than formerly.

2. ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν. The apodosis is rendered doubtful and uncertain by the optative with εἰ, *if perchance*, etc. Cf. Mt. § 524. 8. —— ἀφ' ὧν = οὗτοι ἀφ' ὧν. —— ὄντες is to be constructed with τύχοιεν, *should happen to be.* In the sentiment of this passage we easily recognize the original of the 'idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia' of Sallust. —— πρόφασις. See N. on I. 23. § 6. —— τε connects ὑπάρχοι to τύχοιεν. —— ἀποστάσεως depends on πρόφασις. —— ὁ refers to the things just mentioned as necessary to an equitable and satisfactory alliance, viz. unanimity of sentiment, mutual friendship, and an equal balance of power. —— τῷ, *on this account*, refers forward to εἰ....ἀφιστάμεθα.

CHAPTER X.

The orator now enters upon a defence of the rectitude of the Mytilenians in abjuring all alliance with the Athenians (§ 1); the alliance was formed in order to rid Greece of the Persians, and therefore for the liberation and not the subjugation of the states (§§ 2, 3); but its having been the means or occasion of the enslavement of the smaller and weaker members of the confederacy, furnishes the Lesbians just grounds of apprehension that they in due time will suffer the same evil (§§ 4–6).

1. περὶ—τοῦ δικαίου—τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, *we will speak concerning the justice* of our course. —— γὰρ (*now*) is epexegetical, i. e. it serves to explain more fully what was hinted at in the apology (chap. 9. § 1). —— ἄλλως....δεόμενοι, *especially as we are seeking your alliance.* —— ἰδιώταις. See N. on II. 65. § 7. —— βέβαιον is an adjective of two as well as three terminations. Cf. Butt. § 59. 3. —— μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης = μετὰ δοκήσεως (τινὸς) τῆς ἀρετῆς, "*cum opinione virtutis quadam.*" Gottl. —— γίγνοιντο, sc. φίλοι elicited from φιλίαν, unless, as Poppo suggests, φιλία καὶ κοινωνία be supplied. —— τῷ διαλλάσσοντι = διαλλαγῇ (K. § 268. γ). See N. on I. 42. § 2.

2. ἀπολιπόντων....πολέμου, *when you abandoned the Median war* (cf. I. 89. § 2). ἀπολιπόντων is used intransitively, *remaining behind, withdrawing.* Cf. K. § 249. 1. —— παραμεινάντων....ἔργων. Cf. I. 75. § 2.

3. Ἑλλήνων depends on καταδουλώσει, and Ἀθηναίοις limita ξύμμαχοι (S. § 202. 1). —— τοῖς Ἕλλησι depends on ξύμμαχοι to be men-

tally repeated from the preceding proposition. Krüg. constructs Ἕλλησι with ἐλευθερώσει, and makes the preceding Ἀθηναίο depend on καταδουλώσει.

4. ἐωρῶμεν.... ἐπαγομένους. Cf. I. 98, et seq. —— τοῦ Μ ἔχθραν, *enmity to the Mede.* —— ἐπαγομένους, *bringing in.* Ros Bekker read ἐπειγομένους, which Arnold and Bloomf. prefer.

5. καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι, *by uniting together*, is to be constructed ἀμύνασθαι. Cf. III. 11. § 3, where the Athenian policy of keepin states from union, and of gradually breaking down their pow adverted to. —— διὰ πολυψηφίαν belongs to ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες. πλὴν....Χίων. Cf. I. 19. § 1.

6. δή, *forsooth*, is here used ironically, as is evident from corresponding use of τῷ ὀνόματι. —— πιστούς, *trustworthy.* —— δείγμασι is the predicate, *as examples, lessons of warning.* —— τοὺς ὑπολοίπους refers to the Lesbians and Chians. —— δρᾶσαι τοῦτο, to reduce to slavery.

CHAPTER XI.

The fate of the other states rendered it almost a matter of certainty that the Lesbians be dealt with in like manner, especially as the Athenians were becoming strong they more destitute of help (§ 1); thus far they had been spared, because it was f interest of the Athenians to be able to hold them up as an example of their mode and justice, and because their policy was to subjugate the weaker states first (§§ the Lesbian navy gave them also some apprehension, and to all this might be adde respectful bearing of the Lesbians towards the Athenians (§§ 4, 5).

1. βεβαιότεροι....νεωτεριεῖν = βεβαιότερον ἂν ἦν (*it would been more certain*) αὐτοὺς μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν. Bauer. Supply οἱ Ἀθη with ἦσαν. —— πρὸς....ἀντισουμένου, *and we alone in comparison* (πρός, K. § 298. III. 2. d) *the greater part who have been subd standing on equal terms with them.* Arnold says that καὶ πρὸς ἀντισουμένου is a varied repetition of ὑποχειρίους....ὁμιλοῦντες, should naturally have preceded ἔμελλον οἴσειν. —— δυνατώτεροι α αὑτῶν, *more powerful;* literally, *more powerful than themselves*, comparison being between the same people at different periods. K. § 323. 5. —— τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος, *the fear which is equally anced*, i. e. which both parties equally feel in respect to each ot —— τῷ....ἀποτρέπεται, *is deterred* (from aggression) *by his inab to attempt it with a superior force.* προέχων is in the nominativ attraction, its proper case being the accusative with αὐτὸν the omi

subject of *ἐπελθεῖν*. Cf. K. § 307. 4; S. § 224. See Notes on I. 84. § 1; II. 74. § 3.

2. *οὐ....ὅσον*, *for no other reason than because*. —— *αὐτοῖς* limits *ἐφαίνετο*, and *ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν* is epexegetical of *πράγματα*, *plans for dominion*. —— *γνώμης* depends on *ἐφόδῳ* (*by the means*).

3. *ἅμα....ξυστρατεύειν*. Poppo's interpretation of this difficult passage, approved by Arnold, is: *nobis enim documento utebantur, dicentes* (etiamsi alii coacti se adjuvare perhiberentur) *eos certe, qui idem jus suffragii ferendi haberent* (plena libertate fruerentur) *invitos sibi auxilium laturos non esse* (neque omnino id facturos), *nisi, quos aggrederentur, aliquid deliquissent* (i. e. nisi ipsa causæ æquitate permoverentur, ut participes bellorum fierent). *ἅμα μὲν* corresponds to *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ*, infra. This passage may be regarded as explanatory of *εὐπρεπείᾳ τε λόγου*, and the next sentence (*ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κ. τ. λ.*) of *γνώμης ἐφόδῳ*. —— *τὰ κράτιστα* is put for a substantive in the abstract with a concrete signification, having of course the sense of the masculine (*τοὺς κρατίστους*) as have the neuters which follow. —— *τοῦ ἄλλου περιῃρημένου* refers to *τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους*. The passage may then be rendered, *and by this same policy they first led the stronger against the weaker powers, and thus reserving them to the last, they could not but find them the weaker, the other* (i. e. the inferior) *states having been taken away* (literally, *stripped* as the foliage from the tree) *from them*. —— *ἐχόντων....σθῆναι, while we yet had the strength of all these* (weaker states), *and something upon which we might lean* for support. Bloomf. says that the metaphor is taken from persons, who, when attacked, fly to some wall, or other place at which they may place their backs and stand on their defence.

4. *καθ' ἓν γενόμενον*. See N. on III. 10. § 5.

5. *τὰ δέ*, *partly*. The Schol. says that the fourth reason is here given why the Athenians suffered the Mytilenians to remain unmolested. These reasons in order are; 1, the color of justice which the Athenian policy in respect to the other states received from the cooperation of the Lesbians; 2, the ease with which the greater states might be brought under the yoke, after the smaller ones had been subjugated; 3, the fear of a union between the Lesbian and Peloponnesian navy; 4, the unblamable deportment of the Lesbians towards the Athenian state, which took away every pretext for their invasion. —— *ἀπὸ....αὐτῶν*, *by attendance upon* (= by paying court to) *their commonwealth*. —— *ἀεί*, *for the time being*. —— *περιεγιγνόμεθα*, *we remained free*. —— *οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολύ γ' κ. τ. λ.* The order is, *οὐ μέντοι—χρώμενοι παραδείγμασι—ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι* (sc. *περιγίγνεσθαι*).

CHAPTER XII.

Thus they lived in a state of mutual fear, a rupture being evident, as soon as eithe attained to sufficient confidence in respect to its issue (§ 1); no one should therefore the Lesbians for anticipating the Athenians and revolting before they were in a si to be reduced to servitude (§§ 2, 3).

1. *παρὰ γνώμην = other than was in our heart.* —— *ὅ τε τοῖ λοις κ. τ. λ.* This sentence, which Arnold says has no grammar, a striking resemblance in its construction to *ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις....* II. 40. § 3, and by referring to that passage we may obtain a k the solution of this. After repeated examination of the passage carefully weighing the criticisms which have been made upon have adopted the following, as that which appears to me the mos isfactory explanation. *ὃ* is evidently placed over against *τοῦτο*, must therefore be in the accusative after *βεβαιοῖ*. Inasmuch as *ε* is opposed to *φόβος*, and *βεβαιοῖ* to *ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε*, we may *πίστιν βεβαιοῖ* as a circumlocution for a simple verb of the same nification (cf. Mt. § 421. *Obs.* 4), and followed by *ὃ* in the accus Or we may take *πίστιν* in apposition with *ὅ*, and render it thus, *what good-will most especially makes firm to others* (viz.) *fidelity*, (i. e. fidelity) *fear secures to us.* I prefer this construction as b more simple and natural, and withal grammatical. In Jelf's K § 823. *Obs.* *ὃ* is treated as a nominative, with which *εὔνοια* (attra to the adjectival sentence) is put in epexegetical apposition thu *τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα, εὔνοια, πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο (τὴν πί ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε.* Those who prefer this solution are refe to S. § 172. 1. c.

2. *τῷ, on this account*, refers to *διὰ.... δεινῶν.* —— *προαποστά in revolting before* (see N. on I. 37. § 35) aggression had been upon us. —— *ἐκείνων* is the subjective and *δεινῶν* is the objective itive in dependence on *μέλλησιν.* The words *τὴν ἐκείνων μέλ* form a sort of compound notion, and therefore take the attrib genitive *δεινῶν, their deferring these evils.*

3. *εἰ γὰρ.... εἶναι, for if we were able equally* (as they) *to counterplots and wait our time* (for carrying these plots into ef *why would it be necessary for us to be in subjection to them as we are ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου)?* Poppo dispenses with the interrogation after *εἶναι*, and thus renders the passage: *si enim æque potentes mus et ad insidias vicissim struendas et ad vicissim cunctandum quapiam, oportebat nos similes in agendo illis esse.* But the argu

seems to stand thus: some may be disposed to blame us for premature action, on the ground that we ought to have waited until our rights had been openly violated; but if our strength so nearly equalled theirs, that we could afford to wait until open aggression had been made upon our liberties, we should be free from the necessity of being subject to them. Our being subject to them therefore in itself furnishes a reason, why we could not safely wait until they attacked us. —— *ἐπ'....ἐπιχειρεῖν, the power to attack us being always with them.*

CHAPTER XIII.

This defection, which has thus been shown to be both justifiable and necessary, would have taken place before, had the Peloponnesians been willing to have received them (§ 1); the precipitancy of the measure to which they have now been driven has rendered it ill-prepared, but this is an additional reason why they should be admitted into the alliance and receive speedy assistance (§ 2); this reception of them will also be highly prejudicial to the Athenians, whose resources, so far as revenue is concerned, are derived mainly from their allies (§§ 3–7).

1. *σαφεῖς....ἐδράσαμεν, sufficiently manifest for our hearers to know that we have acted rightly.* —— *πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα = to find some security.* —— *ἔτι* belongs to *ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ.* —— *ὡς ὑμᾶς.* See N. on I. 31. § 2. —— *ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προὐκαλέσαντο, when the Bœotians summoned us.* Bloomf. refers this to the mission of Hermæondas (III. 5. § 4), but he reached Mytilene after the revolt. —— *ἀποστήσεσθαι* (i. e. *δεῖν ἀποστήσεσθαι*) is followed by its cognate accusative *ἀπόστασιν.* S. § 181. 2. —— *ἀπό τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων—ἀπό τε Ἀθηναίων.* The usual mode of interpreting this, is to take *ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλῆν ἀπόστασιν* in a twofold sense, viz. a secession or abstaining from the Greeks so as to no longer injure them, and a revolt from the Athenians for the purpose of self-protection. This is essentially the interpretation which, after Reiske, has been adopted by Bauer, Haack, Goel., Arnold, and Bloomf. But Poppo refers *τῶν Ἑλλήνων* to the Greeks who were confederated on terms of equality with the Athenians, such as the Platæans, Acarnanians, Chians, etc. The revolt from these states was not to do them injury, but to free the Mytilenians from the necessity, which their alliance with the Athenian confederacy would impose upon them, of doing injury to the states above mentioned, and to assist in effecting their deliverance from Athenian rule. I am disposed to adopt this interpretation, as it frees *ἀπόστασιν* from a double sense, which Gottl. calls with some

reason *puerilem et frigidum lusum.* —— *ξὺν—ποιεῖν.* This tmesis is very rare in Attic prose, and seems to have been employed here to increase the force of the antithesis between this and the following clause. Cf. K. § 300. R. 4. —— *ἐν ὑστέρῳ = ὕστερον, in future, hereafter.* —— *προποιῆσαι,* sc. *τὸ διαφθεῖραι.*

2. *θᾶσσον γεγένηται.* Cf. III. 2. § 2. —— *ᾗ, on this account.* See N. on I. 11. § 1. This sentence is a reply to an anticipated objection, that the Mytilenians revolted too precipitately. —— *δεξαμένους* agrees with *ὑμᾶς* the omitted subject of *ἀποστέλλειν.*

3. The justice and wisdom of their revolt from the Athenians having been vindicated, the Mytilenians now proceed to show how advantageous their reception would be to the Peloponnesians. —— *ἐφθάραται* and *τετάχαται* are Ionic and Doric forms for *ἐφθαρμένοι εἰσί,* and *τεταγμένοι εἰσί.* Cf. Mt. § 204. 6. *Obs.* 1. —— *αἱ μὲν* and *αἱ δὲ* are in partitive apposition with *νῆες.* See N. on I. 89. § 3. —— *ἐφ', against,* in a hostile sense.

4. *περιουσίαν, a surplus, superabundance.* —— *τὸ δεύτερον.* The Peloponnesians had already made one incursion into Attica during this summer. —— *ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, from both* (you and us). Reference is had to the two fleets spoken of in § 3, as employed, the one in cruising around Peloponnesus, the other in the blockade of Mytilene.

5. *ἀλλοτρίας γῆς, for the sake of a foreign land,* i. e. a land with which, on account of its distance, they had nothing to do. —— *μακρὰν* is opposed to *ἐγγύθεν.* —— *αὐτῷ* is the *dat. commodi.* —— *οὐ γὰρ.... πόλεμος,* i. e. the war is not to be decided by an invasion of Attica. The truth of this remark was made manifest in the progress of the war. —— *δι' ἣν = ἐν ταύτῃ δι' ἣν.*

6. *ἔστι....πρόσοδος.* So Pericles also said, II. 13. § 2. —— *ἀποστήσεται—προσγενήσεται—πάθοιμέν τ' ἄν.* The optative is employed in the last clause to show the likelihood of the event, as opposed to absolute certainty = *and we shall probably suffer.* Cf. K. § 260. 4. a. —— *τά τε ἡμέτερα* refers to all the possessions of the Mytilenians, including of course their shipping. —— *οἱ πρὶν δουλεύοντες, who were slaves* (see N. on I. 98. § 4) *before* (they revolted from the Athenians). In such a case there would have been some excuse for the revolt. We find that Cleon urged this as a reason why exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the Mytilenians (cf. III. 39. § 1).

7. *βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν—προσλήψεσθε.* See N. on II. 83. § 3. —— *καθαιρήσετε, you will humble,* literally, *you will pull down.* The metaphor is derived from the taking or pulling down of an edifice. The same reference to the demolition of a building is continued in the use of *ὑφαιροῦντες, by taking away from under, by undermining,* a

very common way, in ancient times especially, of pulling down edifices. —— *μὴ βοηθεῖν* depends on *αἰτίαν*. —— *τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις* as the Samians, Thasians, Eubœans, etc. Cf. I. 40. § 5 (end). It appears, however, that the Lacedæmonians were on the point of making a diversion in favor of the Thasians (I. 101. § 1), but were prevented by the earthquake and the subsequent rebellion of the Helots. They did this in the time of the Eubœan revolt, but without ultimate success (I. 114. § 2). There was probably such coldness and sluggishness in their movements, as to beget the impression, that they were quite indifferent to the abject condition of the states and islands subject to the Athenians.

CHAPTER XIV.

The orator closes by conjuring the Peloponnesians to grant aid to the Mytilenians, and thus secure to Greece the benefits resulting from their deliverance from Athenian oppression (§§ 1, 2).

1. *αἰσχυνθέντες....ἐλπίδας*, *reviving the hopes which the Greeks repose in you*. *ἐλπίδας* may be referred to Jelf's Kühn. § 550. *b*, as the accusative of that wherein the feeling expressed in *αἰσχυνθέντες* consists, i. e. the accusative of equivalent notion. —— *ἐς ὑμᾶς* follows *ἐλπίδας* after the analogy of *ἐλπίζειν ἔς τινα*. —— *ἴσα καὶ ἱκέται*, *equally as suppliants = as suppliants*. —— *μὴ πρόησθε ὑμᾶς*, *do not cast us off*. —— *ἴδιον....παραβαλλομένους*, *having our own lives at stake;* literally, *exposing ourselves* (middle voice) *to the personal risk of life*. —— *κοινὴν....δώσοντας* is a repetition of the sentiment of III. 13. §§ 3, 4. *ἐκ τοῦ κατορθῶσαι*, *by our success*. —— *ἔτι....σφαλησόμεθα*. Cf. III. 13. §§ 5, 6.

2. *οἵουσπερ....ἀξιοῦσι* (sc. *γίγνεσθαι*), *such as the Greeks esteem you to be*.

CHAPTER XV.

The Peloponnesians receive the Mytilenians as allies, and prepare to invade Attica by sea and by land. The Lacedæmonians are ardent and active in the enterprise, but are seconded quite tardily by their allies (§§ 1, 2).

1. *ἐσβολὴν* depends upon *ὡς ποιησόμενοι*, although it might perhaps with equal correctness be rendered by the formula *quod attinet*

ad. The collocation of *ὡς παρασάμενοι* is rather in favor of the latter mode of construction, yet such transpositions are by no means unusual in Thucydides. —— *τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν.* Cf. II. 10. § 2; 47. § 1. —— *αὐτοί*, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. —— *τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ.* Cf. II. 92. § 6; 93. § 1. —— *ὡς ὑπεροίσοντες, in order to convey over.* The vessels of the ancients were so small that this was an undertaking of no great difficulty, the isthmus being about 3.5 English miles in breadth. Cf. Leake's Morea, III. p. 297. Cf. also III. 81. § 1; IV. 8. § 2; VIII. 7. § 2. —— *πρὸς Ἀθήνας, over against Athens*, washing the coast of Athens. —— *ἐπιόντες* is future in signification.

2. *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κ. τ. λ.* Cf. Müll. Dor. I. p. 199, where in addition to the labors of the harvest spoken of here, festivals, and the natural slowness of the Doric race are represented as retarding the assembling of the army. —— *ἀῤῥωστίᾳ = ἀπροθυμίᾳ.* Suidas.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Athenians, by no means dismayed at the threatened invasion, fit out a hundred ships and sail to the Isthmus, where they display their force and make descents upon Peloponnesus (§ 1); upon which the Lacedæmonians return home (§ 2), but afterwards send out a fleet under Alcidas to Lesbos (§ 3).

1. *διὰ....σφῶν, from imputing weakness to them.* This is Arnold's interpretation, and is approved by Poppo and Bloomf. *σφῶν* depends on *κατάγνωσιν* as the object of the imputation. Cf. VIII. 8. § 4. The more usual interpretation, *through contempt of their weakness*, would have required the article. —— *αὐτοὶ* refers to the *ζευγῖται* and the *θῆτες*, the other classes being excepted. —— *ἱππέων, the knights*, belong to the second of the four classes established by Solon. Their income was fixed at 300 measures, out of which they kept a war-horse (*ἵππος πολεμιστήριος*), and a horse for a servant. They of course served as cavalry. Cf. Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Ath. p. 495. —— *πεντακοσιομεδίμνων.* The *pentacosiomedimni* belonged to the first class of citizens, and, as their name imports, were such as had an income from their lands of 500 measures. They seldom went out to war except as commanders. The *ζευγῖται* were the third class, and their valuation was 200 measures. Their name was derived from their keeping a yoke (*ζεῦγος*) of oxen or working animals. The fourth class was the thetes (*θῆτες*), whose valuation was less than that of Zeugitæ. See Boeckh l. c. and also p. 500. —— *παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν*

ἀναγαγόντες, having weighed anchor and sailed to the isthmus. *παρὰ* being a preposition of motion gives to *ἀναγαγόντες* a pregnant construction. See N. on I. 18. § 2. Krüger, however, constructs *παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν* with *ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιοῦντο.* —— *τῆς Πελοποννήσου* depends on *ᾗ*.

2. *τὸν παράλογον.* See N. on I. 78. § 1. —— *ἄπορα νομίζοντες* = *ἄπορον εἶναι νομίζοντες.* Cf. II. 77. § 1. —— *ὡς* (*inasmuch as*).... *πορθοῦσαι* contains the reason why the Lacedæmonians thought their plans impracticable. —— *ἠγγέλλοντο—πορθοῦσαι, were announced as ravaging.* See N. on I. 131. § 1. —— *νῆες.* Cf. III. 7. § 1. —— *τὴν περιοικίδα.* Several cities of the Periœci lay on the coast, which accounts for the name *περιοικὶς* (sc. *γῆ* or *χώρα*) being given to the whole coast. —— *ἀνεχώρησαν* is the apodosis, the protasis lying in *νομίζοντες.*

4. *ἐκείνους εἶδον* = *ἐκείνους ἀναχωρήσαντας εἶδον.* Arnold.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Athenian navy was now in a state of the greatest perfection and power, but its maintenance tended greatly to exhaust the treasury (§ 1); an illustration of the magnitude of the sum necessary to carry on the war is furnished from the siege of Potidæa (§§ 2, 3).

1. *ὃν* depends here and in III. 18. § 1 upon *κατὰ* repeated from the previous context. See N. on *παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς*, I. 28. § 2. —— *ἐν τοῖς* gives emphasis to *πλεῖσται* by calling attention to it, and is to be taken as a neuter demonstrative. See N. on I. 6. § 3. Bloomf. doubts its intensive force (as the superlative has *δὴ* intensive after it), and regards it as qualifying the superlative = *some of the most numerous.* The clause *ἐν....ἐγένοντο* is very difficult of translation. I am disposed on the whole to construct *κάλλει* in dependence on *ἐνεργοί*, and to take *ἅμα* as denoting time, making *αὐτοῖς* depend on *ἐγένοντο.* The sense would then be, *at this time the Athenians had the greatest number of ships in an effective state from their beautiful* (= good) *condition.* There are other modes of construction, which I forbear to bring forward, being continually admonished of the necessity of brevity.

2. *τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν κ. τ. λ.* There seems to be an incongruity between this statement and the one made in II. 13. § 8; 24. § 2, where the number of ships is put down at 300, one third of which were to remain as a defence at home. This would leave 200 sail to cruise about. Now it is said that 250 ships were in active service. Perhaps, as Arnold suggests, in the process of the war, more than two thirds

were in the service abroad, it being found unnecessary to reserve so large a force for the home defence. If, however, the one hundred ships, spoken of as being on guard around Attica, Eubœa, and Salamis, are the same as the one hundred which were to be put aside for an emergency (II. 24. § 2), then the whole number would be only 250. But this apparent contradiction of numbers might be removed by bearing in mind that the ships here spoken of were ἐνεργοί, *in a condition for active service.* —— ὥστε—ἐγίγνοντο. See N. on I. 34. § 3.

3. τὰ χρήματα. Cf. II. 13. § 3. —— ὑπανάλωσε, *gradually exhausted.* —— δίδραχμοι ὁπλῖται, *hoplites whose pay was two drachmas.* The old Attic δραχμὴ = 17 cents 5-93 mills; the later δραχμὴ = 16 cents 5-22 mills. Hussey (Ancient Weights, etc. pp. 47, 48) makes the drachma = 9.72 pence or about 18 cents 0-55 mills. —— ἐλάμβανε, sc. ὁ ὁπλίτης. —— τρισχίλιοι. Cf. I. 61. § 4. —— νῆές τε αἱ πᾶσαι = *all the sailors.* —— τὸν αὐτὸν μισθόν, i. e. one drachma, for as they were not attended by servants, the drachma allowed for these in the land-service, was here omitted.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Mytilenians make an ineffectual effort to get possession of Methymna, after which they proceed to put several smaller cities in a posture of defence (§ 1); one of these the Methymnians endeavor afterwards to take, but are defeated (§ 2); the Athenians send out 1000 hoplites under Paches, who arrive at Mytilene, and draw a line of circumvallation around the place, and thus closely invest it by sea and by land (§§ 3–5).

1. ὡς προδιδομένην, *thinking* (see N. on I. 73. § 5) *that it would be surrendered up to them.* The participle has here the signification of the future. K. § 255. R. 3. —— οἱ ἐπίκουροι, i. e. the archers summoned from Pontus. Cf. III. 2. § 2. —— προὐχώρει. See N. on I. 109. § 3. —— ἐπ' Ἀντίσσης, *for Antissa.* See Ns. on I. 30. § 2; III. 28. § 3.

2. αὐτῶν, i. e. the Mytilenians. —— ἐκβοηθείας, *a sally.* —— πληγέντες, *being beaten.*

3. πυνθανόμενοι—κρατοῦντας. See N. on I. 64. § 2. —— ταῦτα refers forward to τούς τε....εἴργειν, for which propositions it serves to prepare the way. Cf. Mt. § 472. *c.* —— περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον. See N. on II. 31. § 1.

4. τῶν νεῶν depends on αὐτερέται. See N. on I. 10. § 4. The examples cited by Poppo (Proleg. II. p. 61) show, that the troops frequently assisted in rowing the ships. —— ὁπλῷ τείχει, with a single

wall. Their forces were not adequate to the drawing of a line of contravallation. Nor was it in this instance very necessary, as the φρούρια (*forts*), which they erected in commanding positions (ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν), answered every purpose. —— ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται has the signification of the present with the general idea of completeness.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Athenians being in want of funds raise a contribution among themselves, and send an expedition to levy money from their allies (§§ 1, 2).

1. αὐτοὶ is opposed to ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους which follows. —— ἐσενεγκόντες—ἐσφοράν, *paying a tax, making a contribution* in order to defray the expenses of the war. —— τότε πρῶτον. As mention is made at an earlier period (see authorities cited in Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 370) of this property-tax, it may be that the present passage means, that never before this was so large an amount as 200 talents raised as εἰσφορά; or perhaps the word πρῶτον is used in reference to the present war. The practice of raising funds in this way, was afterwards frequently adopted. —— ἐσφορὰν—τάλαντα. See N. on I. 96. § 2. —— ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς, *money-collecting ships* (see N. on II. 69. § 1). The Schol. on Aristoph. Equit. 1068 says, ἐλέγοντο δὲ Πάραλοι καὶ Σαλαμίνιοι.

2. τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος, *from Myus in Caria.* Here they landed and proceeded up the country. —— ἄλλης in reference to αὐτός.

CHAPTER XX.

The scene now changes to Platæa, where the little garrison, obtaining no relief from Athens, and in want of provisions, form the desperate resolution of breaking through the enemy's lines of circumvallation (§ 1); a part of the number shrink back from the dangerous enterprise (§ 2), but the rest set about the preparation of ladders of the right length to scale the surrounding walls of the enemy (§ 3).

1. τιμωρίας. See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκούμενοι. Cf. II. 6. § 4. —— ἐσηγησαμένου τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς, *having proposed to them the attempt.* —— ὃς καὶ ἐστρατήγει, *who was also the commander* of the place.

2. ἀπώκνησαν....ἡγησάμενοι, *shrunk back from the danger think-*

ing it too great. Bloomf. supplies τὴν πεῖραν with ἀπώκνησαν, but cf. III. 30. § 3. The noun κίνδυνον belongs equally to the verb and the participle. —— ἐς, *to the number of.*

8. ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς *by the layers.* —— ᾗ....αὐτῶν, *where the wall opposite to them happened to be not thoroughly whitewashed.* —— ἁμ belongs to πολλοί. —— ἔμελλον....ἁμαρτήσεσθαι, *some would be likely to err* in the computation. Cf. Mt. § 498. d (end). —— ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο, *to which they wished* (to go). The infinitive of the verb of motion is frequently omitted, when there is connected with the main verb a preposition of motion. Cf. Mt. § 535. *Obs.* 2. —— τοῦ τείχους depends upon ἐς ὅ.

CHAPTER XXI.

This chapter contains a description of the lines drawn around the city by the Peloponnesians. It will be seen that they were skilfully constructed, very strong, and well-guarded, which serves to increase our admiration of the valor of the little band, who were about to undertake the perilous enterprise of scaling these entrenchments.

1. τῇ οἰκοδομήσει denotes the sense in which τοιόνδε is to be taken. —— πρός, *in front of, on the side towards.* K. § 298. I. 1. —— ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν, *from without* (viz.) *from Athens.* ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν is explanatory of ἔξωθεν. No external attack was to be feared by the besiegers, except from the Athenians.

2. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο (with which οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες is in apposition. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 466. *Obs.* 2) is the subject of ᾠκοδόμητο. The dative τοῖς φύλαξιν depends on διανενεμημένα, and οἰκήματα is the predicate, *for huts, quarters.* Haack makes οἰκήματα and the words in connection with it, an appositional clause = ὃ ἦν οἰκήματα τοῖς φύλαξι διανενεμημένα, to which explanation Poppo seems to incline.

3. διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων, *at every tenth battlement.* διὰ is here used of intervals of space. Cf. Mt. § 580. e; Jelf's Kühn. § 627. I. 2. See N. on II. 29. § 3. —— διήκοντες, *reaching through.* —— αὐτοῦ, i. e. the wall. —— οἱ αὐτοὶ refers to πύργοι. —— παρά, *along by.* —— δι' αὐτῶν μέσων, *through the midst of them* (i. e. the πύργοι). —— διῆσαν, sc. οἱ φύλακες.

4. χειμὼν—νοτερός, *rain-storm.* —— ἀπέλειπον, i. e. οἱ φύλακες, which subject may be easily supplied from τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο. —— δι' ὀλίγου, *a short distance* from one another.

CHAPTERS XXII.—XXIV.

Taking advantage of a dark and tempestuous night, the Plataeans proceed to put their design into execution, and make their way undiscovered to the enemy's lines, which they begin to ascend, and although in the passage over they alarm the besiegers, yet in the confusion created by the darkness and the tempest, and by the false alarms of the Plataeans who remain behind, the little band escape with the loss of only one man, and make their way to Athens.

1. *παρεσκεύαστο.* See N. on I. 46. § 1. —— *ὕδατι.* It appears from III. 23. § 5, that it was a rain-storm accompanied with snow. —— *τὴν τάφρον* employed as a defence of the city. —— *προσέμιξαν, they approached to.* Compounds of *μίσγειν* and *μιγνύναι* have, besides a transitive signification, an intransitive or reflexive sense. K. § 249. 1. —— *λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, unperceived by the guards.* —— *ἀνὰ αὐτῶν, they* (i. e. the guards) *not being able to see before them* (*προ-*) *by reason of the darkness.* The genitive absolute is employed, as being more lively and emphatic than the accusative in agreement with *τοὺς φύλακας.* —— *ψόφῳ* depends on *ἀντιπαταγοῦντος, making a rattling noise against = drowning with its rattling noise. πάταγος* denotes the rattling noise of a tempest of wind and rain. The word *patter*, which Bloomf. thinks comes the nearest to it in sound, is rather used of a gentle rain-storm, in which the drops may be heard falling upon the leaves of the forest, the roofs of buildings, etc. —— *τοῦ ἀνέμου, the storm.*

2. *ἅμα....ἦεσαν, at the same time they went also far apart.* Cf. Sal. Jug. chap. 94. —— *μὴ* belongs to *κρουόμενα* as well as to *παρέχοι.* See N. on I. 12. § 1. —— *αἴσθησιν παρέχοι.* Cf. Xen. Anab. IV. 6. § 13. —— *πόδα* is a synecdochical accusative. —— *μόνον* has a strong emphasis inasmuch as the right foot was left bare. The left foot was shod in preference to the right, for the same reason, perhaps, that in our times, the left foot is employed to mark the time in marching, simply because custom has so established it. In time of action missiles are discharged to better advantage with the left foot somewhat advanced before the other. Indeed the left foot may be considered as the main support of the body, in almost every encounter in which the right hand is used. Arnold aptly cites (what occurred to my own mind in reading this passage) Sir Walter Scott's description of the German mercenaries in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto IV:

> Each better knee was bared to aid
> The warriors in the escalade.

3. *εἰδότες* by means of scouts sent out in the time of previous tempests, who had thus learnt the custom of the enemy. —— *ἔρημοι*. See N. on II. 4. § 4. —— *ἔπειτα* responds to *πρῶτον μέν*. —— *ὧν*, i. e. the twelve light-armed. —— *αὐτόν*, i. e. Ammeas. —— *οἱ ἑπόμενοι ἓξ*, *his followers* (viz.) *six*. —— *ἀνέβαινον*, *began to mount*. Notice the change from the aorist to the imperfect, *ἀνέβη* referring merely to the fact that Ammeas mounted first, and *ἀνέβαινον* describing the party as in the act of following him. —— *ἔπειτα*, *then*. —— *μετὰ τούτους*, *after these*, i. e. the twelve light-armed commanded by Ammeas. —— *οἷς* refers to *τούτοις*, and is the *dat. commodi* after *τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον*. —— *ἔμελλον δώσειν*, *which they were to deliver* to those who owned them.

4. *ἐκ* (in *ἐκ τῶν πύργων*) is used for *ἐν*, it being employed to denote the direction *whence*. See N. on I. 18. § 1. —— *ἀντιλαμβανόμενος*, *laying hold of*.

5. *ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος*, i. e. to their respective stations upon the wall. —— *οὐ....δεινόν*, *for they did not know what was the cause of the alarm* = *what the matter was*. —— *ἅμα* refers to time. —— *οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει* refers to those who remained in the place, their courage not being equal to so desperate an adventure (cf. III. 20. § 2). These now created a diversion in favor of their friends who were trying to escape. —— *τῶν Πλαταιῶν* depends on *οἱ—ὑπολελειμμένοι*. Cf. I. 126. § 11; III. 65. § 3. —— *ἐκ τοὐμπαλιν....ὑπερέβαινον*, *on the side opposite to that where their men were attempting* (see N. on I. 57. § 4) *to pass over* (the walls). —— *τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν*, *might turn their attention*. Without the article *νοῦν ἔχειν* signifies, *to have intelligence*, *to be knowing* or *clever*.

6. *ἐξορυβοῦντο....μένοντες*, *therefore they were in confusion remaining in the same place* = they were so confused they knew not which way to turn themselves. —— *φυλακῆς*, i. e. the place where the watch was kept. —— *ἐν....γιγνόμενον*, *they were at a loss to conjecture what had happened*. See N. on I. 25. § 1.

7. *οἱ τριακόσιοι*. The article has reference to the relative *οἷς* which follows, and therefore retains its demonstrative force (S. § 166. 2. b), *those three hundred who had been appointed*, etc. Cf. III. 3. § 4. —— *ἐχώρουν....βοήν*, *went outside of the wall* (i. e. along the outside and not upon the wall) *towards the noise*, i. e. towards the place whence the noise proceeded. —— *φρυκτοὶ——πολέμιοι*. See N. on II. 94. § 1. —— *ἐς*, *towards*, *in the direction of*. —— *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*. See N. on *ἐκ τῶν πύργων*, § 4, supra. —— *φρυκτούς*, i. e. *φιλίους*, for the object was to render the war-lights of the Peloponnesians useless by this multiplication and diverse position of the signals. —— *ἐς αὐτὸ*

τοῦτο, *for the same purpose.* —— ὅπως—ᾖ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν. The subjunctive is here employed to express high probability, the optative, to express a mere possibility, and also to show that the clause in which it stands is the consequence of the subjunctive clause. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 809; Mt. § 518. 4 (end). —— ἄλλο τι—ἢ τὸ ὄν, *something else than it really was.* —— πρὶν—διαφύγοιεν. The optative here follows πρίν, inasmuch as it is a continuation of the idea of the optative clause (καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν) on which it depends. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 848. 5. β.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες κ. τ. λ. The order is, οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες—καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες—καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους, οἱ μὲν—οἱ δ' (i. e. τῶν ὑπερβαινόντων—οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ. See N. on I. 89. § 3). The words ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι....ἐπιβοηθεῖν are parenthetic, inasmuch as ἐφύλασσον must be referred to οἱ πρῶτοι and not to οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες, since that would make all who were passing over to be keeping guard, which was not true. —— τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου (cf. III. 22. § 3) depends on ἐκεκρατήκεσαν. —— τάς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων = τὰς τῶν πύργων πυλίδας. ΔΟΥΚΑΣ. Cf. ἀλλὰ....διήεσαν, III. 21. § 3. —— αὐτοὶ refers to οἱ πρῶτοι, as distinguished from those who followed on behind, and who are referred to here by οἱ μὲν—οἱ δ'. —— μηδένα.... ἐπιβοηθεῖν, *that no one* (of the enemy) *should come through them* (i. e. through the passages of the towers) *to furnish aid* (against the Platæans). —— οἱ μὲν is referred by Haack to οἱ πρῶτοι, and to those who had afterwards mounted the towers, so that the missiles might be said to be sent from below and above (καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν). But we have seen that the οἱ πρῶτοι were placed as guards in the doorways of the turrets, and must not therefore be confounded with the persons referred to in οἱ μέν. It is better to refer κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν to τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, *those* (of the enemy) *bringing aid from below* (i. e. approaching on the ground below. Cf. III. 22. § 7 (init.) *and from above* (i. e. along upon the walls). —— ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων depends upon εἶργον. —— οἱ δ'....πλείους, *but in the meanwhile others, the greater part.* —— ἅμα belongs to both the participles between which it stands. —— διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου, *through the space between the towers.*

2. ὁ δὲ....ἵστατο, *and ever as each one crossed over he halted.* —— ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους, *upon the bank.* —— τῆς τάφρου here refers to the outer ditch (cf. III. 24. § 2). —— παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος is to be taken with παραβοηθ

ξῶν, and refers to the part of the wall adjacent to the towers, between which (διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου) the Platæans were passing along over. —— κωλυτὴς γίγνοιτο = κωλύοι. Cf. I. 35. § 4.

8. With Arnold and Bloomf. I have pointed off the words χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι, because the sense seems to refer the difficulty spoken of to those who descended last. The reason is obvious, as those in the rear had to contend alone with the enemy, whose numbers were continually increasing at this point, their view of the cause of the alarm having now become more clear. οἱ τελευταῖοι is in partitive apposition with οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων. —— οἱ τριακόσιοι. Cf. III. 22. § 7.

4. μᾶλλον in reference to ἧσσον καθεωρῶντο infra. —— ἐκ τοῦ σκότους belongs to ἑώρων, the preposition denoting the direction whence the action of the verb proceeded. —— ἐς τὰ γυμνά, i. e. upon the right side, which was unprotected by the shield. —— αὐτοί, i. e. the Peloponnesians.

5. ὥστε....τάφρον, *so that even the last of the Platæans anticipated* (the enemy) *in crossing the ditch*, i. e. succeeded in crossing the ditch before the enemy could hinder them. That this, however, was effected with extreme difficulty is seen in χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως (cf. II. 33. § 3). It will be seen that the heroic persons (cf. III. 22. § 3) who led the way in ascending the wall were the last to leave it, thus showing a noble devotion to the safety of their comrades. The plan and execution of this daring and difficult enterprise, shows that there were master spirits among them equal to any emergency. —— ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν, *so as to be crossable*; literally, *so that one could cross over it.* —— οἷος....βορέου, "*such as is usually found when the wind is east instead of north.*" Arnold. —— ὑπονειφομένη, *snowy*, or *somewhat* (ὑπο-) *snowy*, as Bloomf. prefers. —— ἐν αὐτῇ, i. e. the ditch. —— ὑπερέχοντες, sc. αὐτοῦ referring to the water.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. ἐχώρουν—ὁδόν. S. § 181. 2. —— φέρουσαν, *leading.* —— τὸ... ἡρῷον, *the temple of the hero Androcrates.* He was an ancient Platæan general of great fame. —— σφᾶς refers to the Platæans, and αὐτοὺς to the Peloponnesians. The same may be said of the subjects of ὑποτοπῆσαι and τραπέσθαι. —— ταύτην, sc. ὁδόν. —— πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα *towards Cithæron.* This mountain lay south of Platæa, and the Peloponnesians supposed that as a matter of course, the fugitives would

flee thither in order to reach by the nearest way the Eleusinian plain, on their route to Athens, whereas they were pursuing for the time being their course to the north towards Thebes.

2. *τὴν πρὸς....Ὑσιάς, the road leading to the mountain towards Erythræ and Hysiæ.* From Erythræ a road passes between the Theban Cithæron and Mount Cithæron down into the Eleusinian plain, and also into the plain of Megara. Whether the Platæans took this road, or passed along the more unfrequented mountain-paths, is of course a matter of mere conjecture. If Thucydides named the places Erythræ and Hysiæ, in the order of their position to one going from Platæa, it is thought that their location on our maps should be reversed. Their place on Kiepert's Map seems to be more consistent with the account here given of the flight of the Platæans, than that which is assigned them on the other maps which I have seen. For it must be remembered that their course was first, north, after which they turned off and took a south-easterly direction, which would bring them to these places in the order here mentioned. —— *λαβόμενοι, having reached.* —— *ἀπὸ πλειόνων.* Cf. III. 20. § 2. —— *εἰς.... ἐλήφθη.* It is truly wonderful that only one man was lost in this enterprise. Every thing appears to have been well planned, and executed also with great courage and self-possession.

3. *κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο, came back to their station and there remained.* See N. on I. 18. § 2 (*constructio prægnans*). —— *τῶν δὲ ἀποτραπομένων.* Cf. *τινὲς αὐτῶν οἱ ἀπετράποντο*, § 2 supra. —— *ὡς οὐδεὶς περίεστι, how that no one survived.* —— *τοῖς νεκροῖς* is the *dat. commodi* after *ἀναίρεσιν.* —— *ἐπαύσαντο* shows that *ἐσπένδοντο* is used of an action begun but not completed = *they took measures to obtain a truce*, '*pacisci in animo habebant.*" Gottl.

CHAPTER XXV.

Salæthus a Lacedæmonian contrives to effect an entrance into Mytilene, and by the promise of aid from the Peloponnesians, arouses the drooping spirits of the Mytilenians, and renders them less inclined to listen to any proposals from the Athenians (§§ 1, 2).

1. *κατὰ χαράδραν τινά, at a certain dry bed of a torrent, at a ravine.* —— *διαλαθών, eluding observation.* —— *τοῖς προέδροις, the magistracy*, undoubtedly chosen from the aristocracy. So the Schol. *τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Μυτιληναίων.* —— *ὅτι—ἔσται—παρέσονται—προαποπεμφθῆναι.* See N. on *ὡς εἴη—ἐλπίδα εἶναι*, III. 8. § 3. —— *αἱ τεσσαράκοντα.* Cf. III. 16. § 3. —— *ἃς....αὐτοῖς, which were to help them.*

2. *πρὸς τοὺς....γνώμην*, *were less inclined to the Athenians*; literally, *had their minds less to the Athenians*. On the use of the article in *τὴν γνώμην*, see N. on III. 22. § 5.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Peloponnesians despatch Alcidas with a fleet to the aid of the Mytilenians, and also under the command of Cleomenes make an irruption into Attica (§§ 1, 2); the Athenian territory is laid waste with unusual severity, until the failure of their provisions compels the invading army to return home (§§ 3, 4).

1. *τοῦ....θέρους*. The events of this fifth year of the war are detailed in chaps. 26–39, and the transactions of the summer are comprised in chaps. 26–36. —— *τὰς....ναῦς*. In III. 16. § 3; 25. § 1; 29. § 1; 69. § 1, the number of these ships is stated to be forty. Probably in those places the round number is given; or forty was the designated number, to which two more were added, and these last are overlooked by the historian, who still continues to speak of the number originally assigned to this enterprise. —— *ναῦς....Ἀλκίδαν*. The construction is, *ἀπέστειλαν Ἀλκίδαν ἔχοντα τὰς ναῦς*. The existence of the two participles *ἔχοντα* and *προστάξαντες*, is somewhat troublesome to critics, as one of them appears to be redundant. Poppo compares Xen. Anab. I. 2. § 21, *ὅτι τριήρεις....Κύρου*, as an instance of a similar confusion of construction. Bloomf. however makes *προστάξαντες* (sc. *αὐτὸν αὐταῖς*) explanatory of *ἔχοντα* = *having in charge forty-two ships as commander*. —— *ἧσσον....ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν*, *might the less send assistance against the fleet which had sailed to Mytilene*.

2. *Κλεομένης*, *Cleomenes*, was the second son of Pausanias, his elder brother being Pleistoanax the father of the young king, who had been exiled from Sparta (II. 21. § 1). —— *νεωτέρου ἔτι*, *being yet too young* to govern. See N. on I. 107. § 2.

3. *εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει*, *whatever had sprouted out* or *sprung up again*. Reference is had to sprouts from the stumps of trees, blades of grain from seed accidentally scattered, and whatever else sprouted out, or grew up spontaneously from the soil. —— *μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν*. Cf. II. 55–57.

4. *ἐπιμένοντες....πεπεραιωμένων*, *for waiting in continual expectation of hearing something from Lesbos*, (viz.) *that their fleet had achieved something*. *ἀεὶ* belongs to *πεύσεσθαι*, and *τι* is explained by *τῶν....πεπεραιωμένων*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Mytilenians are compelled to come to terms with the Athenians (§ 1); for Salæthus himself despairing of the arrival of the Peloponnesian fleet, armed the common people for a sally, who on receiving their arms refused obedience to the magistracy (§§ 2, 3).

1. διὰ τάδε, *for the following reasons.*

2. πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα, *being before light-armed*, not *without arms*, as Hobbes strangely renders it. The oligarchical party in Mytilene had withheld the heavy armor from the common people, in order the more effectually to keep them in a state of subordination. As soon, however, as Salæthus distributed arms among them, with the design of leading them against the enemy, they shook off the yoke of their superiors, and assumed themselves the functions of government.

3. κατὰ ξυλλόγους τε γιγνόμενοι, *being collected in groups*, as is usual in seditious gatherings, where plans of action are discussed and matured. Cf. Xen. Anab. V. 7. § 1. We find ξυστάσεις instead of ξυλλόγους in II. 21. § 2.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The magistracy are therefore compelled in these circumstances to capitulate to the Athenians, to be treated as it might be determined at Athens (§ 1); those who had been in correspondence with the Lacedæmonians flee to the temples, but being induced to come forth, are sent to Tenedos to await the decision of the Athenians respecting them (§§ 2, 3).

1. οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, *those in power = the magistrates.* —— ὄντες depends on γνόντες. See N. on I. 25. § 1. —— τῆς ξυμβάσεως, *the agreement, the terms*, on which the commons were about to surrender themselves up to the Athenians. —— κινδυνεύσοντες is dependent upon γνόντες. —— ὥστε = *on condition that.* Cf. Mt. §§ 479. a; 629. —— βουλεῦσαι....βούλωνται, *to determine as they please concerning the Mytilenians.* —— αὐτοὺς—Μυτιληναίους. The more natural order would have been Μυτιληναίους—αὐτούς. —— ἐν....ἔλθωσι, *but in the meanwhile until they should return.* Reference is had to the Mytilenian embassy to Athens.

2. οἱ δὲ....Λακεδαιμονίους, *but those who had held communication with the Lacedæmonians.* —— περιδεεῖς, *in great fear*, principally of the Athenians, but in part, perhaps, of their own citizens, who would be disposed to blame them as the authors of the present calamity. —— ἐφ' ἡλθεν *the city.* —— οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, "they could not restrain

themselves." Bloomf. —— ὅμως, i. e. although assurances of safety had been given to them by Paches, *yet they fled to the temples and sat*, etc. The preposition gives to the verb the idea of previous motion. See N. on I. 18. § 2. —— ἀναστήσας αὐτούς. See N. on I. 126. § 11. —— ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, *on condition of doing them no injury.*

8. Ἄντισσαν. Antissa lay on the west side of the island. —— προσεκτήσατο. See N. on I. 114. § 3. —— καθίσατο ᾗ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, *he adjusted in the way he thought best.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

In consequence of their inaction, the Peloponnesians in the forty ships do not reach the Asiatic coast until some days after the capitulation of Mytilene (§ 1); at which time they hold a consultation in respect to their future movements (§ 2).

1. πλέοντες ἐνδιέτριψαν, *wasted time in sailing about Peloponnesus.* They ought to have crossed the Ægean without any delay. —— τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦν, *the rest of the voyage.* —— σχολαῖοι is taken adverbially. See N. on I. 134. § 1. —— ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, i. e. in Athens. For the use of ἐκ (= ἐν), see N. on III. 22. § 4. —— ἔσχον (= προσέσχον). See N. on II. 25. § 3. —— ἀπ' αὐτῆς, i. e. from Delos. —— Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ. The relative position of these islands is inverted, since to one sailing from Peloponnesus to Lesbos, Myconus comes first. —— ἑάλωκε, *was taken*, is the Att. perf. of ἁλίσκομαι.

2. τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἁλωκυίᾳ, *from the time of the capture of Mytilene.* See N. on ταύτῃ, I. 18. § 4. —— ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, *in the present circumstances.*

CHAPTER XXX.

Teutiaplus an Elean urges upon Alcidas the attempt to retake Mytilene by a sudden assault (§ 1), on the ground that the usual negligence with which a place just captured is guarded, renders it easy to be retaken by a sudden attack, and such an achievement would exemplify what are called the unexpected turns of war (§§ 2, 3).

1. πάρεσμεν. The first person is used here to include the speaker himself in the number of those who are addressed. —— πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι, *before we are heard of*, i. e. before it is known that we are in this quarter. —— ὥσπερ ἔχομεν, *just as we are*, i. e. without any delay. Cf. Xen. Anab. IV. 1. § 19. These words belong to πλεῖν ἡμᾶς. The speaker had doubtless in his eye the usual dilatoriness of

the Spartans, which rendered them incapable of making a rapid movement, such as would enable them to surprise an enemy.

2. *κατὰ....εὑρήσομεν, for it is likely that we shall find great want of watchfulness* (literally, *much unguardedness*), *such as is natural to men who have just taken a city.* I have with Goel. and Krüg. made *ἀνδρῶν* to depend on *τὸ ἀφύλακτον.* Cf. Poppo, Suppl. Adnot. p. 190. —— *κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν.* The corresponding sentence is *εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν.*

3. *μετὰ τῶν ἔνδον, with the aid of those within,* i. e. of the Mytilenians, who espoused the Peloponnesian cause, as appears from the next clause, *εἴ τις....εὔνους.* —— *μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν.* S. 218. § 2. —— *νομίσαντες....τοιοῦτον, thinking that* (what is called) *the unexpected turn of war is nothing else than some such thing as this.* ὃ refers to *τὸ καινόν*, and is dependent on *φυλάσσοιτο.* The various interpretations of this passage I must pass over for the sake of brevity, having adopted the one which on the whole seems to be least liable to objections. —— *εἴ τις....ἂν ὀρθοῖτο.* Cf. S. § 215. 1. —— *τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν = ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁρῶν.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

This advice of Teutiaplus is rejected by Alcidas, whereupon others urge him to make a descent upon Ionia, and to endeavor to bring about its revolt, or at least to diminish the revenue and increase the expense of the Athenian state (§ 1); but this advice he also rejects and determines to sail back to Peloponnesus (§ 2).

1. *ἄλλοι δέ τινες κ. τ. λ.* Bloomf. rightly supposes that these refugees were favorers of the aristocracy, who had been driven out on that account by the Athenians and the democratical party. They were evidently persons of rank, or they would not have been admitted to this council of war. The Lesbians here mentioned were most likely the ambassadors spoken of in III. 5. § 4; 8. § 1, who were now on their return from Peloponnesus. —— *ἐπειδὴ....φοβεῖται = since he feared this as too dangerous.* "There is something pointed, not to say pungent, in the turn; it being almost tantamount to calling Alcidas *coward.*" Bloomf. —— *ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενοι,* i. e. making a city the base of operations. See N. on I. 64. § 2. —— *οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀκουσίως ἀφίχθαι κ. τ. λ.* This exceedingly obscure passage probably will never be interpreted in a way free from objections, since the MSS. differ much, and the exceeding brevity renders it necessary to supply some words, which cannot be elicited readily from the context. There is no difficulty with the construction of *οὐδενὶ....ἀφῖχθαι,* for his arrival

had been unwelcome to no one, the γὰρ serving to introduce the clause as a reason for ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι (sc. ἔφασαν), *and they said that there was hope* (of success). In the words following, I am of the opinion, (1) that the reading of Dindorf (αὐτοὺς only being changed to αὐτοῖς) is sustained by the best authority and makes the best sense, which is no small evidence in its favor; and (2) that the apodosis commences with πείσειν τε οἴεσθαι, unless some words are lost from the passage, which of course we can never know with certainty. From this reading and construction we may derive the following translation: *and if they could deprive the Athenians of this revenue* (viz. the revenue derived from Ionia), *which was the greatest they possessed, and if at the same time they* (i. e. the Lacedæmonians, Lesbians, and Ionians) *could obtain* (from Ionia) *the means* (literally, *the expense*) *necessary to carry on the war against them* (i. e. the Athenians), *they thought that they could persuade*, etc. ἐφορμῶσιν agrees with σφίσι, and is followed in the dative (S. § 202. 1) by αὐτοῖς referring to the Athenians. Some read ἐφορμοῦσιν (participle of ἐφορμέω) αὐτοῖς, and render, *if they* (i. e. the Athenians) *might be at expense while watching them* (i. e. the Peloponnesians). But this idea would be implied in the loss of the revenue, which is referred to in the previous clause, and would seem therefore like a repetition of the same sentiment, whereas in addition to the loss of their revenue, and the increase of expenditure in maintaining the war in those parts, their enemies would be all the while deriving their resources from the countries (which had been tributary to Athens), and thus there would be a twofold inducement for the Persian satrap to take part in the war. It would be presumption in me to suppose that this interpretation will receive the assent of all. Yet on the whole, I cannot but think that it is the least objectionable of any which has yet been given to the passage. The reading and pointing of Goel. and Krüg. is worth citing: ἣν ἐφορμῶσιν, αὐτοῖς δαπάνη [σφίσι] γίγνηται. —— Πισσούθνην. See N. on I. 115. § 4.

8. τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν, *felt most inclined*. In respect to the construction, some govern τὸ πλεῖστον by κατὰ understood, and make τῆς γνώμης depend on εἶχεν, *he was mostly of the mind*. But there is no necessity for this, for τὸ πλεῖστον τὴν γνώμης = τὴν πλείστην γνώμην. —— ὅτι....προσμῖξαι. This Alcidas was evidently a most inefficient commander. Had he possessed the energy and tact of Brasidas, a very different result might have been expected from this expedition.

CHAPTER XXXII.

On his way home Alcidas touches at Myonnesus, and there puts to death the greater portion of his prisoners (§ 1); putting in at Ephesus he is expostulated with by the Samian ambassadors for this cruel and impolitic act, and is prevailed upon to liberate the rest of the prisoners (§§ 2, 3).

1. *παρέπλει, he sailed along* the Ionian coast. —— *προσχών.* See N. on III. 29. § 1. —— *Μυοννήσῳ, Myonnesus*, lay about midway between Teios and Lebedos, on a small rocky peninsula, which would be very easy to touch at in a coasting voyage from Erythræ to Ephesus. —— *τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους—ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς πολλούς, he butchered the captives, the most* (of them). There is no need of constructing *τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους* according to the formula *quod attinet ad*, as *τοὺς πολλοὺς* is in partitive apposition with it, and both are dependent upon the verb. In respect to this cruel massacre, cf. II. 67. § 4 (end).

2. *οὐ καλῶς....αὐτόν.* The Lacedæmonians had given themselves out as the liberators of Greece. Cf. II. 8. § 4. —— *οὔτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους, not lifting up their hands against*, i. e. having performed no hostile act. They were not voluntary enemies of the Peloponnesians.

3. *ὁρῶντες γὰρ κ. τ. λ.* The manner in which Alcidas came by his prisoners is here explained. The men had approached the ships under the impression that it was an Athenian fleet, as nothing was more remote from their thought, than the idea that Lacedæmonian vessels would venture into those parts. —— *μή ποτε—παραβαλεῖν.* See N. on I. 10. § 1 (end).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Alcidas sails homeward with all speed for fear of being intercepted by the Athenian fleet (§ 1); and this fear was not groundless, for intelligence having been received by Paches the Athenian admiral, that the Ionian cities were in danger, he sailed forthwith in pursuit of the Peloponnesian fleet, but did not succeed in overtaking it (§§ 2, 3).

1. *Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου.* These ships seem to have been employed in the collecting of tribute, in carrying ambassadors to and fro, in conveying those who went to Delos or other places for religious purposes, in watching the motions of the enemy, and in any state-service where expedition was required. They were manned by free-born citizens of Athens, and when employed (as they sometimes were) in sea-fights, carried the admiral of the fleet. —— *ἔτι....ὁρμῶν, while yet lying at Icarus.* On the conjecture of Poppo (Observ. in Thucyd.

c. 14. p. 229), *περὶ Ἴκαρον* has been adopted by all the leading editors for *περὶ* Κλάρον, which Arnold and Krüger still retain as the true reading. —— *δίωξιν* by Paches. —— *πελάγους*, i. e. the Ægean sea. —— *ὡς....Πελοποννήσῳ*, *with the intention of touching* (Mt. § 568; S. § 225. t) *at no other land than Peloponnesus.* *ἑκούσιος* (= *ἑκουσίως*, S. § 134. 1), *of his own will*, i. e. unless compelled by necessity.

2. *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας*, *even from Erythræ.* —— *εἰ καὶ ὥς*, *if even thus.* *ὥς* has reference to *ἀτειχίστου....Ἰωνίας.* —— *παραδώσειν.... πόλεις*, *should assault and destroy the cities*; literally, *should destroy at the same time that they attacked the cities.* The rapidity and completeness of the destruction is expressed in this employment of the verb and the participle preceded by *ἅμα*. Cf. S. § 225. N. 1. —— *αὐτάγγελοι δ' αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσαι*, *themselves who had seen him bringing the tidings.*

3. *ὁ δέ*, i. e. Paches. —— *ὑπὸ σπουδῆς* = *σπουδῇ.* —— *ἐν καταλήψει*, *within reach.* —— *ἐφαίνετο* refers to Alcidas, and *ἐπανεχώρει* to Paches. Poppo denies that *ἐφαίνετο* can be referred to Alcidas, as his name has not been mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and therefore would employ the verb impersonally, or supply *τὰ πράγματα* as being somewhat indistinctly in the mind of the writer. But the pronoun *αὐτόν*, which can refer to no one but the commander of the fleet, is found in the preceding context, and if it had not been, the idea of an admiral or commander is so inseparable from that of a fleet, that a reference to him is perfectly natural and intelligible, even though his name has not been mentioned in the context immediately preceding. —— *ὅτι.... παρασχεῖν*, *because being nowhere shut up, they were not compelled to form an encampment, and thus impose upon them* (*σφίσι*, i. e. the Athenians) *the necessity of watching them and maintaining a blockade.* The negative in *οὐδαμοῦ* belongs also to the verb. The construction is harsh and obscure.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Paches coasting along touches at Notium, in which place the Colophonians had taken refuge when the upper city was taken by Itamenes (§ 1); but they had fallen into dissensions, and some having called in to their aid Arcadians and others, got possession of a part of the place, on account of which the other faction call in Paches to their assistance (§ 2); he treacherously seizes and confines Hippias the Arcadian commander, and by a sudden and unexpected assault gets possession of the place, and puts to death the Arcadians, Barbarians, and Hippias (§ 3); after which he makes the place a colony (§ 4).

1. *τῆς....ἁλωκυίας*, *when the upper city was taken.* The city lay about two miles from the sea, on a high situation, being connected to Notium its harbor by means of long walls. —— *κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίαν*,

"*introduced without any public authority for the purposes of a party quarrel.*" Arnold. Krüger and Arnold correctly read *ἰδίᾳ*. —— *ἡ δευτέρα—ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν*. Cf. II. 47. § 1.

2. *οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες*, "*qui eo confugerant et ibi domicilia posuerant.*" Poppo. —— *αὖθις* in reference to the previous factions in the upper city (§ 1). —— *Ἀρκάδων*. "The Arcadians were the Swiss of Greece, and ready to take pay of any who would hire them." Bloomf. —— *διατειχίσματι*. This refers to a place walled off, and fortified by a castle or fortress. —— *ἐπολίτευον, took part in the public affairs, engaged in the politics* of the place. —— *οἱ δέ*, i. e. those composing the other faction. —— *ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους, withdrawing from them.* The accusative is employed instead of the separative genitive, because the object of the verb denotes persons and not place.

3. *ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος* is repeated by *ὁ δ'* (opposed to *ὁ μέν*), and belongs therefore to *εἶχεν*. This construction, which Kühner (Jelf's edit. § 708. 3) calls a rhetorical anacoluthon, is employed to denote that the person designated by *ὁ μέν*, is to be considered as the principal agent. —— *ὥστε*. See N. on III. 28. § 1. —— *αὐτὸν καταστήσειν, to replace him, to restore him.* —— *σῶν καὶ ὑγιᾶ*. So we say, *safe and sound, uninjured in life or limb*, meaning, in these expressions, freedom from all harm. —— *ὁ δ'....εἶχεν*. Mitford very properly denounces this act of treachery and cruelty, as marring with a blot of eternal infamy a character otherwise of some glory. The baseness of the deed is enhanced by the miserable contrivance of appearing to keep his word in bringing back Hippias, according to his promise, and then immediately putting him to death. —— *τῷ τειχίσματι* refers to the same fortified place as *διατείχισμα* above. —— *αἰρεῖ* Notium.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Paches returns again to Mytilene, and having reduced several places to submission, sends Salæthus and such of the Mytilenians as appeared to be concerned in the revolt, to Athens, and also sends back the greater part of his army (§ 1); with the rest he remains to settle the affairs of Lesbos (§ 2).

1. *παρεστήσατο*. Cf. I. 29. § 5. —— *τοὺς....κατέθετο*. Cf. III. 28. § 2. Here again Paches broke his word, inasmuch as these Mytilenians were to remain in Tenedos, until the pleasure of the Athenians respecting them was known. He did this, probably, in order that the larger part of the Athenian forces might be relieved from duty at Lesbos.

2. *καθίστατο—ᾗ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει*. See N. on II. 28. § 3. —— *Ἄλκιππον* in reference to Mytilene.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Salæthus is put to death immediately upon his arrival at Athens (§ 1), and afterwards the Athenians decree, that all the male adults of the Mytilenians shall be put to death, and the women and children sold into slavery (§ 2), which decree they forthwith despatch to Paches (§ 3); remorse however seizes upon them for this bloody measure, and a second assembly is held on the next day, at which, after the expression of various opinions on both sides of the question, Cleon comes forward and addresses the assembly (§§ 4–6).

1. ἔστιν ἃ παρεχόμενον, *promising certain things.* See N. on I. 65. § 3. —— τά τ' ἄλλα καί, *and among other things.* ἄλλα refers to the other promises made by Salæthus, and included in the phrase ἔστιν ἃ.

2. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς—ἐπικαλοῦντες. The participle here refers to the subject logically implied in ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς = *they thought.* Cf. K. § 313. 1. The reverse of this construction (i. e. a participle in the dative, to conform to the construction ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ implied in the leading expression) is found in I. 62. § 3. In respect to the murderous decree here spoken of, we might have supposed that Cleon was the chief author of it, even had we not been so informed by Thucydides (cf. § 6 infra). —— τοὺς ἅπαντας Μυτιληναίους. The article with πάντες shows that the substantive to which it belongs, is to be considered as a whole in distinction from its parts. Cf. K. § 246. 5. β. —— ἐπικαλοῦντες.... ἀπόστασιν, *considering the revolt as heinous in other respects* (ἄλλην in reference to the circumstance here about to be mentioned, viz. their freedom from the galling subjection of the other allies). —— οὐκ.... ἐποιήσαντο, *because they had made it, not being governed as the others*, i. e. being treated with less rigor by the Athenians than were the other subject states. —— προσξυνεβάλετο....ὁρμῆς, *contributed besides not a little to their wrath.* The verb is in the singular because the subject νῆες....παρακινδυνεῦσαι is used as a single idea, *the ships daring to venture into Ionia*, etc. For the genitive ὁρμῆς, cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 535; S. § 191. 1. —— οὐ....διανοίας = *with much previous deliberation.*

4. μετάνοιά τις, "*a sort of compunction.*" Bloomf. —— ὠμόν, sc. εἶναι. This ellipsis of the infinitive is rare. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 376. Obs. (end). —— μέγα seems to be joined to ὠμὸν by a sort of hendiadys = *cruel beyond measure*, "*enormously cruel.*" Bloomf. —— μᾶλλοι ἢ οὐ. See N. on II. 62. § 3.

5. τοὺς ἐν τέλει may refer to the prytanes or to the ten generals of the state, who on extraordinary occasions pertaining especially to war, had the power of convening an assembly. —— ἔνδηλον ἦν βουλόμενον τὸ πλέον = ἔνδηλον ἦν ὅτι τὸ πλέον ἐβούλετο.

6. ἀφ' ἑκάστων, i. e. by each party, according as they took sides with or against the Mytilenians. —— ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι. See N. on I. 34. § 3. —— τῷ τε....πιθανώτατος, *and by far the most influential, at that time, with the common people.*

CHAPTERS XXXVII.—XL.

In these chapters we have the speech of Cleon in the assembly, which was convened to decide whether the murderous decree of the previous assembly, respecting the Mytilenians, should be carried into effect or rescinded. The speech is characterized by all the beauties and defects of the Thucydidean style, being nervous, pointed, compressed, and as a natural result of this last quality, in many places confused and obscure. But in its sentiment and moral features it is very unlike any speech, which has yet been introduced to our notice in this history. It is just what we might expect from a violent, boastful, arrogant, shallow demagogue like Cleon, and for all the qualities of fierce denunciation, malicious inuendoes, biting sarcasm, and malignant cruelty, in my judgment, has no parallel in this whole history. If I were to characterize its great and leading idea, I would name it a most bitter onset upon the enlightened and conservative policy which marked the administration of Pericles, and which after his death was advocated and defended by others. The mad schemes of such turbulent and short-sighted politicians as Cleon had already been foisted upon the body politic, in the time of the great orator and statesman just mentioned, and had embittered his closing life, and now their ruinous influence began to be seen and felt in bad-planned expeditions, impolitic severity towards their allies, and a forfeiture of the honor of the state, whenever it seemed necessary to promote its immediate and temporary aggrandizement. A policy so prejudicial to the real welfare of the state, could not but awaken the most determined opposition from the wise and patriotic, and hence Cleon seizes this occasion to inveigh in the coarsest and most virulent terms against these political opponents, who were as far above him in all statesmanlike qualities, as they were in real worth and patriotism.

It is unnecessary to say more of the character of Cleon in this place, as the reader will be made well acquainted with it by the masterly delineation of our historian. Suffice it to say, that such bustling, noisy, and selfish demagogues have been common in every republic, and may be regarded as the weeds, which spring up with rank spontaneous growth from the soil of freedom, serving to show its richness, and depth, and how abundant a harvest of the choicest productions may be expected from proper culture and attention.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Cleon begins his speech by repeating his conviction of the inefficiency of democracy to govern others (§ 1); he upbraids the easiness, freedom from suspicion, and magnanimity of the Athenians, as means adopted to secure the obedience of the allies, who, it should be remembered, are only submissive so far as they are made to feel the superior power of the governing state (§ 2); bad laws carried into effect are to be preferred to good ones which are never put in force (§ 3); he blames the readiness with which they listen to their orators, who, arrogantly assuming to be wiser than the laws, seize upon every occasion to show off their rhetorical powers, whereas those of modest worth, who bow to the supremacy of law, are the men whose judgment is to be relied on (§§ 4, 5).

1. *ἔγνων....ἄρχειν*, i. e. *ἔγνων ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ δημοκρατίαν ἑτέρων ἄρχειν*. The subject of *ἄρχειν* is *δημοκρατίαν*, which by a very common species of attraction is made the object of *ἔγνων*. See N. on I. 72. § 1.

2. *διὰ....ἔχετε*, *for on account of your security in your daily intercourse, and freedom from treachery towards one another, you think that the same disposition exists in your allies* (towards you). *τὸ αὐτὸ* refers to *ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον*. The same disposition is attributed to the Athenians in II. 37. § 2, and to the Lacedæmonians in I. 68. § 1. —— *ἐνδῶτε*. Regularity of construction would have been better preserved by *ἐνδόντες*. —— *οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως κ. τ. λ.* Construct, *οὐχ ἡγεῖσθε μαλακίζεσθαι (ὑμᾶς) ἐπικινδύνως ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς—χάριν*. In respect to *καὶ οὐκ*, cf. Mt. § 608 (end). *ξυμμάχων* is the objective genitive. —— *ὅτι τυραννίδα κ. τ. λ.* See N. on II. 63. § 2. —— *καὶ πρὸς....ἀρχομένους*, *and over those who are themselves plotting against* [you] *and are governed reluctantly*, i. e. submit with reluctance to your dominion. The *οἱ* which follows is omitted in many MSS., but how the sentence can then be constructed is beyond my knowledge. —— *ἐξ ὧν = ἐξ ἐκείνων (= δι' ἐκεῖνα) ἃ*. —— The participle *βλαπτόμενοι* (with which *αὐτοὶ* is to be joined) is to be taken with *χαρίζησθε*, and not with *ἀκροῶνται*, as the Schol. teaches, for this clause is responsive to *ἐπικινδύνως....μαλακίζεσθαι* supra. —— *ἐξ ὧν = ἐξ ἐκείνων ἃ*, of which the relative limits *περιγένησθε* as the accusative synecdochical.

3. *ὧν—πέρι*, i. e. *περὶ ὧν*. —— *ἀκινήτοις*, *undisturbed*, i. e. suffered to remain in force. The question before the assembly had no reference to a change of laws, but simply of a decree which had been passed without due deliberation. It was the reconsideration of a vote which had been just taken, and therefore the remarks of Cleon about the injurious consequence of a change of laws were wholly inapplicable. —— *πρός*, *in comparison with*. See N. on VI. 62. § 3.

4. *οἱ μὲν* (i. e. *οἱ ξυνετώτεροι*) *γὰρ τῶν κ. τ. λ.* In this fling upon men of superior education and ability, as though they of all others were least observant of law, and placed their own understanding above it, the speaker betrays the real demagogue, paying homage to ignorance, and pandering to the lowest classes of the community, by attributing to them alone love of country, and the impartiality necessary to a right judgment in respect to public measures. —— *τῶν.... περιγίγνεσθαι, and to surpass every thing that is at any time* (*ἀεὶ*) *said for the public good*, i. e. to get the upper hand in whatever is said, and secure the adoption of their own plans and counsels, however wise and salutary may have been those advanced and defended by others. —— *ὡς....γνώμην.* Interpreters are divided in respect to the meaning of *ὡς*, some taking it in the sense of *ἅτε*, *quippe quod, inasmuch as they could not evince their talent in matters of greater consequence;* others giving it the sense of *quasi, as if they could not show off in other weightier matters*, i. e. displaying their abilities on every occasion, as if they were never to have another and a better opportunity. This comports better with the tone of irony (or I might rather say the abusive slang), indulged by the speaker in reference to his political opponents. *ὡς—οὐκ ἂν δηλώσαντες = ὡς εἰ οὐκ ἂν δηλώσειαν.* Cf. Mt. § 596. *b*; S. §§ 215. 5; 225. § 4. —— *κριταὶ—ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, impartial judges.*

5. *ὡς = οὕτως.* —— *ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι*, "*a rivalry* or *prize-fighting in talent.*" Bloomf. —— *παρὰ δόξαν, contrary to our belief.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The speaker professes his adherence to his former opinion in respect to the Mytilenian decree, and wonders at the proposal for a second debate, which cannot but be beneficial to the Mytilenians rather than to themselves, and the advocates for which must either prove that injuries brought upon the state are beneficial, or gain their ends by misleading and blinding the people (§§ 1, 2); of this state of things so injurious to the commonwealth the people are themselves the cause, who listen with eager pleasure to the harangues of their orators, and judge of things by their representations rather than in the light of facts and sober reason (§§ 3, 4); each one is willing to be deceived, and if he cannot aspire to oratory himself, strives to show his high relish and appreciation of it by blindly assenting to every thing which is said, and thus sitting rather as a spectator of sophists than as a judge of what will be the best for the state (§§ 5–7).

1. *ὁ αὐτὸς—τῇ γνώμῃ.* See N. on II. 61. § 2. The construction is varied from that employed in I. 140. § 1. —— *θαυμάζω μὲν τῶν προθέντων, I wonder at those who have proposed.* S. § 198. N. 2. —— *πρὸς τῶν ἠδικηκότων.* See N. on II. 86. § 5 (end). —— *μᾶλλον than*

of us who are the injured party. This omitted clause of the comparison would be implied in the emphasis with which ἠδικημένων was spoken. —— ὁ γὰρ....ἐπεξέρχεται, *for he who suffers* (wrong) *visits it upon the doer with a more blunted resentment*, i. e. a resentment mollified by time. —— ἀμύνασθαι is the subject of ἀναλαμβάνει. For the omission of the article, see N. on II. 87. § 5. —— τῷ παθεῖν depends on ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, which Arnold makes equivalent to ἐγγὺς ἀκολουθοῦν, just as in Homer, ἐγγύθεν ἐλθεῖν is followed by the dative, because it is taken as one word ἐγγίζω. —— ἀντίπαλον, *equally balanced* (with the injury), belongs to ἀμύνασθαι. Some would erase ὄν and join ἀντίπαλον to τιμωρίαν. —— τὰς....καθισταμένας, *that our misfortunes are an injury to the allies*, i. e. that the prosperity of the allies is so bound up in ours, that no example of terror like the one now decreed, is necessary to hold them attached to our interest. The absurdity of such a view was manifest, as the interest of the Athenians and that of their allies were vastly dissimilar. Hence this paradox, to be proved by the gainsayers of the decree which had just been passed, is joined to the previous one, viz. that the injuries done to the Athenians by the Mytilenians were beneficial to the party injured. καθισταμένας depends on ἀποφαίνειν. See N. on II. 20. § 4.

2. τῷ λέγειν....ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν, *relying upon his eloquence, he must strive to show, that what has been positively decreed* (referring to the Mytilenian decree) *has not in the least been determined on.* The argument here advances from the proof of what is absurd to that of an absolute falsehood, as being necessary to the support of the views of the opposite party. The next clause, ἢ....πειράσεται, contains the only remaining way of nullifying the decree just made, viz. to lead the people astray by false and specious arguments. —— ἐκπονήσας, *having elaborated.* The object is τὸ εὐπρεπές.

3. ἀγώνων. Notice the agonistical terms made use of by the speaker. In the previous section we had ἀγωνίσαιτο, and here we meet with ἀγώνων and ἆθλα, while in the next section is ἀγωνοθετοῦντες. —— ἑτέροις refers covertly to the orators. —— αὐτή, i. e. ἡ πόλις. —— ἀναφέρει, *carries off*, as one bears away a prize. Cf. Bloomf. The word conforms to the metaphor contained in ἀγώνων and ἆθλα.

4. κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, "*qui malos arbitros talium certaminum vos præstatis.*" Poppo. —— θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων—ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, *spectators of the words and hearers of the deeds*, i. e. you place such confidence in the orators, that their assertions are to you as the very sight of the deeds, while the acts which come under your own knowledge, you regard as the objects of mere hearsay. This sense accords with τὰ μὲν....ἐπιτιμησάντων, which is epexegetical of the

preceding proposition. —— ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, *as to the possibility of their taking place*, is to be taken with τὰ....ἔργα, to which τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη (depending on σκοποῦντες. Cf. Mt. § 427. *Obs.* 3) is opposed. —— τὸ δρασθέν. In some editions we find τὸ θεασθέν, and so it is cited in Jelf's Kühn. § 368. *b.* —— ὄψει is to be taken with τὸ δρασθέν, in the sense of *a fact which is witnessed by one's own eyes*, and λαβόντες (which belongs also to the second proposition) may have the sense of ὑπολαβόντες. Gottl. and some others construct ὄψει with λαβόντες in the sense of *perceiving, seeing with the mind's eye.* But this seems to be a far-fetched explanation, and makes ὄψει of little use, whereas by constructing it with τὸ δρασθὲν it has great emphasis. —— τὸ ἀκουσθὲν is opposed to τὸ δρασθέν.

5. ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι, *easiest to be deceived.* —— δεδοκιμασμένου. Supply λόγου, as the antithesis clearly teaches. —— μὴ ξυνέπεσθαι ἐθέλειν depends on ἄριστοι, which with μὴ may be rendered *most reluctant, very backward.* —— τῶν ἀεὶ ἀτόπων = *of every paradox which may be advanced.*

6. εἰπεῖν—δύνασθαι, *to have the ability to speak* (as an orator). —— ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι....γνώμῃ, *contending with those who speak thus* [so far as] *not to appear to be following in the rear of the sentiment* (uttered by them). The idea seems to be that, while they had not the faculty of giving utterance to their sentiments, yet they were unwilling to appear to have less quickness of parts to investigate and see the bearings of the points of discussion than the speakers themselves. Thus in their eagerness to avoid the appearance of receiving facts and theories second-hand from their orators, they assented without any consideration or reflection to every thing which was advanced. By τοιαῦτα Krüger would understand ἄτοπα from ἀτόπων, in § 5; but I am inclined to refer it to the eloquence to which the persons here spoken of could not attain. The plural ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι follows βουλόμενος, because ἕκαστος is taken collectively. These participles are all to be referred back to αἴτιοι ὑμεῖς or οἵτινες εἰώθατε, § 4. —— δοκεῖν depends on ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, and τῇ γνώμῃ follows ἀκολουθῆσαι. —— ὀξέως....προεπαινέσαι, *and to be quick to assert what is said, even before the speaker has fully announced his position.* I fully agree with Bloomf., that ὀξέως is to be constructed with the infinitives, and that λέγοντος (sc. τινὸς) depends on the προ- in composition. This gives an apt sense, and is certainly in accordance with the extreme brevity of the author. Goel., Poppo, and Arnold, take ὀξέως with λέγοντος, in the sense of *cleverly, pointedly*, as opposed to what is in accordance with a sound judgment. —— προαισθέσθαι follows πρόθυμοι which depends on βουλόμενοι to be supplied from the preceding con-

text. —— *προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς.* As the Athenians could not wish to be slow in foreseeing the consequences of events, the participle *βουλόμενοι*, supplied in the preceding proposition, is to be displaced here for one signifying *apt* or *inclined to foresee slowly*. This whole passage is fraught with difficulties, and it would require more space than my limits will allow, to bring forward the various interpretations which it has received.

7. *ζητοῦντες....ζῶμεν, seeking after something else, so to speak, than what pertains to common life.* *ἢ ἐν οἷς* = *ἢ ἐκεῖνο ἐν ᾧ.* Gottl. Poppo refers to Mt. § 437. *Obs.* 3, to which I would add Jelf's Kühn. § 820. 2. *β*, as giving the best solution of the construction. Bloomf. says that the plural is employed, because the Athenian form of government is often designated by the plural *πράγματα*, to which the relative is here accommodated in number. —— *τῶν παρόντων* refers to the same things as *ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν.* —— *ἁπλῶς—ἡσσώμενοι, being absolutely overcome.* Betant gives to *ἁπλῶς* here the sense *ut paucis complectæ*, but I doubt whether it is the true one in this passage. —— *σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς, spectators of sophists*, i. e. auditors of those who made it their business to teach rhetoric.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Mytilenians are charged with having injured the Athenians more than any other city, and that too, when they had no occasion to revolt (§§ 1, 2); regardless of the example of their neighbors, who had revolted and were punished for so doing, actuated by ambition and presumption and inflated by their good fortune, they seized what appeared to them the most favorable opportunity, and attacked the Athenians (§§ 3, 4); had they received, as they ought, no better treatment than the other allies, they would never have become so insolent, and therefore the most signal punishment should now be inflicted upon them all (§§ 5, 6); a discrimination ought to be made between the allies who revolt from compulsion, and such as do so voluntarily, or all will seek occasion to revolt (§ 7), and the Athenian interest in each city will be put in jeopardy, and an additional war will have to be maintained with their allies (§ 8).

1. *ὧν* depends upon *ἀποτρέπειν*, and refers to the habits against which the speaker has just been inveighing. —— *μίαν πόλιν, for one city.* This idiom is quite frequently found. Bloomf. is erroneous, I think, in attributing to *εἷς*, in such cases, a limitive rather than an intensive force.

2. The position of *νῆσον* before *οἵτινες* renders it highly emphatic, and serves to fix as the chief reason of their ill-desert of forgiveness, that the Mytilenians were islanders out of the enemy's reach. —— *ἐν ᾧ refers to* the omitted object of φοβούμενοι (viz. *μὴ ἐπέρχωνται.* Cf.

Jelf's Kühn. § 821. *Obs.*), and cannot be rendered *dum*, as some assert, for it introduces an additional reason why the Mytilenians were under no necessity of revolting, viz. the adequate naval defence enjoyed by their island. —— *ἐς τὰ πρῶτα*, *in the first* (= highest) *degree.* —— *τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο*, *have done us such mischief*, or better perhaps, *have made us such trouble.* —— *τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν*, "*what else did they do* but plot against us." Bloomf. —— *ἐπανέστησαν.* See N. on I. 115. § 5. —— *ἢ ἀπέστησαν.* Cleon makes a distinction here between a simple revolt in vindication of liberty, and a conspiracy resulting from deep hatred, and aiming at nothing short of the ruin of the state against which it is made. Bloomf. thinks it a subtle distinction, and so Poppo (Proleg. I. p. 238) intimates, but it is certainly adapted to make a forcible impression upon the popular mind, and for this it was doubtless intended. —— *καθ' αὑτούς*, *by themselves.*

8. *τῶν πέλας.* See N. on I. 32. § 1. —— *ὅκνον* contains a negative idea, and hence *μὴ* accompanies *ἐλθεῖν.* See N. on I. 10. § 1. —— *πρὸς τὸ μέλλον*, *in respect to the future.* —— *μακρότερα....βουλήσεως*, *beyond their power but less than their will*, i. e. their wishes far exceeded their ability to do mischief. An exceedingly bitter remark. —— *ἰσχὺν....προθεῖναι.* Bloomf. cites the common adage "to set might above right." —— *ἐν ᾧ*, *when.*

4. *εἰώθε....τρέπειν.* Goel. constructs and explains: *εἰώθε δὲ ἡ εὐπραξία ἐκείνας τὰς πόλεις ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν, αἷς ἂν μάλιστα ἀπροσδόκητος ἔλθῃ.* Poppo regards *δι' ἐλαχίστου* (sc. *καίρου*) as an additional circumstance interposed, *quibus maxime, et quidem minimo intervallo, insperata*, i. e. *quibus maxime insperata, et quidem nuperrime.* —— *τὰ δὲ πολλὰ....δόξαν*, *it is often the case, that good fortune, which happens to men in accordance with reasonable expectation, is more sure than that which is beyond calculation.* I am disposed with Bloomf. to refer the *τὰ* before *πολλὰ* to *εὐτυχοῦντα*, and make *πολλὰ* refer to *εὐτυχοῦντα* in the sense of *many such εὐτυχίαι* = *it often happens*, etc. Some may however prefer to construct *τὰ πολλὰ* as an accusative = *ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ.*

5. *καὶ ἄλλως* = *not only in this but in other cases*, i. e. generally. —— *τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν*, *to look down upon studiousness to serve and oblige.* The use of the neuter participle as an abstract noun has been referred to (N. on I. 41. § 2), and is much less offensive than the masculine would have been.

6. *καὶ μὴ τοῖς κ. τ. λ.* It shows the cruelty of Cleon, that he would involve in his merciless decree all the citizens of Mytilene, many of whom he must have known had no hand in the revolt. Notice the variation of construction in *προστεθῇ—ἀπολύσητε.* —— *οἳ δὲ*

refers to δῆμον which is a collective noun. —— κίνδυνον....βεβαιότερον, "*thinking the hazard of joining the oligarchy more to be depended upon in its result.*" Bloomf. τῶν ὀλίγων = τῶν δυνατῶν.

7. τῶν ξυμμάχων depends on τοῖς ἀναγκασθεῖσιν (sc. ἀποστᾶσι)—τοῖς ἑκοῦσιν ἀποστᾶσι, and is therefore placed at the beginning of the sentence. —— τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα is an instance of what is called inverse attraction, τίνα, which should properly be in the nominative, being attracted to the case of its relative. Cf. S. § 175. 2. —— βραχείᾳ προφάσει, *on some slight pretence.* —— μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον is euphemistically spoken for death or slavery.

8. ἡμῖν is the *dat. incommodi* after ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται (used as a common future. Cf. Rost, § 113. 12. N. 8), or it may be considered as standing for the adnominal genitive after χρήματα. S. § 201. 5. —— προσόδου depends on στερήσεσθε. I know not why Bloomf. should regard the change from this verb to the first person ἕξομεν, as any more harsh than those of the same kind, which are so frequently recurring in Thucydides. The orator in his vehemence uses the second person, but recollecting himself, he recurs to the first person, as a softer form, especially as the thing supposed must have been very ungrateful to the ears of an Athenian audience (cf. Poppo's Proleg. I. p. 276). This change of person is quite common in all harangues in which invective and argument are mingled together.

CHAPTER XL.

No hope of freedom should therefore be held out to the Mytilenians, nor should the decree be altered at the instigation of the orators (§§ 1, 2); for pity should be exercised towards those who have kindred and friendly feelings, and not to most virulent enemies, and the orators should choose some occasion, in which their rhetorical powers may be displayed with less harm than in the present instance (§ 3); both justice and expediency demand that signal punishment shall be inflicted on these offenders (§§ 4, 5); for the consciousness that the Athenians, as the injured party, can never be other than their enemies, will ever excite them to the most deadly hatred (§ 6); therefore the Athenians should be firm, and by a timely severity furnish a salutary lesson to all the other allies (§ 7).

1. προθεῖναι. So Bekker, Bloomf., Arnold, and Krüger read, on the ground that *to hold out a hope* is a more natural expression than to *give a hope.* —— λόγῳ, *oratory.* —— πιστὴν = *founded upon.* —— ὡς....λήψονται denotes the object of ἐλπίδα: *hope that they shall receive*, etc. —— ἀνθρωπίνως belongs to ἁμαρτεῖν, and the clause is well rendered by Poppo, veniam humanitus peccandi *accipient*, i. e.

veniam peccandi ideo accipient, quia peccare humanum sit. The same critic refers to Xen. Cyr. VI. 1. § 37, which citation aptly illustrates the present passage. —— τὸ ἀκούσιον, *the involuntary*, i. e. an error committed involuntarily.

2. νῦν διαμάχομαι, *still contend* (in argument); literally, *fight through, do not yield the contest.* —— μεταγνῶναι—τὰ προδεδογμένα, *through a change of mind to repeal the decrees.* I see no reason why τὰ προδεδογμένα is to be made dependent on a preposition understood, as Bloomf. suggests, since the verb has evidently a transitive sense in this place. Cf. Liddell and Scott *sub voce.* —— Arnold discriminates between οἴκτῳ and ἐπιεικείᾳ, the former being a feeling of the mind exercised by such as are not possessed of the latter, which refers rather to a habit of the mind, *gentleness, mildness.* Betant translates ἐπιεικεία, *clementia*, which is doubtless its meaning here.

3. πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους, *towards those who are of the same mind* (with us) = *who sympathize with us.* —— ἐξ ἀνάγκης, *necessarily.* —— ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν, *in other matters of less moment.* —— βραχέα ἡσθεῖσα, *being pleased for a short time.* Cf. Mt. § 414. 12. —— μεγάλα ζημιώσεται, *shall suffer great loss.* For the use of the middle voice, cf. K. § 251. R. 1; for the construction, cf. Mt. § 415. *Obs.* 3. —— τὸ παθεῖν εὖ refers to bribes from the Mytilenians, which Cleon intimates as influencing the orators. Cf. ἢ κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος, III. 38. § 2. The student will notice the pointed antithesis between ἐκ τοῦ εὖ εἰπεῖν and τὸ παθεῖν εὖ, which is rendered more piquant by their juxtaposition. —— ἐπιτηδείους = φίλους. See N. on I. 60. § 2. —— πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους....ὑπολειπομένους, *towards those who will remain the same in disposition* (see N. on § 3), *and be not the less our enemies* than before they were pardoned.

4. ἐν δὲ ξυνελὼν λέγω. See N. on I. 70. § 8. ἐν depends on λέγω. —— τὰ ξύμφορα to yourselves. —— ἄλλως δὲ γνόντες, *but by deciding otherwise*, i. e. by exercising clemency towards the Mytilenians. —— οὐ χαριεῖσθε, *you will confer no favor upon them, lay them under no obligation*, i. e. they will feel no obligations to you for your clemency. So the Schol. interprets it, οὐχ ἕξουσιν ἡμῖν χάριν. —— ὑμᾶς....δικαιώσεσθε, *but you will rather condemn yourselves on the score of justice.* How this will be done, appears in the next sentence which begins with γὰρ *explicantis.* Arnold thinks that there is something of a contempt for the arguments drawn from justice, which is stated fully in the Athenian's language to the Melians, V. 89. —— οὐ χρεών, sc. ἄρχειν. Cf. Mt. § 564. —— οὐ προσῆκον (= προσήκοντες. Bloomf.) is synonymous with παρὰ τὸ εἰκός. —— τοῦτο δρᾶν, i. e. ἄρχειν. —— τον = *you know.* —— ξυμφόρως (sc. ὑμῖν), *for your own interest.* ——

ταύεσθαι, sc. δεῖ from the preceding context. —— ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. See N. on II. 63. § 2.

5. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ, *with the same punishment* which they would have inflicted upon you. —— οἱ διαφεύγοντες (taken as a substantive) refers to the Athenians, and τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων (depending on ἀναλητότεροι, *tardiores ad irascendum*. Betant) refers to the Mytilenians. ἀξιώσατε is to be repeated in this clause.

6. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ μὴ κ. τ. λ. is a continuation of the sentiment contained in ἄλλως....ἀδικίας. —— μὴ ξὺν προφάσει, *with no pretext*, i. e. being provoked by no injury. —— διόλλυνται has a middle signification, *effect his destruction*. Poppo and Goel. after Herm. construct it with ὑφορώμενοι, *they perish by the dread of danger*, i. e. they cannot endure (*tolerare nequeunt*. Betant) the suspicion of danger. Bloomf. connects it to the preceding verb by hendiadys, *they pursue him to utter destruction*. —— ὁ γὰρ....ἐχθροῦ, *for he who has suffered without necessity* (on the part of the injurer) *is, if he escapes* (see N. on I. 71. § 6) *a far bitterer enemy, than one who is so from reciprocity* (of injury), i. e. where the parties have received, in fair and open contest, equal injury. This sentence, which is exceedingly compressed, contains the reason of the preceding assertion, and is therefore introduced by γάρ. Cf. ἐνθυμηθέντες....ἀδικίας, § 5.

7. Here commences the peroration. —— γενόμενοι....πάσχειν, *recalling as far as possible the feelings you experienced when suffering* (from their defection); literally, *being as near as possible in your mind* (i. e. in your thoughts) *to the time of suffering*. τοῦ πάσχειν depends on ἐγγύτατα. S. § 187. 1. The construction proceeds by καὶ ὡς—ἂν ἐτιμήσασθε, because γενόμενοι—τῇ γνώμῃ may be mentally supplied in the modified sense of διανοηθέντες, which we find in I. 143. § 5, a passage very analogous to this. —— πρὸ παντός, *above every thing*. —— πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα, *in reference to what is immediately before you*, i. e. the miserable condition of the Mytilenians. This is antithetic to the subject of thought recommended in γενόμενοι.... πάσχειν. The speaker exhorts them to act under the influence of the memory of past injuries, and not to give place to the emotions of pity, inspired by the present distress of the Mytilenians. αὐτίκα gives intensity to the idea contained in τὸ παρόν.

8. ἀξίως, sc. τῆς ἀδικίας. —— τοῖς....καταστήσατε, *make a conspicuous example to the other confederates*. —— Goeller says that ζημιωσόμενον does not depend on παράδειγμα, since thus it should have been ζημιώσεσθαι, or ζημιώσεται, but is in apposition with it, as though it had been καταστήσατε παράδειγμα, καταστήσατε, ὃς ἂν ἀφεστῇ, θανάτῳ ζημιωσόμενον.

CHAPTERS XLII.—XLVIII.

Thucydides now gives us the speech of Diodotus, who in the first discussion had argued against the decree to slay the Mytilenians (cf. III. 41). This oration is in grateful and beautiful contrast with the one which precedes it, being mild, conciliatory, liberal, humane, and eminently adapted to soothe the angry feelings excited by the speech of Cleon. The truthfulness of its statements, the candor and good sense which pervade it, and the skilful arrangement of the points to be illustrated and enforced, worked such a change in the sentiments of the meeting, that the bloody decree was revoked and the Mytilenians saved from utter destruction. One cannot but wish to know more of the man, who so nobly vindicated wise and enlightened principles of legislation, and the interests of humanity.

It will be seen that this oration, like that of Cleon, has no exordium, yet its commencement is well adapted to conciliate the audience, and bespeak for the orator their favorable attention. After a few preliminary remarks, he gradually and skilfully turns the mind of his hearers from the justice to the expediency of the decree just passed. He shows that the extremest severity would not prevent the existence of revolts, while it would drive those engaged in them to the most desperate and prolonged defence. He speaks of the bad policy of confounding in this decree the slaughter of both friends and foes, since it would ever after drive the populace to take sides in every revolt with the aristocracy. Thus he argues almost solely the question of expediency, being aware, probably, that the minds of the majority of those present were disposed already to compassion, and only needed something upon which they might repose, as a reasonable ground for the reversal of the decree.

CHAPTER XLII.

The orator commences by disclaiming all intention to censure or praise any one in respect to this second deliberation, and avows his belief that anger and haste are the two greatest hinderances to wise counsel (§ 1); they are foolish or dishonest who deny the power of words over actions, and still more those who impute such unworthy motives to the speakers (§ 2); to wrongfully attribute ignorance to them might be accounted folly, but to charge upon them bribery unsustained by proof, shows that the accuser is both a dunce and a knave (§ 3); such conduct is injurious also to the state, for it drives from public life all who have the ability to counsel or direct (§ 4); no citizen should use his eloquence to intimidate his opponent, but should fairly gain his point, and no state should detract from the honor of its counsellors or punish those who err (§ 5), for then they would have no inducement to give other than an honest advice in respect to matters of deliberation (§ 6).

1. *αὐτῆς* is to be constructed with *προθέντας*. Reference is had to *θαυμάζω....λέγειν* uttered by Cleon (III. 38. § 1). —— διορίσωμεν,

decree. —— μεμφομένους implies a negative, and hence is followed by μὴ with the infinitive. See N. on I. 10. § 1. —— νομίζω δὲ δύο κ. τ. λ. refers to καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων in Cleon's speech (III. 38. § 1). —— ὀργήν, *passion*, such as Cleon doubtless had manifested in his speech. —— τὸ μὲν refers to τάχος, and τὸ δὲ to ὀργήν. —— βραχύτητος γνώμης, *deficiency of judgment.*

2. διδασκάλους, *teachers, directors.* —— ἢ ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῷ διαφέρει, *or he has some private interest involved.* See N. on I. 68. § 2. This must have been keenly felt by Cleon. —— The sentences commencing with ἀξύνετος μὲν and διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, are epexegetical of ἢ ἀξύνετος διαφέρει in which lies the general assertion. —— ἄλλῳ than by the use of words, i. e. by discussion. —— εὖ....δύνασθαι, *he thinks that he could not speak well in a bad cause.* ἂν belongs to δύνασθαι. εὖ in εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν is to be taken in the sense of *copiose, vehementer.* It is employed to give point to the antithesis in εὖ μὲν εἰπεῖν and εὖ δὲ διαβαλών. We employ the word *good* in a similar use, when we say, *he is good at slandering, good at spreading falsehoods*, and the like.

3. χαλεπώτατοι, *the most dangerous.* —— καὶ....τινί, *who also* (καὶ) *in addition* (to opposing the speech) *impute to the speakers a display* (= a showing off) *for the sake of gain.* Such is essentially the interpretation of Arnold, and seems to harmonize best with the context. Reference is had to the charge made by Cleon, III. 38. § 2 (end). καὶ in this interpretation belongs to προσκατηγοροῦντες. Construct ἐπὶ χρήμασι with ἐπίδειξιν (sc. τῶν ῥητόρων). —— ἀξυνετώτερος—ἢ ἀδικώτερος, *a blockhead rather than a knave*, i. e. foolish to a higher degree than wicked. See N. on I. 21. § 1. —— ἀπεχώρει refers to the place occupied by the speaker, and from which he retired at the close of his speech. Hence it signifies here, *departs from the debate* or *controversy.* —— ὕποπτος, *suspected* of acting from improper motives. —— καὶ responds to τε. —— μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας = καὶ ἀξύνετος. —— ἄδικος. Repeat γίγνεται.

4. ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε. See N. on II. 36. § 1. Cf. III. 43. § 5. —— φόβῳ, *through fear* that their motives would be impeached, as had been done by Cleon on the present occasion. This passage will be better understood by referring τῶν ξυμβούλων to the persons accused in οἱ....ἐπίδειξίν τινα, and τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν to the accusers. From καὶ πλεῖστ'....πολιτῶν it seems fair to infer, that Cleon was admitted to be eloquent, though as Bloomf. remarks, the *kind* is not determined.

5. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, *æqua conditione, on equal footing*, stands opposed to ἐκφοβοῦντα, *by intimidating.* —— τὴν δὲ σώφρονα introduces the duty which a state owes to good counsellors. —— μὴ προστιθέναι τιμήν, *not to confer additional honor.* —— ἀλλὰ μηδ', but (on the other

hand) *not.* —— τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης refers to a counsellor whose advice the state has not followed. —— οὐχ ὅπως—ἀλλὰ μηδ', *not only not—but not even.* This is a formula which we meet with frequently in the Greek authors.

6. οὕτω γὰρ introduces the reason why the state should protect the reputation of its counsellors from the aspersion of demagogues. —— ἐπὶ....ἀξιοῦσθαι, *by the expectation of greater honors.* —— ὀρέγοιτο. Repeat ἥκιστα ἄν from the preceding context. —— τῷ αὐτῷ, *in the same way*, i. e. by speaking contrary to his judgment and to acquire favor. —— χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτὸς is epexegetical of τῷ αὐτῷ.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Through such undue suspicion of venality even good counsel is rejected (§ 1), and deceit becomes alike necessary to the success of measures proposed by the good and the bad (§ 2), and the state becomes the only body which cannot be benefited without artifice (§ 3); hence those who give advice in such a state of things should be far more long-sighted than those who follow it, as they are held so much more strictly accountable (§ 4); far better would it be to make both responsible, than as now is the practice, to visit the ill-success of a measure solely upon the adviser (§ 5).

1. ὧν depends on τἀναντία, and refers to the things which have just been declared as befitting a wise state to do. —— φθονήσαντες κερδῶν, *refusing through envy* [to listen to him] *on account of a groundless suspicion of his venality;* or perhaps, *envying the gain which he is suspected of having obtained, although the ground of suspicion is very slight.* Cf. Mt. § 336. *a.* Opposed to οὐ βεβαίου is τὴν φανεράν.

2. ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος. See N. on I. 34. § 3. —— ἀπάτῃ is opposed to ψευσάμενον, *by falsehood, deception.* The general idea is that the wretched policy here declaimed against, renders it necessary for the good and the bad alike to practise deceit in order to carry their measures.

3. περινοίας, "*over-wiseness.*" Liddell and Scott. "*Extreme surmises.*" Bloomf. —— εὖ ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς (see N. on I. 35. § 4), *to openly benefit.* The object is μόνην τε πόλιν, *the state alone* in opposition to private individuals. —— ἀνθυποπτεύεται....ἔξειν, *is suspected of having a secret view to his own interest.* Abresch explains ἀνθυποπτεύεται by ἀντὶ τοῦ δοθέντος ἀγαθοῦ ὑποπτεύεται.

4. The orator now begins to apply these general reflections on the unwise course of the state, to the position into which it places the

orators and counsellors. —— *πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα, in reference to the highest interests.* —— *ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε* (see N. on III. 42. § 4) *ἀξιοῦντι* (= *ἐν τοιῇδε ἀξιώσει.* Jelf's Kühn. § 436. *a.* γ), "*while such notions pretail on your part.*" Arnold. In respect to *ἀξιοῦντι*, see N. on *μελετῶντι*, I. 142. § 7. Krüg. edits *ἀξιοῦν τι*, and constructs *τι* with *λέγειν ἡμᾶς*, i. e. the statesmen, political leaders. —— *ὑμῶν* depends on *περαιτέρω προνοοῦντας, forecasting further than you.* Opposed to this is *δι' ὀλίγου* (sc. *χρόνου*) *σκοπούντων*, referring to the ease and rapidity with which the people could come to a conclusion, which the leaders had to reach by a long and laborious process of reasoning and reflection. —— *ὑπεύθυνον....ἔχοντας, being responsible for our advice.* —— *πρός, in comparison with.*

5. *πρὸς ὀργὴν ἥντινα κ. τ. λ.* This passage has received various interpretations according to the manner of arranging and pointing the words. Herm., Haack, and Poppo place a comma after *τύχητε*, and supply *ζημιοῦντες*, which gives the sense, *you punish according to the passion which may chance to influence you* at the time of the punishment. This interpretation is disapproved of by Arnold, because the speaker is not discoursing about punishment which varies according to the ebb and flow of the people's resentment, but of one which is certain and severe. He therefore follows the construction adopted by Bekker and Goeller, *σφαλέντες ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς ὀργὴν ἥντινα τύχητε* (*σφαλέντες*), *meeting from time to time with some disaster, according to the various passions which may have lured you to incur disasters.* Both these constructions are pronounced by Bloomf. to give a forced and jejune sense. This critic joins *πρὸς ὀργὴν—ζημιοῦτε*, and at *ἥντινα* supplies *παραίνεσιν* from the preceding context, *through anger at whatsoever counsel ye have proposed amiss, ye visit with punishment*, etc. Of these modes of interpretation I am disposed to adopt the first, as being more in accordance with the order of the words in the text, and yielding a good and appropriate sense. Krüger, whose practical scholarship and sound judgment generally lead him to the right sense, supplies *ζημιοῦντες* with *τύχητε* (after Hermann), and joins *ἔστιν ὅτε* with *ζημιοῦτε*. It may be referred, however, to *σφαλέντες.*

CHAPTER XLIV.

Diodotus, disclaiming all intention of accusing any one in relation to the affair in hand, proceeds to lay down the principle upon which the question before them is to be decided, which is one of expediency and not of justice (§§ 1, 2); this being so, he maintains, in opposition to the opinion of Cleon, that the proposed decree will be highly prejudicial to the Athenian interests (§§ 3, 4).

1. Having now replied to the criminations which Cleon had heaped upon the orators, and marked out the course which a well-regulated state ought to pursue in reference to those at the head of public affairs, the orator comes more directly to the consideration of the subject for which they had been summoned together. The opening words of the section are similar to those in which the oration was commenced, a disclaimer being made of all intention to blame any one, as the question is not one concerning the desert of the Mytilenians, but the true policy of the Athenians in respect to them. —— *κατηγορήσων* the Mytilenians. —— *ὁ ἀγών*, *the question.*

2. *εἰ μὴ ξυμφέρον* (sc. *ἐστί*), *unless it is conducive to our interest.* —— *ἦν τε καὶ....φαίνοιτο.* The apodosis may be readily supplied from the context, for of the alternatives, one with its consequence is given, by which is known the consequence which belongs to the other, and which is suppressed for a rhetorical purpose. Translate then the clause *ἦν....εἶεν*, *and even if they had some claim to forgiveness* [*I would not advise to spare them*]. Bloomf. prefers the reading *ἔχοντας—ἐᾶν*, which Dindorf with apparent approbation cites, in his notes on the text, as the correction of G. Burges.

3. *περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος*, *concerning the future*, i. e. what pertains to our future welfare. —— *τοῦ παρόντος.* Supply *περὶ* from the corresponding member. —— *τοῦτο....ἰσχυρίζεται*, *as it respects that which Cleon so positively affirms.* *τοῦτο* depends upon *ἀντισχυριζημένως*, and refers forward to *ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν....προθεῖσι* which explains it. —— *πρός*, *with respect to*, follows *ξυμφέρον*, and *θάνατον ζημίαν προθεῖσι* (*if we hold out death as the penalty*) is the protasis of *ξυμφέρον ἔσεσθαι*, *it will be expedient.* The dative *προθεῖσι* limits *ξυμφέρον.*

4. *τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ* (= *διὰ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς*) is opposed to *χρήσιμον.* Bloomf. takes *τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ* as a dat. commodi, *for the speciousness.* —— *πρός*, *on account of.* —— *τάχα ἂν ἐπισπάσαιτο*, *may perhaps* (*τάχα*) *draw you* (to the adoption of Cleon's proposition). —— *δικαζόμεθα.* See N. on I. 28. § 4. Opposed to this is *βουλευόμεθα*, *we are deliberating.* The idea is that the decision is to be made by a reference to utility and *not to strict justice.* —— *τῶν δικαίων.* See N. on III. 54. § 1.

CHAPTER XLV.

The death-penalty is no sure preventive to crime in civil communities (§§ 1, 2), for so prone are men to err, that punishment has been inflicted with increased severity, until capital punishment has been tried and found an unsuccessful remedy (§ 3); for the extremes of poverty and wealth, and indeed all the middle stations furnish incitements to evil, which, strengthened by hope and desire, hurry men on in defiance of all the terrors of penal enactments (§§ 4, 5); fortune also by her unexpected favors impels men and especially states to deeds of daring and great hazard, so that it is impossible to restrain human nature from following any object of its desire (§§ 6, 7).

1. οὐκ....ἁμαρτημάτων, *of offences not equal to this* (of the Mytilenians), *but of much less turpitude.* Punishment by death is here asserted to be no certain prevention of even smaller crimes than that chargeable upon the Mytilenians, and hence, if inflicted upon that people, would serve to no purpose in deterring the other allies from revolting. I see no necessity of taking with Bloomf. οὐ in the sense of οὐ μόνον. —— καταγνοὺς....ἐπιβουλεύματι, *judging of himself that he shall not pass through the enterprise with safety.* See N. on II. 13. § 7.

2. ἧσσω than was absolutely necessary. —— τῇ δοκήσει = κατὰ τὴν δόκησιν. —— ξυμμαχίᾳ like οἰκείαν belongs to παρασκευήν, the construction being varied. —— τούτῳ, i. e. τῷ ἀφίστασθαι. —— πεφύκασι—ἁμαρτάνειν, *are naturally prone to err.* —— τούτου, i. e. ἁμαρτάνειν. —— διεξεληλύθασι, *have run through*, i. e. have had recourse to. —— προστιθέντες, *adding to them*, i. e. increasing the number of punishments and adding to their severity. —— εἴπως (see N. on I. 58. § 1)....κακούργων. This shows that suppression of crime was the principal if not the only object of punishment. —— ἀδικημάτων depends on αὐτάς, i. e. τὰς ζημίας. —— μαλακωτέρας than the punishments which have since been added. —— παραβαινομένων, sc. τῶν νόμων, the idea being readily suggested by αὐτὰς referring to the punishments enjoined by the laws. —— ἀνήκουσι = ἀνέρχονται. Schol. —— τοῦτο, i. e. punishment by death. The application of this argument of the insufficiency of severe punishment to prevent crime, to the case of the Mytilenians, will be seen by every reader.

4. τούτου, i. e. τοῦ θανάτου. —— ἀνάγκῃ, ὕβρει, φρονήματι, and ὀργῇ are datives of the instrument. —— ἐξουσία. Supply παρέχουσα from the preceding clause. —— ξυντυχίαι = *situations of life* in which men chance to be placed. —— ἑκάστῃ (sc. ξυντυχίᾳ) is put here for the person occupying the situation. —— ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, *lead on into dangers.* The expression is exceedingly forcible, the verb signifying *to excite*, rouse, hurry on.

5. ἐλπὶς and ἔρως are the subjects of βλάπτουσι. —— ὁ μὲν refers to ὁ ἔρως, and ἡ δ' to ἡ ἐλπίς. —— ἐπιβολήν, "*rationem rei aggrediendæ.*" Betant. See N. on I. 93. § 6. —— καὶ....δεινῶν, *and although unseen are more powerful* (in their influence) *than manifest dangers.* How graphic a description of the sway exercised by these master passions over the human soul!

6. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (i. e. ἐλπὶς and ἔρως), *in addition to these.* —— ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, "*with insufficient resources.*" Bloomf. —— οὐχ ἧσσον τὰς πόλεις. The way is preparing, by this application of the argument to states as well as individuals, for the appeal which the orator is soon to make in behalf of the Mytilenians. —— ὅσῳ. See N. on I. 68. § 2. —— περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, sc. κινδυνεύουσι elicited from the context. —— μετὰ πάντων, i. e. with the community at large. —— ἐπὶ....ἐδόξασεν, *thinks of himself somewhat too highly = conceives too high an idea of himself.* The MS. reading is in favor of αὐτῶν, which is preferred, though not so edited, by Arnold and Poppo. In that case we should supply mentally ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀρχῆς.

7. πολλῆς εὐηθείας (S. § 190), ὅστις οἴεται, "a manner of speaking confused between εὐηθείας ἔστι τὸ οἴεσθαι, and εὐήθης, ὅστις οἴεται." Arnold. —— φύσεως ὁρμωμένης is a genitive absolute, or perhaps it depends on ἀποτροπήν. —— πρᾶξαι depends on ὁρμωμένης.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The adoption of punishment by death as the penalty of revolt, would prevent those who had defected from returning to their duty, while yet they could make reparation for their fault, and give to them the courage of despair (§§ 1–3); whereas the allies will be kept from revolting far more effectually by previous care and watchfulness, than by the terror of bloody decrees (§§ 4–6).

1. ὡς ἐχεγγύῳ, *as a security* against the defection of the allies. —— ἀνέλπιστον "accusativus prædicati est, sicut ὡς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγνῶναι pro accusativo objecti posita sunt, ut si ἀνέλπιστον καταστῆσαι (i. e. ποιῆσαι) τὸ μεταγνῶναι legeretur." Poppo. The negative οὐκ in ὡς οὐκ ἔσται is employed on account of the negation contained in ἀνέλπιστον. See N. on I. 77. § 3. —— ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ is put for ἐν ὅτι βραχυτάτῳ. See N. on I. 63. § 1. —— καταλῦσαι (see N. on I. 13. § 2), *to make an end of, to efface.* Supply mentally τῇ μεταγνώσει.

2. The speaker now proceeds to show the advantage of a mild and generous treatment of revolted states. —— νῦν μὲν = *things now are,* i. e. under the lenient system now pursued. —— καὶ, even. —— γνοὺς μὴ περιεσομένη, *should find that it could not succeed in its plans.* ——

δυνατὴ οὖσα ἔτι, *while* (see N. on I. 13. § 6) *it was yet able.* —— δαπάνην, i. e. the expenses incurred in putting down the revolt. —— ὑποτελεῖν, *to pay tribute.* The verb is here taken absolutely. —— ἐκείνως (see N. on I. 77. § 3), i. e. in the manner now proposed by Cleon. —— μὲν—τε here correspond like μὲν—δέ. Cf. K. § 322. R. 3. —— παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τοὔσχατον, *hold out to the last.* —— τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται, *is the same thing, makes no difference.* Cf. I. 141. § 1.

3. δαπανᾶν καθημένοις, i. e. "in obsidione urbis." Haack. —— καὶ ἣν ἕλωμεν πόλιν κ. τ. λ. This is spoken in opposition to what Cleon said in III. 30. § 8. —— τῷδε, i. e. by the revenue.

4. ὥστε....ὅπως, *so that we ought not, by being severe judges of the offenders, to suffer injury* (ourselves), *but rather see how.* οὐ—μᾶλλον—ἤ. See N. on II. 87. § 2. Bloomf. supplies ὥστε before βλάπτεσθαι. —— ἐς....ἰσχυούσαις, *in a good condition in respect to* (ἐς λόγον) *the payment of money.* Arnold renders ἐς χρημάτων λόγον, *on the score of money*, and refers the origin of the phrase to the expression, *if we come to talk about money.* Cf. Liddell and Scott, *sub voce* λόγος. —— τῶν ἔργων, *our proceedings.*

5. οὗ refers to the practice just recommended. —— δρῶντες is to be constructed with οἰόμεθα, and ἡμᾶς is to be supplied with χρῆναι. —— τινά, *some, any.* —— In ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον there is no real contradiction, since the independence of these states was merely nominal. Cf. ἡμεῖς....ὀνόματι, III. 10. § 6. —— εἰκότως is to be taken with ἀποστάντα.

6. τοὺς ἐλευθέρους is the object of κολάζειν. —— σφόδρα—σφόδρα, *excessively—very much.* Poppo refers this repetition to the figure of speech styled παρίσωσις. —— τούτου, i. e. τοῦ ἀφίστασθαι. Schol. —— ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον, *to as few as possible*, which interpretation agrees better with what follows in the next chapter, than that which refers it to the degree of punishment, *as light as possible.* Reference is had to the words of Cleon, μὴ τοῖς....ἀπολύσητε, III. 39. § 6.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The course recommended by Cleon will alienate the minds of the common people, who are now favorable to the Athenian interests (§§ 1, 2); for inasmuch as they are certain of being punished, whether guilty or innocent, they will take sides with the leaders of the revolt (§ 3); whereas the true policy would be to take no apparent notice of their defection, and thus secure the continued good will (§§ 4, 5).

1. ὅσον....ἁμαρτάνοιτε, *how much you would err also in this thing.* τοῦτο refers to what follows in νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν κ. τ. λ.

2. τοῖς ὀλίγοις, i. e. the aristocracy in these cities. —— καὶ τῆς.... ἐπέρχεσθε, *and you enter into the war, having as your allies the populace of the city which is opposed to you* (see N. on I. 71. § 1). Duker takes ἐπέρχεσθε in a future sense, which Poppo has successfully refuted in his Proleg. I. p. 155.

3. ὅπλων.... ἐκράτησεν. Cf. III. 27. §§ 2, 3. —— καταστήσετε.... μάλιστα, *you will establish for the aristocracy that which they most especially desire.* —— τοῖς δυνατοῖς (= τοῖς ὀλίγοις, § 2), Bloomf. well interprets, *the higher classes.* —— ἀφίσταντες, *having caused to revolt.* Cf. I. 66. § 1; 81. § 3; II. 80. § 1. —— κεῖσθαι, *is determined, ordained.*

4. ἠδίκησαν refers to the commonality of the Mytilenians (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυτιληναίων, § 3). —— μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, *to make as if it were not so, to appear not to be conscious of it.* Arnold illustrates the position of the negative by the careless and common expression, *you must not seem to notice it*, for *you must seem not to notice it.* Cf. Vig. p. 167. VII.

5. τοῦτο refers forward to ἐκόντας.... διαφθεῖραι, *that we should be willing to suffer injury rather than to destroy, although justly, those whom it is for our interest to spare.* δεῖ = ξυμφέρει (τῇ πόλει διαφθεῖραι). —— καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος κ. τ. λ., *and that which was said by Cleon* (cf. III. 40. § 4), *that justice and interest in punishment are the same.* —— ἐν αὐτῷ. Goel. supplies ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Diodotus concludes by advising the Athenians to pass judgment, at their leisure, upon such of the Mytilenians as had been instigators and abettors of the revolt, and suffer the rest to dwell in peace in their country (§§ 1, 2).

1. This chapter contains the epilogue. —— τάδε refers to the items of advice given by Diodotus in the body of his oration. —— οἴκτῳ.... ἐπιεικείᾳ is opposed to ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων. —— οὐδὲ ἐγὼ any more than Cleon. This idea would be conveyed by pronouncing ἐγὼ with a slight stress of voice. —— οὓς = ἐκείνους οὕς, of which the antecedent depends on κρῖναι. —— Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν. Cf. III. 28. § 2. —— καθ' ἡσυχίαν, *at your leisure*, perhaps euphemistically spoken for, *in a calm and dispassionate manner.* —— οἰκεῖν, *to dwell* in their own country. This is opposed to the decree which had just been passed, that the male adults should all be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves (cf. III. 36. § 2).

2. τοῖς πολεμίοις, i. e. the Peloponnesians. —— πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους (referring to the Peloponnesians) is to be constructed with εὖ βουλεύεται, and not with κρείσσων ἐστίν, as some suppose. —— μετ' ἔργων ἰσχύος, *with deeds of strength*, i. e. by mere force.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Athenians by a small majority adopt the advice of Diodotus, and despatch with all speed a second trireme to countermand the orders sent out by the first one (§§ 1, 2); the sailors making the most intense and unremitted exertions, the ship reaches Mytilene barely in time to save its inhabitants from destruction (§§ 3, 4).

1. μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, *most especially matched against each other*. This is a predicate, the expression being as though written αἱ γνῶμαι ἐρρήθησαν ἀντίπαλοι. Arnold understands by this, that the real contest was between the motion of Cleon and that of Diodotus, and that the modifications of either party were merged in the views of these two leaders. But, as Poppo remarks, we should have then expected the article τῶν after τούτων. —— ὅμως, i. e. *notwithstanding* the majority of the people had voted for a reconsideration of the subject, yet when the main question was put, the vote to rescind the decree was not carried without a struggle. If this reference of ὅμως to what is related in III. 39. §§ 4, 5, be considered too far-fetched, we may refer it to μάλιστα....ἀλλήλας, and thus paraphrase it: *notwithstanding* the opinions and sentiments were so equally balanced, yet the supporters of the new measure ventured to put the question to vote (ἦλθον ἐς ἀγῶνα—τῆς δόξης, *came into a conflict of opinion*). —— ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου, sc. γνώμη.

2. ὅπως μὴ—εὕρωσι, *in order that they might not find* = *lest they should find*. —— φθασάσης τῆς δευτέρας. It is difficult to elicit any sense from this reading, and I therefore concur with the best of the recent editors, such as Goel., Poppo, Krüg., Arnold, and Bloomfield, that we should read ἑτέρας or προτέρας. Reference is had to the ship, which had been despatched with the decree to put the Mytilenians to death (cf. III. 36. § 3). To this ship προεῖχε in the next sentence refers. It had the start of the second ship twenty-four hours, the two ships having sailed on the evenings of the days in which the respective decrees had been passed, or the mornings of the next days.

3. τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεων. Cf. III. 28. § 1. —— ἡσθιόν τε ἅμα ἐλαύνοντες, *they ate while rowing*. From this it appears that the *progress* of ships, so far as it depended on the oarsmen, was suspended *during* the meals. —— κατὰ μέρος, by turns.

4. καὶ τῆς....ἀλλόκοτον, *and the first ship not sailing with haste upon so monstrous an affair*, i. e. an errand of such unheard-of cruelty. —— ταύτης, i. e. the last ship. —— ἡ μὲν refers to the first ship, and is responded to by ἡ δ' in the following sentence. —— τοσοῦτον.... ψήφισμα, *so long a time as for Paches to read the decree = just enough time for Paches*, etc. See N. on I. 2. § 2. —— παρὰ....κινδύνου, *into such great danger did Mytilene come*. παρά, *along*, *along by*, shows the proximity of the Mytilenians to the danger here spoken of. Bloomf. unnecessarily supposes a blending of two modes of expression, ἐς τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον, and παρὰ τοσοῦτον ὁλέθρου οὐκ ἀπώλετο.

CHAPTER L.

The leaders in the Mytilenian revolt are put to death (§ 1); the walls of the city are demolished, the ships given up, and the land assigned to Athenian shareholders to whom the Lesbians thenceforth pay rent (§ 2); their continental towns are also made subject to the Athenians (§ 3).

1. Κλέωνος γνώμῃ, *by the decree of Cleon*. That decree had only been rescinded, so far as it related to the inhabitants on the island. Against these who had been removed by Paches to Tenedos it was suffered to remain in full force. —— τείχη. This word is found in this connection without the article in I. 101. § 3, but takes it in I. 108. § 3.

2. τρισχιλίους. Arrowsmith makes the area of Lesbos to have been 566 square miles, which, on the supposition that Methymna embraced one-fifth of the island, would leave for division 453 square miles = 289,920 acres, which divided by 3000 would give 96.64 acres for each lot or share. Three hundred of these shares being dedicated to the gods, there were left 2700 shares to be divided by lot (τοὺς λαχόντας) among the Athenians. Arnold observes, that these shareholders went out to Lesbos only to see their land, for it is quite evident from the subsequent history of the island, that no Athenian population was residing there. Bloomfield, however, thinks that quite a number of them remained, most of whom may have died off before the subsequent revolt, which took place some fifteen years after. Cf. VIII. 22. 23. —— ταξάμενοι—φέρειν. See N. on I. 99. § 3. —— τοῦ κλήρου ἑκάστου, *for each share*. S. § 200. 4. —— δύο μνᾶς, i. e. 200 drachmas, or $35.18, according to the old Attic value of the δραχμή (see N. on III. 17. § 3), or $33.04, according to the later value.

3. ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ opposite to Lesbos. —— ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, *as many as the Mytilenians had command of*.

CHAPTER LI.

The Athenians send out an expedition under Nicias against Minoa, in order to prevent the Peloponnesians from the use of Megara as a port for their shipping (§§ 1, 2); to this end he constructs a wall on the side towards the continent, and having thus cut off all communication with the main land, and left a garrison in the place, retires from the island (§§ 3, 4)

1. *ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει.* The scene is now shifted to the Saronic gulf. In the next chapter, the history of the siege of Platæa is resumed from III. 24. Great praise is due to the writer for the admirable order and clearness of these details of the war. —— Νικίου. This celebrated Athenian, whose name is henceforth found so often in the pages of this history, is now first introduced to the reader. In his public and private character he was irreproachable, but was timid and cautious to a fault. Hence the play on his name in the verb *μελλονικιάω*. A fine sketch of his character may be found in Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol. —— Μινώαν, *Minoa*. Col. Leake (North. Gr. II. pp. 401–3) says that this could not have been the nearest island opposite to Megara, which is too small and too distant from the shore, but the peninsula, a mile farther to the east, at the entrance of the strait of Salamis.

2. *ἐβούλετο....εἶναι.* The order of construction is to make *τὴν φυλακὴν* (i. e. the station for the ships which blockaded Nisea) the subject of *εἶναι*, and limit the verb by *τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*. With *ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου* repeat *τὴν φυλακὴν* from the first member. *αὐτόθεν* = *ἀπὸ τῆς Μινώας*. For the construction of *δι' ἐλάσσονος*, cf. N. on II. 29. § 3. —— *τούς τε....ἔκπλους* = *ἐβούλετο* (repeated from the preceding context) *ὅπως οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους*. Some prefer to supply *φυλάσσεσθαι*, but as *ἐβούλετο* is to be supplied at *τοῖς τε.... ἐσπλεῖν*, I see no reason why it may not be understood here. —— *μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν*, "*that nothing should be imported.* Neuter for passive, as not unfrequently in this verb." Bloomf.

3. *ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας* (*on the side towards Nisæa*) follows *προέχοντε*, *jutting out.* —— *μηχαναῖς* denotes the instrument. —— *ἐκ θαλάσσης* belongs to *ἑλὼν* = *taking by an assault from the sea.* So we speak of assaulting a place by sea, as opposed to a land-attack. —— *ἀπετείχιζε ἠπείρου, he walled off that part which faced the continent.* See N. on I. 64. § 1. —— *ᾗ κατὰ γέφυραν, where by means of a bridge.*

CHAPTER LII.

The Platæans being pressed by famine surrender to the Lacedæmonians, stipulating that a fair trial shall be granted them (§§ 1-3); the Lacedæmonians send five commissioners, to whose question of their guilt or innocence, put without any formal accusation, the Platæans reply as follows (§§ 4, 5).

1. πολιορκεῖσθαι, *to stand a siege;* literally, *to be besieged.* Cf. III. 109. § 1.

2. προσέβαλον refers to the Peloponnesians, and αὐτῶν to the Platæans. —— εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, *for he had been commanded* (not to take the place by force). So Goel. supplies from the preceding context μὴ βίᾳ ἑλεῖν. —— εἰ σπονδαὶ γίγνοιντο. The apodosis is μὴ ἀνάδοτος εἴη. —— αὐτῶν refers to the Platæans implied in ἡ Πλάταια which precedes. —— εἰ βούλονται. The same mood is here used which the speaker would have employed, the person however being the same as though the indirect oration had been employed. —— τε corresponds with the following δέ, and connects κολάζειν (sc. τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους) with χρήσασθαι. Arnold remarks that the tense is changed in κολάζειν, probably to show that the subject is changed. Haack finds the apodosis in τούς τε ἀδίκους κολάζειν, *if they are willing* (εἰ βούλονται)—*they* (the Lacedæmonians) *will punish*, etc. This is less natural than the construction, by which the infinitive κολάζειν is made to depend on βούλονται, *whether they are willing—that the Lacedæmonians may punish*, etc.

3. ἦσαν. . . . ἀσθενεστάτῳ, "*nam ad ultimum inopiæ jam venerant.*" Poppo. —— δικασταί, *judges*, or rather *commissioners*, for the doom of the Platæans had been already determined. —— ἐπικαλεσάμενοι. "Recte, Port. *accessitos* explanat." Poppo.

4. εἴ τι—ἀγαθόν τι, *whether in any respect—any good.* Arnold says that τι is used twice here by the Lacedæmonians to make the question as strong as possible, and only once by the Platæans (III. 54. § 2), in order that the force of the interrogation may be diminished.

5. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον is repeated in ἔλεγον τοιάδε, on account of the intermediate words αἰτησάμενοι. . . . Λακεδαιμονίων, which form a sort of parenthesis. Render then, *they spoke when they had requested*, etc.

CHAPTERS LIII.—LIX.

We come now to the speech of the Platæans, which has been regarded by every critic, from Dionys. Hal. down to the present time, as one of the ablest orations which can be found in any language. In logical acuteness and vehement argumentation it is doubtless equalled, if not surpassed, by other speeches in this history. But in the beauty and force of its diction, its lofty and soul-stirring appeals to justice, patriotism, gratitude, the memory of the past—the glorious past, when Platæa stood side by side with her more powerful sisters in the confederacy, Athens and Sparta, and nobly battled in the cause of freedom—and above all in the earnest, thrilling pathos with which the speaker in the deep anguish of his heart pleads for the life of himself and associates, it has no parallel. Well did Philip Melancthon say of its peroration, "non est pulchrior nec illustrior epilogus quam hic est, neque apud omnes Græcos vel Latinos scriptores." With equal beauty and truth also has Heilmann closed his admirable criticism on this oration, by reverting in words of praise to the great historian, who shows himself to be such a master of eloquence: "quam præclarus orator Thucydides esset, si hæc facultas ei in suis causis, et in quarum partem et societatem venisset, esset exercenda. Mehercle Demosthenes merito novies ejus scripta perlegit et edidicit."

The general divisions of this oration are so distinct as to be easily perceived. 1, The exordium, in which the speaker reverts to the summary and illegal trial to which they were subjected, and declares his only hope of safety from the foreshadowing doom which awaits them, to consist in saying something to move the judges in their behalf (chap. 53); 2, an examination of their former services, and a justification of their adherence to the Athenian alliance (chaps. 54, 55); 3, a crimination of the Thebans for their conduct in the Persian war, and their treacherous attempt upon Platæa in the time of peace (chap. 56); 4, an appeal to the honor and magnanimity of the Lacedæmonians, which will be tarnished by dooming a city to destruction, to which Greece is under such high and lasting obligations (chap. 57); 5, earnest and passionate entreaties for life, drawn from all the considerations which are calculated to influence the mind (chaps. 58, 59. § 2); 6, the peroration (chap. 59. §§ 3, 4).

CHAPTER LIII.

The orator commences by complaining of the want of good faith, in thus bringing them to a summary trial contrary to the terms of capitulation (§ 1); the informality and undue haste of this trial fills them with apprehension that their doom is sealed, and that they can expect no impartial justice at the hands of their judges (§ 2); they feel, however, that their only hope is to respond to the question which has been proposed to them, and make their plea (§ 3); but they fear that all they can say will be fruitless in averting their predetermined fate (§ 4).

1. *τοιάνδε δίκην, such a kind of trial.* Reference is had to the brief and informal question proposed to them by the judges (III. 52. § 4), which showed that a legal trial was not to be expected by the accused. —— *καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς κ. τ. λ.* The order is, *καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς δεξάμενοι γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις ἢ ὑμῖν.* The preposition *ἐν* has here the signification *before*, and is the usual one employed in such a connection. —— *ἡγούμενοι* is connected with *οἰόμενοι*, and *δεξάμενοι* is related to *ἡγούμενοι* as the cause. The equivalent is *ἐπεὶ ἐδεξάμεθα ἡγούμενοι κ. τ. λ.*

2. *μὴ—ἡμαρτήκαμεν.* The use of the indicative shows that, in the speaker's estimation, the idea expressed by the verb had an actual existence. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. 814. *a.* —— *ἀμφοτέρων.* "Intellige *δίκης νομιμοτέρας* et *τοῦ ἴσου.*" Bothe. —— *περὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων, about the most fearful things* = about life and death. The speaker intimates a suspicion of their dreadful situation as criminals already condemned. —— *ὑμᾶς*, sc. *ὑποπτεύομεν.* —— In *μὴ οὐ*, the first negative may be rendered *lest* (the verb *ὑποπτεύομεν* implying fear or anxiety), and the last belongs to *κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε.* S. § 230. N. 2. —— *τεκμαιρόμενοι* introduces the reason why the Platæans indulged the suspicion to which they had just given utterance. In order to avoid the pleonasm in *προκατηγορίας* and *προγεγενημένης*, Bothe would read, *πρὸς* (*præterea*) *κατηγορίας.* But see N. on I. 23. § 4. —— *ᾧ* depends on *ἐναντία.* —— *τὰ ἀληθῆ ἀποκρίνασθαι* is the subject of *γίγνεται*, and *ἐναντία* refers to *τὰ ἀληθῆ*, as though it had been written *ᾧ ἀποκρίνασθαι τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ, ταῦτα ἐναντία γίγνεται.*

3. *πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες* = *being enclosed on every side with inextricable difficulties.* —— *ἀναγκαζόμεθα*, sc. *ἀποκρίνασθαι.* —— *ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος, the not uttering the speech;* literally, *the speech not being spoken.* —— *τοῖς ὧδ' ἔχουσιν, to those in such a situation* (as we now are). Cf. *ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν*, § 1. —— *αἰτίαν.* See N. I. 69. § 6. —— *ὡς....ἦν, as though, if it had been spoken*, it might have been the *means of their safety.* Some render *ὡς εἰ ἐλέχθη*, how that if it had

been spoken. In such a case αἰτίαν ἂν παράσχοι should be rendered, *would furnish occasion for saying.*

4. γὰρ introduces the reason why persuasion was difficult, viz., because the speech was not addressed to those who were unacquainted with the facts, but to such as knew them well, and had already made up their judgment respecting them. —— προκαταγνόντες, "*præjudicio damnantes.*" Bothe. —— ἡμῶν depends on ἀρετάς, *benefits, services.* ἔγκλημα is the predicate, and αὐτὸ refers to the idea contained in ἡμῶν ὑμετέρων. —— ἀλλὰ....φέροντες, *but lest for the sake of conferring favor upon these* (i. e. the Thebans). φέροντες should have been φερόντων ὑμῶν to have corresponded with καθιστώμεθα, or else that verb should have been καθιστῆτε. See N. on III. 59. § 5.

CHAPTER LIV.

Notwithstanding their fears that it will prove unavailing, the Platæans will yet try to persuade their judges (§ 1); and in reply to the question proposed to them they will say, that if they were enemies to the Peloponnesians, no assistance could be expected from them, and if friends, wrong was done them by those who made war upon them (§ 2); their good behavior in time of peace was manifested in their not being the first to break the peace, and in war, by the service they did to Greece in the time of the Persian invasion, and to the Lacedæmonians at the time when the Helots revolted (§§ 3–5).

1. ὅμως, i. e. notwithstanding these difficulties in the way of persuading the judges. —— δίκαια (= δικαιώματα), *justificatory pleas.* —— πρός, *in reference to.* Bloomf. remarks that ἐς is used in the next clause, as expressing a milder shade of signification. —— τῶν.... ποιησόμεθα, *we will make mention of our good services.* δράω makes δέδραμαι and δέδρασμαι.

2. ὡς πολεμίους, *as enemies*, i. e. regarding us as enemies. —— οὐκ παθόντας, *you have not been wronged in having received no good from us*, i. e. if the Platæans were enemies to the Peloponnesians, they could not be blamed for having done them no service. No one can rationally expect acts of kindness from an enemy. —— φίλους δὲ νομίζοντας is a varied construction for εἰ δὲ φίλους νομίζετε. —— αὐτοὺς = *you yourselves.* —— μᾶλλον than we. —— ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες, *in having made war upon us.* This participle denotes in what the error spoken of in ἁμαρτάνειν consists. See N. on I. 37. § 5.

3. ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, i. e. in the time of the peace before and after the Persian war. —— οὐ....πρότεροι refers to the treacherous assault of the Thebans narrated in II. 2. —— τῷ δὲ ξυνεπεσθαι μένοι, attacking

him (i. e. the Mede) *conjointly with you.* It will be seen in III. 62. § 2, how the Thebans reply to this claim of merit put forth by the Platæans. —— *μόνοι Βοιωτῶν.* This boast is not altogether true, for while the Bœotians in the main were guilty of *medism*, yet besides the Platæans, there were found on the side of Greece the Thespians (cf. Herodot. VIII. 50), and the Haliartians (Pausan. IX. 32). *μόνοι* must therefore be considered as rhetorically put for *chiefly, principally.* The Thebans must have keenly felt this allusion to their base abandonment of the Grecian cause in those days of peril.

4. *ἐναυμαχήσαμεν.* The Platæans having no ships of their own fought on board of the Athenian triremes at Artemisium. —— *μάχῃ* denotes time (see N. on I. 128. 5), or it may be regarded as a sort of dative absolute with *γενομένῃ.* Cf. S. § 226. N. 3.

5. *περιέστη, encompassed.* —— *σεισμόν.* Cf. I. 101. § 2. —— *Εἱλώτων* depends on *φόβος.* —— *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, of ourselves* (not our servants or allies). See N. on II. 39. § 2.

CHAPTER LV.

In respect to the subsequent hostility the Peloponnesians were themselves to blame, inasmuch as, when the Platæans applied to them for aid against the Thebans, they were directed to have recourse to the Athenians as being in their vicinity (§ 1); they had done the Peloponnesians no serious injury in the war, nor should they in its continuance, but felt it to be dishonorable and unjust to abandon the Athenians, from whom they had received great favors (§§ 2, 3).

1. *τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα* is the accusative synecdochical. —— *τοιοῦτοι ἠξιώσαμεν εἶναι, such we approved ourselves to be.* —— *δεομένων* (sc. *ἡμῶν* from *ἡμᾶς.* See N. on I. 74. § 1) is in the genitive absolute for *δεομένους* (*ἡμᾶς*) *ἀπεώσασθε.* —— *ὑμῶν....ἀποικούντων, but you dwelling far away* (from us). *δὲ* responds to *μὲν* implied in *ὡς ἐγγύς.* The idea of separation imparted to the verb by *ἀπο-* is strengthened by *μακράν.* Perhaps, however, that *ἀποικῶ* in this connection is nearly equivalent to *οἰκῶ.*

2. *οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον—ἐπάθετε, you suffered no very monstrous injury* (= you were scarcely injured at all). Cf. I. 38. § 6. —— *ἐμελλήσατε,* sc. *παθεῖν* from the preceding verb.

3. *ὑμῶν κελευσάντων.* Cf. II. 72. —— *ἐναντία Θηβαίοις* (S. § 202. 1). Cf. N. on I. 29. § 1. —— *ἄλλως τε καὶ οὖς = ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτε αὐτούς.* Gool. —— *εὖ....δεόμενος.* Two things are here referred to as claiming the gratitude of the Platæans, (1) that they had received

favors from the Athenians; (2) that these favors had been conferred at their solicitation. In respect to the force of the latter consideration, cf. Xen. Anab. II. 3. § 22 (end). —— τὶς is here put for ἡμεῖς. So in English, *one* is often put (*per modestiam*) for the speaker. Cf. N. on I. 80. § 2. —— πολιτείας μετέλαβεν. We find the Thebans referring to this in III. 63. § 2. —— ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὰ παραγελλόμενα. See N. on I. 121. § 2. —— ἰέναι δὲ is connected to καὶ προδοῦναι, the words ἄλλως....μετέλαβεν being parenthetic. —— ἅ, *as to what*. —— ἑκάτεροι ἐξηγείσθε. The Platæans appeal to the well-known relation subsisting between the leading states and their allies, by which it was made obligatory on the latter to obey the former, and hence the use of the 2 pers. plural to include the Lacedæmonians in the proposition. —— οἱ ἄγοντες, sc. τοὺς ἑπομένους. Cf. III. 65. § 2, where it will be seen that the Thebans refer to this excuse of the Platæans.

CHAPTER LVI.

The gross injustice of seizing Platæa in the time of peace rendered the Thebans deserving of the punishment they received (§§ 1, 2); and in deciding this point, the judges ought to regard the claims of justice without any reference to their own interest (§ 3), and even in this point of view, if the Thebans now appear to be of great use, there was a time when the Platæans were so also (§ 4); and indeed it will be seen that the service rendered by them far exceeds their present fault (if they have committed any), yet now they are in danger from the same just and independent course, which in former times secured for them such high honor (§§ 5–7).

1. πολλὰ....ἠδίκησαν. Mt. § 415. β; K. § 280. 2. —— Bloomf. thinks that δι' ἅπερ is put in the plural after τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, because it refers not only to the last and greatest injury which the Platæans had received from the Thebans, but to all the previous ones. Poppo with more propriety places it after τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, in the same way as ἢ ἐν οἷς is put after ἄλλο τι in III. 38. § 7.

2. ἱερομηνίᾳ, *on a festival;* literally, *on a holy-moon*. Sometimes the term is applied to a whole month (cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq. p. 662), and at other times to particular days in the month. It is sometimes taken in the sense of νουμηνία, but not here, for the Thebans took possession of Platæa at the end of the month (τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός. II. 4. § 2). —— πᾶσι limits καθεστῶτα. —— τὸν....ἀμύνεσθαι, *that it is just to repel an invading enemy*, is in epexegetical apposition with τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα.

3. γὰρ introduces the proof of οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως which precedes. —— Repeat τῷ with πολεμίῳ, and translate it as a noun, ἡμῶν being

understood, *by the enmity of them to us = by the enmity which they bear to us.* Bothe reads πολεμίων, and Krüg. πολεμίως. —— τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε, "*if you understand* or *interpret justice.*" Bloomf. —— μᾶλλον, *rather.*

4. τότε (i. e. in the Persian war), sc. ὠφέλιμοι ἦμεν from the preceding clause. Cf. Kr. § 62. 4. N. 1. —— ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ than you now are. —— νῦν....ἦσαν enforces the assertion just made, in respect to the comparative danger of the Lacedæmonians in the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. In the former war they were in danger of receiving the yoke of slavery, while in this war they are themselves the dreaded foes of others. The clause οἵδε (i. e. the Bœotians) μετ' αὐτοῦ (i. e. the Mede) ἦσαν is thrown in by way of enhancing the guilt of the Thebans, who in a time of such peril took sides with the enemy.

5. τῆς νῦν ἁμαρτίας—ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν. For the construction, see N. on II. 85. § 2. The subject of the sentence is ἀντιθεῖναι. —— μείζω refers to their former services, and ἐλάσσω to the present demerits with which they are charged. —— σπάνιον....ἀντιτάξασθαι. Most of the Grecian states submitted to Xerxes. Cf. Herodot. VII. 132. 138. —— τινὰ does not belong to ἀρετήν, but is the subject of ἀντιτάξασθαι, and with that verb forms the subject of ἦν. —— μὴ....πράσσοντες refers to the course pursued by the Bœotians and others. Poppo, Goeller, and Bothe notice the antithetic structure of this and the following sentence, τὰ ξύμφορα being opposed to τὰ βέλτιστα, and ἀσφαλείᾳ to μετὰ κινδύνων. —— ἔφοδον of the Persians. —— αὐτοῖς (*for themselves*) depends on πράσσοντες (*practising = manœuvring, intriguing.* Arnold), and not on ξύμφορα. Bothe and Krüger after Didot edit αὑτοῖς, as lashing more severely the selfish policy pursued by the Thebans in the Persian invasion.

6. ὧν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι, *of which number we being = we being of that number*, i. e. of the heroic defenders of Greece. The partitive genitive denoting *of the number*, is frequently found in the predicate. Cf. Kr. § 47. 9. N. 2. —— ἐς τὰ πρῶτα. See N. on III. 39. § 2. According to Plut. (Aristid. 20. 21) the highest honors (τὰ ἀριστεῖα) were offered to them, but were nobly declined. —— ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς = *on account of their line of conduct*, which had always governed them, and which caused them at the present time to defend their liberty against the Thebans. —— δικαίως is opposed to κερδαλέως, and illustrates the strength of principle which they aver to have regulated their conduct.

7. This section is very obscure, but by a careful attention to the general scope of the argument, the grammatical analysis may be

pretty conclusively made out. The general idea is that the fear, entertained by the Platæans for having adhered to what was just rather than advantageous, would be groundless, if the Lacedæmonians estimated this line of conduct now as formerly, and considered that real interest is inseparable from the unchanging principles of rectitude, which keep those who act on them from being swerved by self-interest and passion. The section may thus be translated, *although men should show themselves to be of the same opinion in respect to the same things, and to regard interest as nothing else than that they should show* (literally, *when they show*) *lasting gratitude to good and faithful* (τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς) *allies for their valor* (τῆς ἀρετῆς), *and for the present take care of what will be for our advantage.* Great pains is taken by some to obtain the reading ἔχουσι for ἔχωσι, making the participle to agree with ἡμῖν and to contain the protasis. This is the conjecture of Heilm. who explains, *oportet utilitatem nihil aliud esse existimare, quam si a nobis firmam gratiam virtutis bonis sociis habentibus etiam præsentia ex usu nostro constituantur*, i. e. quam si præsentia ita ex usu nostro constituamus, ut simul bonis sociis gratiam habeamus. To this view Poppo seems to incline. Others wish to read ἔχωμεν, but the change of person in ἔχωσι—ἡμῖν is by no means abrupt or unnatural, and I see, therefore, no need of altering the text. Bothe changes που ἡμῖν into πημαῖνον (*damnosum*), but a too great liberty in altering the text is a fault of that otherwise judicious critic. Arnold remarks that the particle που expresses a sort of doubt, whether there could be any immediate interest opposed to the laws of duty.

CHAPTER LVII.

The Lacedæmonian reputation for justice will be tarnished by an unjust decision against the Platæans (§ 1), who were so highly honored in the Persian war, and were then brought to ruin in behalf of Greece, and now are pressed down with calamities, and stand friendless and unaided by those upon whom they imposed such a debt of gratitude (§§ 2, 3).

1. μὴ τὰ εἰκότα, sc. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπεικότα. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 904. *Obs.* 3. Perhaps a better explanation is to take μὴ τὰ εἰκότα as a litotes for τὰ ἀπεικότα. See N. on I. 3. § 1. —— γὰρ introduces an illustration of what is asserted in ὁρᾶτε ὅπως κ. τ. λ., which for rhetorical purposes is placed after the explanatory clause. —— ἀφανῆ = ὥστε ἀφανῆ εἶναι. —— ἐπαινούμενοι μεμπτῶν, according to Bloomf., is a brief form of expression for ὡς ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ ὑμεῖς περὶ ἡμῶν οὐδὲ μεμπτῶν ; = ἀγαθῶν. See N. on I. 3. § 1). —— μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται (sc. οἱ Ἕλληνες), *lest the Greeks disapprove.* S. § 230. N. 2. —— ἀνδρῶν—πέρι

i. e. *περὶ ἀνδρῶν*. S. § 231. N. 2. —— *αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ὄντας, you yourselves being braver.* A compliment both delicate and well-timed. *αὐτοὺς* agrees with *ὑμᾶς* the omitted subject of *ἐπιγνῶναι* (see N. on I. 70. § 2). —— *οὐδέ*. Repeat *ἀποδέξωνται*. —— *πρὸς ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς* at Olympia and Delphi. —— *ἀπὸ = taken from.*

2. *Λακεδαιμονίους, the Lacedæmonians*, the well-known defenders of Grecian rights. So *Θηβαίους* (infra), *Thebans*, who have disgraced themselves by deserting the Greeks in their great struggle for freedom. There is much beauty and force in the juxtaposition of *Πλάταιαν* and *Λακεδαιμονίους*, states which battled side by side in the cause of freedom, but now, the one being on the brink of ruin, and waiting to receive the sentence of life or death at the hand of the other. —— *τρίποδα*. Cf. I. 132. § 2. —— *πανοικησίᾳ*. See N. on II. 16. § 1. —— *ἐξαλεῖψαι*. This verb is used of the erasure of names from a book, or the striking off of a name from a list, and is very expressive in this place.

3. *ἐς τοῦτο—ξυμφορᾶς*. See N. on I. 49. § 7. —— *οἵτινες....ἀπολλύμεθα*, "*qui, quum Medi vicissent, periimus.*" Poppo. The Platæans were only saved from absolute ruin by the battle at Platæa. —— *ἐν ὑμῖν—Θηβαίων ἡσσώμεθα = vobis judicibus* (*ἐν ὑμῖν δικασταῖς*, cf. III. 53. § 1) *a Thebanis superamur*, i. e. Thebanis viliores sumus, postponimur." Poppo. —— *τότε μέν* (= *a little while ago*). See N. on *τότε*, I. 101. § 2. —— *λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι*. Cf. III. 52. § 1.

4. *καὶ περιεώσμεθα κ. τ. λ.* Nothing can be more pathetic than this allusion to their fallen and friendless condition. —— *πάντων* the Greeks.

CHAPTER LVIII.

The speaker goes on in the most pathetic terms to entreat the Lacedæmonians to spare the Platæans, inasmuch as the work of destruction is easy and of quick accomplishment, but the disgrace of the act cannot be easily or quickly effaced (§§ 1, 2); the Platæans voluntarily surrendered themselves, and this together with their former services should ensure their safety (§ 3); wherefore they call upon their judges to look upon the tombs of their ancestors, which are so highly honored by the Platæans, and which will hereafter be abandoned to traitors, if Platæa is given up to the unjust demands of Thebes (§§ 4, 5).

1. *τήν τε....πρέπει, and to ask this favor of them* (i. e. the Thebans) *in return, that you must not be obliged to destroy those whom it is not becoming in you* (to kill). This appears to be the meaning of this controverted sentence. *αὐτοὺς* seems evidently to refer to the Thebans, although Krüger, Bothe, and some others refer it to the *Lacedæmonians*, and make it the subject of *κτείνειν*, supplying *ὑμᾶς*

as the subject, and ὑμᾶς as the object of ἀνταπαιτῆσαι (depending on ἀξιοῦμεν) = *and that we should ask in return* (for our services) *this boon that you should not kill us.* The change in the subject of the infinitive is too abrupt to admit of this mode of interpretation, although the sense is preferable to the other, unless a shade of irony is intended in the asking back of the Thebans the lives of the Platæans. There is, however, to balance against the abrupt change of subject in Krüger's mode of construction, the more natural employment by him of αὐτοὺς (referring to the Lacedæmonians), as the subject of κτείνειν, than to refer αὐτοὺς to the Thebans, and supply ὑμᾶς as the subject of the verb. Arnold, who refers the subject of κτείνειν to the Thebans, finds an allusion here to δέδιμεν....φέροντες, III. 53. § 4. —— σώφρονα χάριν, *and to receive an honorable instead of a base return.*

2. γὰρ before ἡμᾶς introduces the reason for the use of τὴν δύσκλειαν. So γὰρ at the commencement of § 4 infra, introduces the proof that the Platæans were deserving of the epithet εὐεργέτας, the thing being attested by the tombs of their forefathers, who fell and were buried in the territory of the Platæans.

3. χεῖρας προϊσχομένους, *stretching forth our hands* in the manner of suppliants.

4. ἐσθήμασι. Arnold says that no reference is had here to the practice of wrapping bodies for burial in a rich and costly dress, but to the annual offering of garments at the tombs of the dead, from the same superstitious feeling which prompted offerings of meat and drink, as if the dead were cold in their disembodied state, and still required those reliefs to the necessities of human nature, which they had needed when alive.

5. τοῖς αὐθένταις. This is said because the Thebans took part with the Persians. —— πρὸς δὲ καί, *and in addition.* —— ἐσσαμένων, 1 aor. mid. part. of ΈΩ, used transitively, *having instituted.*

CHAPTER LIX.

It ill becomes the Lacedæmonians to sacrifice the Platæans to the implacable hatred of the Thebans (§ 1); the speaker urges them by the common and mutual oaths of their fathers, by the tombs and the spirits of the departed heroes who fell and were there buried, not to yield them up to the Thebans, and closes the oration by referring to the fact, that they delivered themselves up to the Lacedæmonians, and would have died by famine sooner than to have surrendered to the Thebans (§§ 2–4).

1. ἐς....νόμιμα, *against the common institutions of Greece.* —— ἀλλοτρίας, i. e. of the Thebans against the Platæans. —— ἐκπολεσθῆναι

τῇ γνώμῃ, *to be inclined, to be won over.* With this and the preceding verb οἴκτῳ σώφρονι (*by a discreet pity*) is to be taken, although properly it should be in the accusative with λαβόντας. The full construction according to Goel. would be φείσασθαι—οἴκτῳ, λαβόντας (sc. αὐτόν, i. e. τὸν οἶκτον), *to spare us in pity, having taken it upon you.* Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 898. 1. a. —— οἷοί τε....πάθοιμεν, *and what sort of persons we are who would suffer*, i. e. upon what worthy persons the punishment would fall. —— ὡς....ξυμπέσοι, *how uncertain is the nature* (τὸ) *of misfortune* [it being uncertain] *upon whom it may fall even* (καὶ) *without his deserving it.* This last clause is epexegetical of the former one.

2. ὡς πρέπον ἡμῖν in our present danger. —— ἡ χρεία = ἡ ἀνάγκη (Schol.). Cf. I. 32. § 3. —— αἰτούμεθα....παραδοθῆναι. Goeller constructs and explains this passage as follows: αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς πεῖσαι τάδε—αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν—ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα μὴ γενέσθαι, μηδὲ—παραδοθῆναι. Cum priori αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς juncta est per participium sententia ἐπιβοώμενοι θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, cum altero αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς item per participium juncta hæc sunt: προφερόμενοι ὅρκους, οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὤμοσαν. Verba autem ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρῴων τάφων καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκμηῶτας jungenda sunt cum μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις et sequentibus vel propter ea, quæ extremo capite proximo orator dixerat: σκέψασθε δέ· Παυσανίας κ. τ. λ. This elucidates very well the general construction. Some verbal explanations, however, seem necessary to be added. ὁμοβωμίους, *having one altar*, i. e. being worshipped at the same altar. An association of this sort was founded upon some common characteristics, which gave fitness and propriety to the union, e. g. Ceres and Proserpine, Jupiter and Hercules. In such relations they were called *Dii communes.* Cf. Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 68. —— τάφων is in the genitive with ἱκέται, on the general principle that verbs of praying or vowing, are joined with a genitive of the person or thing, by whom or by which the supplication is made, the person who prays being considered as touching the knees of the divinity. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 536. *Obs.* 6. —— τοὺς κεκμηῶτας, *the dead.* The word here is euphemistically used. Butt. (Lexil. No. 68. p. 373) contends that κεκμηκότας is the true reading. It is found in one of the Paris manuscripts, and is the only one acknowledged by the Scholiasts or Pollux in quoting the passage.

3. ὅπερ refers forward to λόγου τελευτᾶν. (S. § 197. 2.) —— διότι αὐτοῦ. How natural and pathetic is this sentence! The speaker is reluctant to stop, although its necessity is acknowledged, because with the termination of the speech end all the arguments and induce-

ments, which they can bring forward to move the minds of their judges, and there remains nothing in the way of an immediate sentence which they are well persuaded will be pronounced against them. —— *αἰσχίστῳ* in comparison with death in battle. —— *ἐς τὰ αὐτά, in the same situation* which we were in previous to surrendering ourselves. —— *τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον* depends on *ἑλέσθαι*.

4. *ἐπισκήπτομεν* (cf. II. 78. § 8), *we solemnly enjoin.* —— *παραδοθῆναι*. Regularity of construction would have required *παραδιδόναι ἡμᾶς*. See N. on III. 58. § 4.

CHAPTER LX.

The Thebans, fearing the effect of this speech of the Platæans, ask and obtain leave to be heard in reply.

1. *πρὸς τὸν λόγον* is taken by Bloomf. with *δείσαντες, being apprehensive at their speech*, but it is better to construct it with *ἐνδῶσι, should relent somewhat at this appeal.* —— *ἔφασαν....εἰπεῖν, they also said that they* (= they said that they also) *wished to speak.* —— *μακρότερος....ἀποκρίσεως, a longer speech was granted than what was necessary for a reply to the question.* *ἀποκρίσεως* depends on *μακρότερος*.

CHAPTERS LXI.—LXVII.

The speech of the Thebans, which is comprised in these chapters, is a fine specimen of an attempt to support an unrighteous cause by misrepresentation, fallacious reasoning, and exaggerated statements. Its fierce and rancorous invective, and malignant denunciations of men who stood before their unrelenting judges in all the helplessness of predoomed criminals, contrast finely with the pathos and earnestness of appeal with which the Platæans had pleaded for their lives. As that speech was pre-eminent for its power to excite the tender emotions, so this is equally potent in arousing the fiercer passions, and in steeling the mind to pity or forgiveness. Both are masterpieces of their kind, and should be read consecutively, not only because the second is a reply to the first, but in order to enjoy the contrast of sentiment and diction furnished by the two speeches.

CHAPTER LXI.

he Thebans offer as the ground of their desire to speak, the long and criminating speech of the Platæans (§ 1); they give as the cause of the enmity of the Platæans, the compulsion which was used to bring them into the Bœotian confederacy, to which from the first they were averse, and to avoid which they had formed an alliance with the Athenians (§ 2).

1. *εἰ καί, if in like manner.* —— *βραχέως.* Cf. *μακρότερος λόγος—τοκρίσεως*, III. 60. § 1. —— *τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, had answered to ie question.* Cf. Mt. § 410. 6; Kr. § 46. 6. N. 3. —— *περὶ αὐτῶν* is to e constructed with *πολλὴν τὴν ἀπολογίαν*, and *ἠτιαμένων* depends on *τολογίαν*. Render, *had made a long defence of themselves, in respect f things foreign to the matter in hand, and of which they have not een accused.* Bloomf. refers *ἠτιαμένων* to *αὑτῶν*, making it paren-ıetic, *and withal they being not even accused* (of any offence). For ıe passive signification of *αἰτιᾶσθαι*, cf. Mt. § 495. d; Soph. Gr. Verbs, 81. —— *πρὸς μὲν τὰ* is for *πρὸς τὰ μέν*. Cf. Mt. § 288. *Obs.* 3. —— *τειπεῖν, to reply to, to make a counter-statement.* —— *ἔλεγχον ποιή-ισθαι, to refute, to show the utter falsehood of.* —— *ἔλεγχον* is limited *τῶν δέ*. Cf. S. § 187. 1. —— *κακία*, i. e. what the Platæans call *ικία*. With some such qualification *δόξα* is also to be taken.

2. *αὐτῆς*, i. e. Platæa. —— *ξυμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους, a heterogeneous ass.* Arnold supposes them to be the Hyantians, Thracians, Pelas-ans, and other early inhabitants of Bœotia. Cf. Strabo, IX. 2. § 3. — *ὥσπερ....ἡμῶν.* The position of Thebes in the Bœotian con-deracy was at first merely that of a leading city, but in process of me it exercised a sway no less despotic than that of the Athenians ver their allies. See the note of Arnold on this passage, who notices ıe use of *ἡγεμονεύσθαι* instead of *ἄρχεσθαι*. Cf. Poppo's Proleg. II. 292, et seq. —— *ἄλλων....πάτρια.* See N. on II. 2. § 4.

CHAPTER LXII.

ıe speaker now proceeds to reply to the charge of defection in the Persian war, which was made against them by the Platæans. He charges upon the Platæans that they followed the Athenians then in opposing the Medes, as they since have done in the efforts of that state to enslave Greece (§§ 1, 2); whereas the Bœotians were on the side of the Medes, not through fault of the people at large, but of a few individuals who ruled them with despotic sway (§§ 3, 4); but since the departure of the Medes, by their opposition to the ambitious designs of Athens, the Bœotians had made ample amends for their former fault (§§ 5, 6).

1. *οὐ* accompanies *μηδίσαι*, because the act spoken of is assumed ı certain. S. § 229. 3. —— *τούτῳ—ἀνάλλονται, in this they exult.* § 208.

2. Ἀθηναίους is put in the accusative by attraction, the regular construction being Ἀθηναῖοι, sc. ἐμήδισαν. Cf. K. § 342. R. 3; Kr. § 62. 4. § 3. The sophistry and injustice of this attempt to defame the Platæans, is so obvious as to need scarcely a passing remark. —— τῇ—αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ, *in the same way.* —— ἀττικίσαι. There is a play on this word as opposed to μηδίσαι = if they alone of the Bœotians did not *Medise*, they certainly are the only ones who have *Atticised.*

3. ἐν οἵῳ εἴδει, *in what a form of government = under what political circumstances.* —— τοῦτο refers to the course pursued by the two parties in the Persian war. The Thebans now endeavor to cast the blame of their adherence to the Median interests, upon a few of their leading men. —— πολιτεύουσα (= διοικοῦσα. Haack) is to be taken with ἐτύγχανεν. —— τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ = τοῖς σωφρονεστάτοις, the abstract being put for the concrete. Bothe says, "malim τῷ σωφρονεστέρῳ, i. e. fere τῷ σώφρονι, τῇ σωφροσύνῃ." —— δυναστεία, *a domination, a despotic sway.* The term refers here to such as were above law themselves, and could oppress and lord it over others at their pleasure.

4. οὗτοι refers to the persons who composed the oligarchy. —— κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος, *coercing the people, compelling the multitude by force.* —— αὐτόν, i. e. the Persian king. —— ἑαυτῆς depends on αὐτοκράτωρ. —— ὧν = ἐκείνων ὧν, of which the antecedent depends on ὀνειδίσαι (Jelf's Kühn. § 495), and the relative, on ἥμαρτεν. S. § 194. 1. —— μὴ μετὰ νόμων (= νόμους οὐ χρωμένη. Haack), sc. οὖσα. Cf. the use of μὴ ἀπό, I. 91. § 7.

5. τοὺς νόμους ἔλαβε, "*recovered their laws*, i. e. their legitimate constitution which had been overturned by the oligarchs." Bloomf. —— εἰ μαχόμενοι—ἠλευθερώσαμεν depends on σκέψασθαι χρή, *you ought to consider—whether we fighting—freed* (= *whether we by fighting did not free*). —— ἐν Κορωνείᾳ. Cf. I. 118. § 2.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The alliance of the Platæans with the Athenians, professedly made for protection against the Bœotians, gave them no right to join that state in its attempt on the liberties of Greece, as they voluntarily had done, and from which, had compulsory measures been employed by Athens, they might have been protected by the confederacy entered into against the Medes (§§ 1, 2); as to their plea that it would have been disgraceful to betray their benefactors, it was far more dishonorable and unjust to assist in enslaving Greece (§§ 3, 4).

1. ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς κ. τ. λ. Having thus replied to the charge of *medism brought* against them, the Bœotians proceed to examine the policy

and conduct of the Platæans, and by detraction and misrepresentation endeavor to make their recent offence preponderate over all their former services, just as they had magnified their own services since the Persian war above their misconduct in that war. In this way by unduly amplifying their own merits and the Platæan demerits, and lightly passing over their respective conduct in the Median war, they reverse the position of the two states, and make the Platæans worthy of the highest censure, and themselves of unqualified praise. —— *ἀξιώτεροι....ζημίας, you rather* (than we) *are worthy of all punishment.* This expression by no means implies that the Thebans thought themselves worthy of punishment. But as mutual accusations had been made, the comparative is employed to give force to the charge of guilt, which the Thebans were now hurling back at their accusers.

2. *ἐγένεσθε.* Krüger pronounces this to be a somewhat harsh asyndeton. —— *τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, as far as it respected us = against us.* —— *αὐτούς*, i. e. the Athenians. —— *ὑπάρχον.* Repeat *τὸ μὴ ξυνεπιέναι.* —— *τῆς....γεγενημένης* shows, as Bloomf. remarks, how it was in the power of the Platæans not to have united with the Athenians to the prejudice of others (*ξυνεπιέναι....ἄλλοις*), viz. by the confederacy of the Lacedæmonians against the Medes, upon the protection of which they might have thrown themselves, when pressed by the Athenians to the commission of deeds which were unjust. —— *ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ.* See N. on I. 102. § 4. —— *τὸ μέγιστον, what is greatest.* —— *παρέχειν*, sc. *ὑμῖν.* —— *οὐ βιαζόμενοι ἔτι, being no longer compelled by necessity*, as formerly when oppressed by the Thebans. —— *μᾶλλον, rather.*

3. *τοὺς μὲν* refers to the Athenians, and *τοὺς δὲ* to the other Greeks.

4. *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. the Athenians. —— *αἰσχύνης ἀπηλλαγμένην, free from disgrace.* S. § 197. 2. How the return which they made to the Athenians was disgraceful is shown in *ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ.* The law of reciprocity demanded that they should assist the Athenians when suffering injury, but not when doing wrong to others. —— *καίτοι.... ὀφειλησείσας.* The sense of this difficult passage becomes clear and apposite by repeating, with all the best recent commentators, *μὴ ἀντιδόναι* in both clauses of the sentence, and giving to *αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον* the sense which *αἴσχιον* has in II. 40. § 1, *this rather is disgraceful and not.* The general idea is, that it is base not to return honorable favors in an honorable way, but not so, to refuse to return a kindness by the commission of acts of injustice.

CHAPTER LXIV.

The course taken by the Plataeans in the Persian war is again attributed to their desire to act in concert with the Athenians (§ 1); wherefore their claim of merit on that score is unreasonable (§ 2); and much more so is it by their voluntary adherence to the Athenians in their aggression upon the liberties of Greece (§ 3); by thus showing what are their real principles, they have forfeited all the claims to which their services in the Persian war might have entitled them (§ 4).

1. δῆλόν τε ἐποιήσατε—μηδίσαντες, *you have made it plain that not on account of the Greeks you alone* (of the Bœotians) *did not medise.* μηδίσαντες depends on δῆλον ἐποιήσατε as though it were δηλοῦν. See N. on I. 11. § 3. —— Ἀθηναῖοι, sc. ἐμήδισαν. —— ὑμεῖς δέ. Supply from the context οὐκ ἐμηδίσατε. —— τοῖς μὲν refers to the Athenians, τοῖς δὲ to the Greeks in general. By this opposition, the Athenians are invidiously regarded as not belonging to the Greeks.

2. ἀφ' ὧν....ὠφελεῖσθαι, *to receive benefits from those things wherein you have been brave for others.* ἀφ' ὧν = ἀπὸ τούτων ἅ, the relative being taken synecdochically with ἀγαθοί. Bothe says that ἀφ' ὧν is put for ἐν οἷς (i. e. τοῖς Μηδικοῖς). —— ἑτέρους refers to the Athenians. —— ἀπὸ τούτων is an emphatic repetition of ἀφ' ὧν. There is a similar repetition of the preposition with the relative in Demosth. de Chers. § 23, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθε. —— ὥσπερ....ξυναγωνίζεσθε. This bitter and insulting taunt is like our homely phrase, *as you have made your bed so lie down in it.*

3. διεκωλύετε, sc. τὸ καταδουλοῦσθαι αὐτούς. —— οὔσπερ, sc. ἔχετε. —— ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς, sc. οἱ ὀλιγάρχοι ἐβιάσαντο. Cf. III. 62. §§ 3, 4.

4. οἵτινες....προῦθεσθε, *who have displayed bravery to their injury.* οὐ προσήκοντα (sc. τῇ φύσει ὑμῶν), *not correspondent to your nature* or *disposition.* The idea is that the subsequent conduct of the Plataeans gave evidence, that the services which they rendered in the Persian war were not in accordance with the natural impulse of their mind, but quite foreign to their true nature, which was inclined to wrong-doing. The virulence of this half-suppressed or rather partially expressed sentiment, is still further manifested in what follows. —— ἡ φύσις, sc. ἡ ὑμέτερα. —— ἐξηλέγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθές, "*in rerum probata sunt*, i. e. ita comperta sunt, ut vera voluntatis vestrae ratio appareret." Poppo (Proleg. I. p. 292). ἐς τὸ ἀληθές, according to Bloomfield, corresponds to our expression, *of a truth*, or *for a truth.* Bothe makes it equivalent to ἀληθῶς. —— ἄδικον ὁδὸν ἰόντων, *pursuing an unjust course.* Cf. Mt. § 409. 4; S. § 181. 2.

5. τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν is opposed to τὸν ὑμέτερον ἑκούσιον ἀττικισμόν, the antithesis being a condensed epitome of the whole argument of the last two chapters.

CHAPTER LXV.

The attempt of the Thebans to enter Platæa was made at the express solicitation of some of its best citizens (§§ 1, 2); and the design of it was nothing more than to restore the Platæan state to the Bœotian confederacy (§ 3).

1. The Thebans having responded to the charge of *medism* advanced against them by the Platæans, now proceed to vindicate their attempt to enter Platæa. —— ἀ....ἀδικηθῆναι. Cf. III. 56. § 2. —— γὰρ serves to introduce an explanation of ἀδικηθῆναι, and may be rendered, *to wit, for example.* —— ἱερομηνίαις. Arnold says that the plural form is used, because the festival was of several days' continuance. —— οὐδ'—ὑμῶν μᾶλλον, *not more than you = not so much as you.*

2. αὐτοὶ = *of our own accord.* Mt. § 468. 4. —— εἰ ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ —ἐδῃοῦμεν, *if we had fought against—and ravaged—we had been guilty of injustice*, literally, *are guilty*, etc. Bloomf. explains this sequence of tenses as not having reference to time at all, but only as it regards the agents, and that hypothetically. Of the thing thus hypothetically put, the assertion is, 'if that were the case, then we are guilty.' This is the true solution, although in strictness the idea of time is not absent from the expression, the apodosis taking the present tense in order to show that the guilt of the transaction, if the protasis was true, rested upon them to the present time. Cf. K. § 339. 3. d. Krüg. attributes to ἀδικοῦμεν the notion of the perfect, but this is questionable. It is the remark of Poppo, that ἠδικοῦμεν ἄν was properly required, but that ἀδικοῦμεν was employed for the sake of concinnity. —— τῆς....ξυμμαχίας depends on παῦσαι (*cause to cease*). S. § 197. 2. Reference is had to their alliance with the Athenians. —— τὰ κοινὰ—πάτρια. See N. on II. 2. § 4. —— τί ἀδικοῦμεν. Here the tense, in Poppo's estimation, is rightly employed, because the protasis contains a supposition which was the true one. —— οἱ γὰρ ἄγοντες ἐπομένων. Allusion is sneeringly made to what the Platæans said, III. 55. § 3 (end).

3. ἐκεῖνοι—ἡμεῖς. The verb is to be supplied from the preceding. παρανομοῦσι. —— πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι (cf. II. 44. § 3), having greater *interests* (*in the country*) *at stake.* Cf. οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει

§ 2, supra. —— *ἐβούλοντο....γενέσθαι, they wished that those of you who were less worthy, should no longer have the lead* (in the management of political affairs). The meaning of *μᾶλλον γενέσθαι* is quite obscure in itself, but is satisfactorily unfolded by the antithetic clause *τούς τε....ἔχειν, and that the better portion* (of citizens) *should have their deserts* (i. e. the station and influence which of right belong to them). The sense elicited by Poppo, and adopted by most of the German commentators, viz. *should become worse* (supplying *χείρους* with *μᾶλλον*), is very flat and inapposite. Nor has Arnold mended the matter by extending the ellipsis to *χείρους ἢ ἀγαθούς, should become worse rather than better. ὑμῶν* is the partitive genitive. See Ns. on I. 126. § 11; III. 22. § 5. —— *σωφρονισταὶ....ἀλλοτριοῦντες.* This is a very obscure sentence, but after repeated examinations of it, I am disposed to adopt the explanation of Goeller, who constructs *σωμάτων* with *ἀλλοτριοῦντες*, and takes the clause in the sense of *ab urbe cives non abalienantes, not depriving the city of its citizens* (i. e. not banishing them). The general sense then would be, *being correctors of your minds* (i. e. teaching you better politics), *but not interfering with your personal rights.* Arnold translates, or rather paraphrases (according to his usual custom) thus: "and as for your persons (or, your outward condition), not giving up your city to foreigners, but bringing it home to a natural union with men of your own blood and race." In respect to the use of *σωμάτων*, see N. on I. 17. § 1. —— *ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν* refers to the Bœotian confederacy

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Plataeans are charged with having first acceded to these peaceful overtures, but afterwards with having treacherously butchered the Thebans (§§ 1, 2), thus perpetrating a threefold crime, the violation of a covenant, the massacre of the Thebans, and the breaking of their engagement not to kill these men, if their country possessions were left uninjured by the Thebans (§ 3); for these atrocities they shall now receive their merited punishment (§ 4).

1. *τεκμήριον δέ.* See N. on II. 39. § 2. —— *κατὰ....πάτρια.* See N. on II. 2. § 4. —— *πολιτεύειν, to live under a form of government.* —— *ἰέναι.* The subject is *τὸν βουλόμενον.*

2. *χωρήσαντες*, sc. *πρὸς ἡμᾶς* from the preceding context. —— *εἰ ἄρα καὶ (even though.* Cf. III. 67. § 2)....*ἐσελθόντες* is a parenthetical sentence to be taken with the following context. *οὐ....ὑμῶν = without the consent of a majority of your citizens.* It will be remembered, that the Bœotians were called in by a few of the principal citi-

ns. οὐ μετὰ is a varied expression for ἄνευ. Cf. I. 91. § 5. This e of μετὰ is of quite frequent occurrence. —— ὁμοία, *like* in kind. ie Bœotians had offered no violence to the Platæans, but had only :empted to persuade them by words, whereas the return for this in- :ference was made in deeds of blood. —— νεωτερίσαι (sc. ὥστε) ex- ains τὰ ὁμοῖα. In respect to the engagement referred to, cf. II. 3. . —— ἐξελθεῖν from the city of Platæa. —— ἐπιθέμενοι is accommo- ted in case to ἀπεκτείνατε. This clause, as Poppo remarks, is placed fore οὓς μὲν—οὓς δέ, because it belongs alike to both these relative auses. —— παρά, *contrary to*. —— ἐν χερσίν, *in combat, hand to nd*. —— ὁμοίως as those who were butchered after having surren- red themselves (οὓς δὲ χεῖρας κ. τ. λ.). —— πῶς....εἴργασθε, *how ve ye not done a dreadful deed?* This interrogation partakes of the ture of an exclamation, and expresses a strong affirmative.

3. καὶ ταῦτα = *especially*. Cf. Mt. § 470. 6. —— τήν τε λυθεῖσαν ολογίαν and the accusatives connected with it, are in epexegetical position with ἀδικίας.

4. οὐκ, "*no! not if*." Bloomf. —— οὗτοι refers to the Lacedæ- onian judges.

CHAPTER LXVII

e speaker sums up by asserting that for all these things the Thebans rightly demand that he Platæans shall be punished (§ 1); he urges upon the judges not to be moved by their eference to their former virtues, for these, if they ever had any, only enhanced their pre- ent guilt; nor by their appeals to the sepulchres of their dead and to their own destitution § 2); for the Thebans had suffered far more in those who were butchered at Platæa and who fell at Coronea (§ 3); for their manifest and enormous crimes they should be punished, nd furnish to all other evil-doers a salutary warning both of their doom, and the inflex- ble determination of the Lacedæmonians to redress these and similar grievances (§§ 4–7).

1. ταῦτα depends on ἐπεξήλθομεν, and τούτου refers forward to e sentence beginning with ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε which explains ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. The verb εἰδῶμεν is to be supplied in the latter clause from e preceding one, with the modified sense, *that we may be fully con- rmed in our belief*, for, as Bloomf. remarks, explanations were not eded to communicate to themselves knowledge, or the lawfulness of eir revenge. —— τετιμωρημένοι = κολάσαντες αὐτούς. Schol. The nstruction of this and the preceding participle is explained in N. on 76. § 1.

2. εἴ τις ἄρα καί. See N. on III. 66. § 2. —— ἐπικούρους has the rce of an adjective. —— διπλασίας ζημίας (sc. εἶναι), ought (χρὴ re- ated) *to be double penalties*. Arnold thinks that the singular num-

ber is required, and that ἐπιφέρειν should be supplied, but the laws of ellipsis are best met by the subaudition of εἶναι, and the sense is not materially changed. —— οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων, "*modo iis* (eorum naturæ) *non conveniente.*" Poppo. Cf. III. 64. § 4. Bloomf. justly censures Arnold's translation, *contrary to what we have a right to expect of them.* ·—— ὑλοφυρμῷ (their)—οἴκτῳ (your). —— ἐρημίαν. Allusion is made to what the Platæans had said about their deserted condition, III. 57. § 3.

3. ὑπὸ τούτων is to be constructed after διεφθαρμένην. The hyperbaton promotes emphasis by bringing in juxtaposition τούτων and ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν. —— ἡλικίαν, *youth*, i. e. young men. Cf. Lat. *juventus* =*juvenes.* —— ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ, *the fathers of whom, some —others.* For this kind of partitive apposition, see N. on I. 89. § 3. —— ἄγοντες, *in bringing over.* —— πρεσβῦται is the predicate, *being left old men* (= in old age). —— οἰκίαι ἔρημοι (repeat ὧν), *whose bereaved families.*

4. οἱ—τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *those men.* The genitive is partitive. —— οἱ δὲ δικαίως. Repeat πάσχοντές τι. —— τὰ ἐναντία is to be taken adverbially, *on the contrary.* Cf. Bernh. Synt. p. 130. —— ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι, sc. ἀξιώτεροί εἰσι.

5. τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν. Reference is again made to the complaint of the Platæans, III. 57. § 3. —— διὰ in δι' ἑαυτοὺς denotes the means, *through their own agency.* K. § 291. II. 3. b. —— ἀνταποδόντες—πείσονται. The aorist of the participle seems here to be used for the future by way of anticipation, in order to show the confidence of the speaker that the Platæans would be punished. Cf. K. § 256. 4. f; Mt. § 506. 2; S. § 211. N. 3. As it respects punishment by death not being an ἴση τιμωρία, Bloomf. aptly illustrates the idea by our familiar expression, *death is too good for him.* γὰρ in ἔννομα γὰρ πείσονται seems to be used for the purpose of answering an anticipated objection, that the punishment of the Platæans would not be in accordance with law or usage. —— προϊσχόμενοι and παραδόντες depend on πείσονται, reference being had to what was said by the Platæans, III. 58. § 3, the words ἐκ μάχης being added by the Bœotian speaker. —— καὶ οὐχί Repeat mentally πείσονται. —— ἀλλ'....παραδόντες. Cf. III. 52. § 2. The trial, however, which the Platæans had in mind, was to be a legal one.

6. τῶνδε, i. e. the Platæans. —— ἄνομα παθοῦσιν, *who have suffered unlawfully* (see N. on I. 39. § 3). There is an antithetical reference to the preceding ἔννομα πείσονται. Bloomf. also finds the same correspondence between ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν, and the words of the Platæans σώφρονα—κομίσασθαι χάριν, III. 58. § 1. —— ὧν =

ἐκείνων ἅ, of which the antecedent depends on χάριν, and the relative limits πρόθυμοι as a synecdochical accusative. —— ἁμαρτανομένων.... γίγνονται, *but being evil, speeches embellished with fine expressions* (literally, *words*) *are a covering* (for what is wrong). An emphasis is to be given to ἔπεσι, as opposed to οὐκ ἔργοις which may be mentally supplied.

7. κεφαλαιώσαντες, *having summed up, stated briefly.* —— ποιήσησθε conforms to ὑμεῖς, although it properly belongs to οἱ ἡγεμόνες. This is done to give prominence to the application to the case in hand, of what was intended to be advanced as a general principle. A verb for οἱ ἡγεμόνες may be supplied from the dependent clause (cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 895. 3), or it may be considered as merged into the new subject ὑμεῖς. See N. on ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, I. 82. § 1.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

The Lacedæmonian judges adhering to the legality of their question, again propose it to each of the Platæans, and upon receiving a negative answer, put all the men to death, and sell the women as slaves (§§ 1, 2); the city and country are given up to the Thebans, who soon confiscate and lease out the lands, and destroy the city to its very foundations, and erect near the temple of Juno a large building for the entertainment of travellers (§ 3); and thus was Platæa destroyed for the sake of the Thebans (§ 4).

1. δικασταὶ belongs to the verbs ἀπέκτεινον and ἐποιήσαντο. —— σφίσιν belongs to ἐπερώτημα in the sense of the subjective genitive, *their question.* Bloomfield, however, constructs it with ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, *would be right* (i. e. advantageous) *for them.* Poppo with Bauer, thinks that ἔχειν is the true reading. —— εἴ τι....πεπόνθασι explains appositionally τὸ ἐπερώτημα. —— τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον, i. e. the time between the Median invasion and the Peloponnesian war. —— δῆθεν is employed to show that this was the ground assumed by the judges, but not the historian's opinion or belief. —— κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου—σπονδάς. Cf. II. 71. § 2. —— τὸν Μῆδον refers to the second Persian invasion. —— ὅτε ὕστερον....αὐτοῖς. After repeated examinations of this passage, I am led to adopt, as the most simple and natural explication, that which repeats προείχοντο and constructs thus: ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο (the second reason why the question proposed to the Platæans was proper, διότι ἠξίουν being the first) ὅτε ὕστερον προείχοντο, ἃ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς. The conjecture of Bloomfield is worthy of attention, viz. that the author, as often for brevity's sake, and to prevent the repetition of the same phrase εἰκὸς

ἐδέξαντο, has written ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, though by doing this he broke up the parenthesis, and let it run into the portion *extra parenthesin*. —— κατ' ἐκεῖνα refers to τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου σπονδάς. —— ἡγούμενοι πεπονθέναι is a virtual repetition of νομίζοντες....ἔξειν at the beginning of the section, and may be rendered, *thinking themselves released from all covenant obligations* (ἔκσπονδοι) *by this just offer* (which had not been received), *and that they had been evil-treated by them*. —— τὸ αὐτὸ (sc. ἐπερώτημα) depends on ἐρωτῶντες. —— ἕνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες, *having led them up* (i. e. caused them to be led up) *one by one* (to be interrogated). —— ὁπότε μὴ φαῖεν, *when they said* NO (to the question). —— ἐξαίρετον ἐποιήσαντο οὐδένα. A cold-blooded and savage deed, for which no palliation can be found, except perhaps in the act of the Platæans spoken of in II. 5. § 7. It appears that the Athenians who formed part of the garrison (cf. II. 6. § 4) shared the same fate, as did also Laco, though a πρόξενος of the Lacedæmonians (cf. III. 52. § 5).

2. οὐκ ἐλάσσους διακοσίων. The garrison of Platæa consisted of 400 Platæans and 80 Athenians (cf. II. 78. § 3), making a total of 480. There escaped by the successful attempt to scale the walls 212, and one was lost (cf. III. 24. § 2), which diminished the garrison by 213. Now we find that there were put to death by the Lacedæmonians 200 Platæans and 25 Athenians, making a total of 438. The number 42 which is required to make 480, may be set down as comprising, those who perished in the siege by famine, exhaustion from labor, and other casualties.

3. ἐνιαυτὸν μέν τινα, *about a year*. Similar to this use of τίς, is our expression *some*, when it is applied to a number above one. —— τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες, "*who had favored their party*." Bloomf. —— διακοσίων ποδῶν, *two hundred feet square* as it appears from πανταχῇ κύκλῳ, which simply means *around*, not *in a circle* as some translate it. This inn was built evidently for the accommodation of those who might come to worship in the temple of Juno. —— ἐν τῷ τείχει, *in the wall*, not *intra mœnia* (i. e. in urbe), as Poppo after Heilm. and Haack translates it. —— νεὼν ἑκατόμποδον. Arnold says that this was an additional ναὸς or chapel, to the one already existing in the Ἡραῖον or sacred precinct of Juno, and that it was built by the Thebans to propitiate the Platæan goddess, whose natural worshippers they had just exterminated. —— ἀπεμίσθωσαν, *they hired out, leased for hire*.

4. ἄρτι τότε. Cf. III. 3. § 1.

5. ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ. According to this the alliance commenced A. C. 519, but Grote (Hist. of Greece, IV. p. 222), by a com-

rison of the circumstances (as recounted by Herodotus) which ought it about, reckons its commencement as late as A. C. 510, after e expulsion of Hippias.

CHAPTER LXIX.

e Peloponnesian fleet, which had gone to the assistance of the Lesbians, returns in a ispersed condition to Peloponnesus, and at Cyllene finds Brasidas, who is deputed by the acedæmonians as counsellor to Alcidas, in an expedition against Corcyra which is now n foot (§§ 1, 2).

1. The narrative is here resumed from III. 33. —— *αἱ....νῆες* is e subject of *καταλαμβάνουσιν*, the words *ὡς....κατηνέχθησαν* being adverbial clause denoting time. The participles, *φεύγουσαι*, *ἐπιδιωκῖσαι*, *χειμασθεῖσαι*, and the adjective *σποράδες* denote in graphic ler the adventures of this unsuccessful and badly-commanded fleet. — *ξύμβουλον*. See N. on II. 85. § 1.

2. There is some obscurity in this section, as to what *ὅπως* may pend upon. But a proper attention to *μὲν—δὲ* will remove the ficulty. There were two reasons why the Lacedæmonians wished sail to Corcyra, viz. the smallness of the Athenian fleet stationed at upactus, and the desire to take the place before the Athenian fleet uld be reinforced. This last reason, which logically has reference speeding on the expedition, rather than whether it shall be set foot at all, is introduced by *ὅπως*.

CHAPTERS LXX.—LXXXV.

These chapters contain what Bloomfield justly calls, one of the most l-harrowing narratives ever penned. It is worthy of deep attention, as playing in a most graphic style, the demoniacal lengths to which men l go, when blinded and infuriated by passion, prejudice, and the fierce- s of party spirit. Especially are chaps. 82, 83 worthy of being read in and again, as detailing the causes, progress, and dreadful results both ral and physical, of this factious and seditious spirit, this terrific collision ween masses of the same community, which brought all Greece nearly to n, and from the effect of which it had not fully recovered at the time en subjugated by Philip of Macedon.

CHAPTER LXX.

The Corcyreans who had been taken prisoners by the Corinthians, on their return home endeavor to withdraw the state from the Athenian to the Corinthian interests (§ 1); but the citizens in an assembly declare in favor of Athens (§ 2); whereupon those same persons proceed to impeach Peithias of attempting to enslave Corcyra to Athens (§ 3); but he being acquitted charges them in turn with a violation of the sacred enclosure of Jupiter and Alcinous (§ 4); they are found guilty but plead for a mitigation of the sentence, in which they are successfully opposed by Peithias (§ 5); they determine, therefore, to get rid of him, and bursting into the senate-house they kill him and sixty other senators and private persons (§ 6).

1. *οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι.* Cf. I. 54. § 2; 55. § 1. —— *περί, about, on account of.* K. § 295. III. 3. —— *τῷ μὲν λόγῳ—ἔργῳ δέ.* See N. on II. 65. § 9. —— *ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων* (S. § 200. 4). Bloomf. thinks this sum too high, and would read with Valla *ὀγδοήκοντα.* But that number would be equally objectionable on account of its smallness. —— *τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι, being bailed by their proxeni.* —— *ἕκαστον μετιόντες, going to each one of the citizens.*

2. *ἀγουσῶν* is in the plural, because it refers to both ships. —— *καταστάντων*, sc. *τῶν πρέσβεων τοῖς Κερκυραίοις.* Some would supply *Κερκυραίων*, the genitive absolute being used for the nominative. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 710. *a.* —— *ξύμμαχοι.* See N. on *ξυμμαχία*, I. 44. § 1. —— *Πελοποννησίοις....πρότερον.* This revival of the old system of neutrality, shows that the intrigues of the persons just spoken of were successful in part at least.

3. *ἦν γὰρ* (cf. I. 31. § 2) introduces the reason why Peithias was impeached. The clauses are inverted for the sake of emphasis, the natural order being, as Goel. remarks, *καὶ Πειθίαν ὑπάγουσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην, ἦν γὰρ ἐθελοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει.* —— *ἐθελοπρόξενος, a voluntary proxenos.* See N. on II. 29. § 1. —— *τὸν δήμου προειστήκει.* Some render this, *he was leader of the democratical party;* but I think with Poppo that it means, *he was a leading man among the people.* —— *οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες*, i. e. *οἱ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἐπανελθόντες, οἱ προδόται.* Schol.

4. *ἀποφυγών, being acquitted.* —— *χάρακας, stakes, vine-props.* —— *ζημία....στατήρ.* As this was undoubtedly the silver stater of four drachmas, there must have been a prodigious number of these stakes cut, to have ruined rich persons like the ones here spoken of. It is not necessary to suppose that the trees were cut down in these sacred inclosures, the young saplings and boughs of the trees being doubtless referred to. In cutting these, the persons accused might not suppose that they were violating any law, especially if, as Arnold thinks, they

were tenants of the sacred grounds, and had inherited the possession of it from their ancestors.

5. ὀφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, *these being found guilty*, and of course sentenced to pay the fine. —— ὅπως ταχάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, *that they might pay by instalments* (sc. κατὰ χρόνους. Cf. I. 117. § 3), depends on πρὸς καθεζομένων.

6. ἕως ἔτι βουλῆς ἐστι, *while he belonged to the senate.* The subjunctive would have been *as long as he was*, etc. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. 847 *Obs.* —— τοὺς αὐτοὺς.... νομίζειν. "Ad sententiam recte Bloomf. *to form an alliance offensive and defensive.*" Poppo. —— τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης (sc. ὄντες). See N. on I. 118. § 2.

CHAPTER LXXI.

After this deed of violence the aristocratical party assemble the people, endeavor to justify their doings, and effect by compulsory measures the passage of a law, that only one ship of either of the belligerents shall be admitted at a time into the harbor (§ 1); after which they send ambassadors to Athens to justify their change of policy (§ 2).

1. ταῦτα refers to the acts of violence which had just been perpetrated. —— καὶ ἥκιστ'.... Ἀθηναίων, *and* (those by which) *they would least be enslaved* (= escape the danger of being enslaved) *by the Athenians.* —— δέχεσθαι. Repeat εἶπον in the sense of ἐκέλευον. Cf. Kr. § 55. 3. N. 13. —— ἀλλ' ἤ, *except, otherwise than.* Cf. K. § 322. R. 10. —— ἡσυχάζοντας belongs to the subject of δέχεσθαι (cf. II. 7. § 2), although some construct it with μιᾷ νηί. This seems to be unnecessary, for a single ship would hardly venture into such a harbor in any other than a peaceful manner. The construction which I have given is the one adopted by Poppo, Goeller, and Krüger.

2. ὡς = ὅπως. —— ἐκεῖ (i. e. at Athens). Goel. says that the full construction is τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖσε καταπεφευγότας. —— ἀνεπιτήδειον to Corcyra. —— ἐπιστροφή, *punishment.* "Castigatio exulum, si novis rebus studerent." Bothe. Some render it, *revolution*, or *counter-revolution.*

CHAPTER LXXII.

The Corcyrean ambassadors are apprehended by the Athenians (§ 1); the arrival of a Corinthian trireme encourages the aristocratical party to attack the democratical, in which they come off victorious (§ 2); the latter, however, in the night seize upon the citadel and occupy the Hyllaic port, the other party taking possession of the market place and the harbor contiguous to it (§ 3).

1. ἐλθόντων is put in the genitive because to τούς τε πρέσβεις, to which it properly belongs, there is added καὶ ὅσους. —— ἔπεισαν to unite with the aristocratical party at Corcyra.

2. ἐλθούσης τριήρους Κορινθίας. This shows the hollowness of the neutrality to which the aristocratical party pretended, and their subsequent conduct renders them less the object of our sympathy in the horrible massacre, which thinned their numbers for seven successive days (cf. III. 81. § 4).

3. τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα. Col. Leake in a communication to Dr. Bloomfield cited in his notes, gives it as his opinion that the Hyllaic port here mentioned is the same as the port Kalikiopulo, in the front of which is the rock of Ulysses. On the other side of the peninsula, on the north, is the harbor fronting Epirus (πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον). This accords with the description λεπτὴ δ' εἰσίθμη κ. τ. λ. given it in Odyss. 6. 264, from which it appears that ships were drawn up on each side of this narrow strip of land. —— οἱ δέ, i. e. the aristocratical party.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The slaves are invited to join the factions, whereupon the greater portion of them side with the democrats, and the other party are reinforced by some barbarians from the continent.

1. ἠκροβολίσαντο, *they skirmished.* —— τῷ μὲν....ξύμμαχον. This was to have been expected, as in the aristocratical party were doubtless many who had oppressed and maltreated the slaves, and now was the time for revenge. —— ἐπίκουροι. Supply παρεγένοντο from the preceding clause. These were auxiliaries. Cf. I. 47. § 3.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

. battle soon ensues, in which the democratical party are victorious (§ 1); the other party in self-protection set fire to the houses around the market-place, by which much property is consumed. The Corinthian ship sails away, and the barbarian auxiliaries secretly leave for the continent (§ 2).

1. *διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας, a day having intervened.* —— *τῷ κεράμῳ.* ee N. on II. 4. § 2.

2. *περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν, towards the close of day.* Cf. Butt. Lexil. To. 39. 4. See also my note on Xen. Anab. I. 8. § 8. —— *τὰς.... γορᾶς, those around the market.* —— *τὰς ξυνοικίας, the family-hotels, amily lodging-houses.* The word is used of a house occupied by two r more families, opposed to *τὰς οἰκίας, houses inhabited by only one amily.* Hence the latter may be easily referred to the houses of the ich, the former to the houses of the poor. —— *φειδόμενοι οὔτε οἰκείας ὔτε ἀλλοτρίας.* S. § 193. —— *ἐκινδύνευσε, would have been in danger.* he particle *ἄν* is omitted, because the verb itself denies the actual xistence of the thing spoken of, and only denotes that which threatned to have been in existence. Cf. K. § 260. R. 6. —— *διαφθαρῆναι* enotes that in which the danger expressed in *ἐκινδύνευσε* consisted. lf. Mt. § 534. *b.*

3. *οἱ μὲν* refers to the democratical party, and is the subject of *σαν.* —— *ὡς ἑκάτεροι* (cf. *ὡς ἕκαστοι*), *each by themselves* = as the ight found each party.

CHAPTER LXXV.

icostratus arrives at Corcyra with twelve Athenian ships, and endeavors to effect a reconciliation between the factions (§ 1); in which having succeeded, he is about to take his departure, when some of the aristocratical party fearing treachery take refuge in a temple (§§ 2, 3), where Nicostratus in vain attempts to encourage them and induce them to rise, whereupon the democratical party take arms and are restrained from killing some of their opponents only by the interference of Nicostratus (§ 4); they finally prevail on the suppliants who had now taken refuge in the temple of Juno, to rise, after which they are transported to the opposite island (§ 5).

1. *Νικόστρατος.* The honorable and humane conduct of this general, in the affairs of Corcyra, as well as his skill and gallant bearing i battle, reminds us much of Phormio. We shall find that he figures onsiderably in the subsequent history, until in the battle at Mantinea

he is slain (cf. V. 61–74). —— *ξύμβασίν τε ἔπρασσε, endeavored* (see N. on I. 57. § 4) *to effect an agreement* = to make the parties friends. —— *τοὺς δ' ἄλλους* is the subject of *οἰκεῖν* and depends on *ἔπρασσε*. —— *ὥστε....νομίζειν* refers to *πρὸς Ἀθηναίους* and not to *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*.

2. *οἱ δέ*, i. e. the democratical party. —— *τοῦ δήμου προστάται*. See N. on III. 70. § 3. —— *ξυμπέμψειν*. Supply *ἔφασαν* from the preceding *πείθουσιν*.

3. *κατέλεγον, began to enroll.* It is not wonderful that the oligarchical party had their suspicions of foul play awakened, when they found that an attempt was made to man the vessels about to leave the port, with citizens of their body. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the aristocratical portion was too suspicious, and this distrust brought on the very evils which they dreaded. It was perfectly just and proper, that a portion of the crews of the five vessels should be composed of their party, and their jealousy, while as we have said it was natural in their peculiar circumstances, was improper and impolitic. —— *ἐς τὰς ναῦς, for the ships*, i. e. to serve on board the ships.

4. *ἀνίστη, endeavored to make them rise up.* Cf. I. 126. § 11. —— *ὡς....ἀπιστίᾳ* explains *ἐπὶ....ταύτῃ*. —— *ὑγιές, sound, right.* —— *τῇ....ἀπιστίᾳ* is put in the dative to denote that by which the judgment in the case in hand was formed. —— *μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ*. See N. on I. 10. § 1.

5. *ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον*. It appears that for some reason the refugees, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of the Dioscuri, had now taken refuge in the temple of Juno. Probably they thought the latter to be the more inviolate place, or it afforded better accommodations for so many as now had gathered into the sacred precincts. —— *νῆσον*. The island here referred to is Ptychia (now Vido) mentioned in IV. 46. § 3. It lay a short distance north of the peninsula. —— *διεπέμπετο* is passive.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Several days after the removal of these men to the island, the Peloponnesian fleet appears off the city.

1. *αἱ....νῆες*. Cf. III. 69. § 2. —— *ἔφορμοι οὖσαι = ἐφ' ὅρμῳ οὖσαι, ἐν Κυλλήνῃ ὁρμοῦσαι*. Poppo. —— *ἐς....ἠπείρου*. See N. on *I. 50. § 3.* —— *ἅμα ἕῳ*. Seldom unless compelled by necessity did the ancients sail by night.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Corcyræans in much confusion equip a fleet of 60 sail, but contrary to the advice of the Athenians send them out against the enemy as fast as they are manned (§ 1); of these some desert, and in others the crews fight among themselves, and thus present so feeble a front, that the Peloponnesians are enabled to direct their main force against the Athenian ships (§§ 1, 2).

1. *οἱ δὲ* refers to the Corcyræans. The accusatives *τὰ* and *τὸν ἐπίπλουν* are properly speaking synecdochical. —— *τὰς ἀεὶ πληρουμένας, as they were successively manned.* A more unwise course could hardly have been adopted, than thus to meet the enemy in detached portions. Indeed the whole conduct of the Corcyræans seems to have been marked with infatuation, and can only be accounted for, in the spirit of faction which distracted their counsels and impaired all their energies. —— *πάσαις ἅμα, all together.*

2. *ἀλλήλοις....ἐμάχοντο.* This quarrel undoubtedly arose between the different factions, many being in the ships, who openly or secretly belonged to the aristocratical party, as appears from their desertion to the enemy.

3. *ὧν....Πάραλος, of which number were the two* (ships) *the Salminia and the Paralus.* The article, according to Blume, expresses the idea, *the two well-known ships.* It will be seen that thirty-three ships of the Peloponnesians were opposed to the twelve Athenian ships, and nothing shows more clearly the superior skill and confidence of the latter, than that with such a disparity of force they should engage with their adversaries.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

While the Corcyræans with difficulty maintain the combat, the Athenians by skilful manœuvring sink one of the enemy's ships, and endeavor to throw the rest into confusion, but the ships opposed to the Corcyræans coming to their aid, the Athenians are obliged to retreat before their united force, which they do in good order, covering at the same time the retreat of the Corcyræans (§§ 1–4).

1. *κατ' ὀλίγας* (sc. *ναῦς*), *with a few ships at a time.* —— *ἐταλαι πωροῦντο καθ' αὑτούς, were in a bad condition of themselves,* i. e. by their own mismanagement. So Arnold explains the passage. —— *ἀθρόαις, the thickest part* of the enemy's fleet. To refer this, as some

do, to the Athenian ships is perfectly absurd, for if ever they would hold ships in compact order, and thus make their attack, it would be on this occasion. —— *κατὰ μέσον, at the centre*, is opposed to *κατὰ κέρας, on the wings*. Hence the interpretation *longo ordine* given to *κατὰ κέρας* by Levesq. is evidently erroneous. —— *μετὰ ταῦτα....διορυβεῖν*. This was the same manœuvre which had been practised so successfully by Phormio (II. 84. § 2), but probably the enemy had profited by the lesson taught them on that occasion, and were not so easily thrown into disorder. This appears from what follows, in the next section. *αὐτῶν* refers to the Peloponnesians.

2. *οἱ πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις* refers to the twenty ships opposed to the Corcyræan fleet. —— *ὅπερ*, sc. *ἐγένετο*.

3. *οἱ δ'*, i. e. the Athenians. —— *πρύμναν κρουόμενοι*. See N. on I. 50. § 5. —— *καὶ ἅμα*. Cf. I. 110. § 2. —— *ἑαυτῶν = σφῶν* or *σφῶν αὐτῶν*.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

The Corcyræans fearing an immediate attack put the city in a posture of defence (§ 1); but the enemy did not attack them but sailed away to the continent (§ 2); nor did they afterwards follow up the victory, but contented themselves with devastating the country around Leucimne (§ 3).

1. *σφίσιν* is the *dat. incommodi*. —— *ὡς κρατοῦντες, as conquerors*. —— *τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου*. Cf. III. 75. § 5 (end).

2. *οἱ δ'....κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ (although victors in the sea-fight)*. Mitford remarks that "the inability of the Spartan commander-in-chief, and apparently his cowardice, uncommon as that defect was in a Spartan, were the best security of the Corcyræans."

3. *ὄντας* refers *ad sensum* to *πόλιν = πολίτας*. See N. on I. 136. § 1 (init.). —— *ἰσοψήφου, having an equal vote = being equal in authority*.

CHAPTER LXXX.

The democratical party, through apprehension of an attack by the flee, enter into terms with the suppliants and others of the opposite party (§ 1); but the enemy being apprised of the approach of an Athenian fleet, sail away (§ 2).

1. *τοῖς ἄλλοις, the rest*, i. e. the portion of the oligarchical party *not included* in the four hundred who had taken sanctuary. —— *ἐκ*

depends on ἐς λόγους, *to a deliberation how the city may be saved.* —— ὅμως. The ellipsis is easily supplied: *notwithstanding* their disasters and the confusion of affairs.

2. ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν—νῆες—προσπλέουσαι, *ships sailing towards them were signaled by the alarm-fires*, i. e. the approach of ships was signaled, etc. Cf. K. § 309. 3. a. This mode of telegraphic communication appears to have been brought to considerable perfection, since, as Bredow remarks, not the appearance only of the enemy in those parts was communicated, but the number of their ships, and the direction whence they were approaching. —— ἀπὸ Λευκάδος, as Didot well observes, is to be constructed with ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν, and not with προσπλέουσα, for in that case the Athenian fleet would have reached Corcyra in season to have intercepted the Peloponnesian fleet.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

The Peloponnesians hastily proceed homeward (§ 1); upon which the democratical party being relieved from danger and encouraged by the approach of the Athenian fleet, commence a most horrible butchery of their adversaries, which continues seven days, and is attended with a total disregard of all laws both human and divine (§§ 2–6).

1. ὑπερενεγκόντες....ναῦς. The canal which had been cut through the isthmus, or the natural channel (if, as some think, there was such a channel. Cf. Leake's North. Greece, III. p. 19), which separates Leucas from the mainland, must have become in the time of this war unserviceable, as the ships were several times dragged across. τὸν ἰσθμὸν depends on ὑπερ-, and τὰς ναῦς upon ἐνεγκόντες. —— περιπλέοντες the promontory or island.

2. αἰσθόμενοι—προσπλεούσας. See N. on I. 26. § 3. —— λαβόντες—ἦγαγον, *taking—they led = they took and led.* See N. on I. 53. § 2. —— Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα. This port was a sort of head-quarters for the democratic party. Cf. III. 72. § 3. —— τῶν....ἀπέκτεινον. This massacre took place in the city, while the ships were sailing around the Hyllaic port. After they had butchered all they met with, they went forth to meet the fleet at the Hyllaic port, in order there to continue the work of death. Bloomfield, to whom I am under obligation for much light on this obscure passage, reads ἀπεχρῶντο for ἀπεχώησαν, and refers this and the preceding verb ἔπεισαν, to the οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, *and not to the* οἱ περικομιζόμενοι. This construction is evident from

the general scope and wants of the passage, which point to Κερκυραῖοι as constituting the main subject of the sentence. I cannot see any good sense in the reading ἀπεχώρησαν, and I am therefore disposed to adopt the reading of Bloomf., which is that of Poppo and Goeller. The reading of Arnold is ἀνεχρήσαντο, while that of Bekker, Haack, and Krüger is the same as that of Dindorf's. The sense, if we read ἀπεχρῶντο, is, *having caused them to embark, they made way with them* = murdered them). Bothe reads ἀπεχώρισαν, "*secluserunt*, abduxerunt in secretum locum custodiendos."

8. ὡς ἐώρων, *when they learned, received intelligence.* The slaughter of the fifty, who had submitted to trial, could not have taken place before the eyes of those who remained in the temple. —— αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, *there in the temple, in the very temple.* —— ἀλλήλοις, *one another*: Matthiæ (§ 489. III.) without reason puts the reciprocal pronoun here for the reflexive ἑαυτούς. —— ἐκ τῶν δένδρων. These trees seem to have been in the main court of the temple. They probably surrounded it in rows.

4. ἡμέρας τε ἑπτὰ is the time 'how long.' —— τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν κ. τ. λ. The sense is that while they pretended to put to death only such as had conspired against the democracy, private revenge and interest also actuated many in the work of destruction. —— σφῶν αὐτῶν. See N. on I. 25. § 2. —— ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων, sc. τὰ χρήματα from the parenthetic words χρημάτων σφίσιν ὀφειλομένων.

5. πᾶσά τε....θανάτου, *every sort of death took place*, i. e. death appeared in every form and image. Cf. Virg. Æn. 2. 36. —— καὶ οἷον....ξυνέβη = καὶ πᾶν οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτων ξυνέβη. Goel. —— ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν, *from the altars.* So πρὸς αὐτοῖς, *by them*, i. e. the altars. If ἱερῶν signified *temples*, it would have been ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν and ἐν αὐτοῖς. —— περιοικοδομηθέντες. Cf. I. 134. § 2.

6. μᾶλλον. Repeat ὠμή. —— ἐν τοῖς (see N. on III. 17. § 1) πρώτῃ, *first of all.*

CHAPTER LXXXII

These horrible excesses seemed the worse from their being the first which happened in the war, for afterwards similar commotions raged throughout all Greece (§ 1); the war furnished favorable opportunities to the factions for mutual revenge (§ 2), and as the discordant state of things progressed and became general, excesses were committed each more atrocious than the preceding (§ 3); rashness was esteemed valor, prudent delay cowardice, every thing was reversed in respect to the estimation in which it was formerly held, and the most glaring vices were regarded as cardinal virtues (§§ 4–7); the source of all these disorders and excesses was the lust of power, each party pretending to be actuated by the purest patriotism, but bending all their efforts to overpower each other, so that there was no outrage which they hesitated to commit, no atrocity to which they did not freely abandon themselves, while the moderate and virtuous portion of the citizens were the victims of both parties (§ 8).

1. The grammatical difficulties of this chapter are very numerous, but I am compelled by the brevity of the limits to which I must confine myself, to be contented with merely stating what on the whole seems to be the best solution, without entering very extensively into the reasons. —— *ἐπάγεσθαι* denotes the consequence, or perhaps the aim (as Bloomf. thinks) of *διαφορῶν οὐσῶν*. —— *τοῖς ὀλίγοις* has the same construction as *τοῖς—προστάταις*. —— *καὶ* before *ἐν* connects *διαφορῶν οὐσῶν* with *ἐχόντων* and *ἑτοίμων*. —— *οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων.... ἐπορίζοντο*. The construction is irregular, inasmuch as it should have been *οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων—τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν—ποριζομένων*, or *οὐκ ἂν εἶχον—ἐπορίζοντο*. The genitive absolute is here employed to denote cause, the proper case after *ἐπορίζοντο* being the dative. The same remarks apply to *πολεμουμένων* (sc. *αὐτῶν*), *when they were pressed in war*. —— *συμμαχίας* is to be constructed with *αἱ ἐπαγωγαί*, *the opportunities for bringing in an alliance*, unless, as Arnold suggests, *ὑπαρχούσης* is supplied from *πολεμουμένων*, *an alliance being at hand for the injury of either party*. —— *ἑκατέροις* is used for the adnominal genitive after *τοῖς—βουλομένοις*, and *κακώσει* and *προσποιήσει* are datives of 'cause.' —— *ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, *from the same alliance*. —— The dative *τοῖς—βουλομένοις* depends on *ἐπορίζοντο*. There are other ways of constructing this sentence, which in the estimation of some may be preferable to the one which I have adopted.

2. *ἕως ἄν*, *as long as*. —— *μᾶλλον* (= *χαλεπώτερα*. Goel.) refers to *γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀεὶ ἐπόμενα*. —— *ὡς....ἐφιστῶνται*, "*prout singulæ eventurum*, seu *fortunarum*, *mutationes acciderint*." Bothe. —— *ξυντυχιῶν*. See N. on III. 45. § 4. —— *τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν*, *of each day* = *daily*. —— *διδάσκαλος*. Cf. Xen. Cyr. II. 3. § 13.

3. *τὰ τῶν πόλεων* = *πόλεις*. Cf. Mt. § 285. 2. —— *τὴν ὑπερβολὴν*

....διανοίας = τὸ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας. Arnold. —— περιτεχνήσει denotes that in which the superiority just spoken of consisted.

4. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν κ. τ. λ. Goel. constructs thus: τὴν ἀξίωσιν ὀνομάτων (τὴν) εἰωθυῖαν ἐς τὰ ἔργα. He also takes ἐς τὰ ἔργα for ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς or τῶν ἔργων, and with εἰωθυῖαν supplies εἶναι (τῶν ἔργων) or λέγεσθαι (ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις). —— ἐμπλήκτως, "*dementer, temere.*" Betant. This section contains a most energetic and graphic description of the frightful anarchy and discord, into which the Grecian states had fallen during the time of this war.

5. καὶ....δεινότερος = *and he who was quick in suspecting a plot was deemed more clever.* —— αὐτῶν, i. e. τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ ὑπονοεῖν. Krüg. —— τῆς....διαλυτής, *a dissolver of his party* (for such I think is the sense to be given ἑταιρίας in this place). We see that the chains of party have been the chains of liberty in every age and country. Indeed we can conceive of nothing more certainly disastrous to a state, than a preference of the interests of party to sound and wholesome principles. —— τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον, *one who had no thought* (of doing it). What this refers to depends upon the signification given to the preceding sentence. Arnold paraphrases it thus: "it was thought a worthy deed if any man could enlist into his party, and fully inoculate with its unscrupulous spirit, any one who before had abstained from joining it, and had no thought of entering into its violences." I prefer on the whole, as more consonant with the letter and scope of the passage, the translation of Bloomfield: "in a word, he that would be beforehand with another, who was about to do him wrong, was commended, as was also he who set another on doing so, that thought not of it."

6. διὰ τὸ....τολμᾶν, *because it* (i. e. the party) *was more ready to perform unscrupulous acts of daring* (in behalf of their friends); literally, *to dare without any hesitation.* Notice the varied construction, μετὰ—ὠφελείας—ἀλλὰ—πλεονεξίᾳ. Goeller renders τῶν....ὠφελείας, *utilitatis quam leges concedunt.* —— τὰς....πίστεις, *the pledges of faith towards each other.* ——οὐ....παρονομῆσαι. Arnold cites Machiavelli, Istoria Fiorentina, lib. III.

7. ἔργων φυλακῇ, *with a close watch upon their actions.* Opposed to this is οὐ γενναιότητι, *not with generosity of soul, magnanimity.* —— ἐν....ἄπορον, *for the present through want of all other resources.* —— ἐχόντων (sc. αὐτῶν) is in the plural because it refers to the two parties included in ἑκατέρῳ. —— ἐν....θαρσῆσαι, *but when an opportunity offered, he who first took courage.* —— ἤδιον....προσελάμβανε. *It is difficult to conceive of a more detestable state of affairs than is*

here described. —— τῷ μὲν refers to ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, and δὲ τῷ (i. e. τῷ δὲ) to κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοί. The subject of both αἰσχύνονται and ἀγάλλονται is ἐκεῖνοι to be supplied from οἱ πολλοί. ●

8. πάντων....φιλοτιμίαν. In this clause αὐτῶν refers, as the Schol. remarks, to the evils before mentioned (τῶν εἰρημένων κακῶν), and ἀρχὴ is to be taken in the sense of *lust of rule* (ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ βούλεσθαι ἄρχειν. Schol). —— ἐκ δ'....πρόθυμον. The order and construction is, ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν (i. e. covetousness and ambition) ἦν τὸ πρόθυμον τῶν καθισταμένων ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν. —— γὰρ in οἱ γὰρ introduces the reason for what has just been said. —— ἑκάτεροι is in apposition with οἱ—προστάντες, and refers to the leaders of the two great parties. —— εὐπρεποῦς, *specious, plausible.* Krüg. compares this with *honestis nominibus.* Sal. Cat. 38. —— ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς, *political equality of rights.* This is the theme, upon which ambitious and unprincipled politicians have harped, from the days of Thucydides down to the present time. —— προτιμήσει. Goel. says that we should have expected the genitive in dependence on ὀνόματος. —— τὰ μὲν....ἐποιοῦντο, *professing in words a great regard for the public, they* (i. e. οἱ προστάντες) *made it the prize* (of their struggles for pre-eminence). —— ἀλλήλων depends on περιγίγνεσθαι. —— Dindorf places a comma after δεινότατα and μείζους, thus making ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα and ἐπεξῆσάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους opposed to each other. But, as Arnold remarks, we should then have expected ἐπεξῆσαν τιμωρίαις. I have therefore altered Dindorf's punctuation, so as to throw τιμωρίας in dependence upon προτιθέντες. This gives the translation, *they dared* (to commit) *the most horrible atrocities, and revenged them* (when they had suffered them from others) *by a retaliation of still more horrible atrocities.* ἔτι μείζους in reference to τὰ δεινότατα is hyperbolical. —— οὐ....ξυμφόρου shows that in doing thus, they paid no regard to justice or the welfare of the state. —— ἐς....ὁρίζοντες, *but always limiting them* (i. e. their acts of aggression and revenge) *according* (ἐς) *to what was anywise* (που) *pleasing to either party.* —— φιλονεικίαν, *desire of revenge.* —— ἐνόμιζον is put here for χρῆσθαι, with the additional idea of what is habitually done (see N. on I. 77. § 6 end), and is therefore followed by the dative. Cf. K. § 285. 1. (1). —— εὐπρεπείᾳ is to be taken with διαπράξασθαι, and not with ἄμεινον ἤκουον, since εὐπρεπείᾳ—τί διαπράξασθαι responds to the preceding εὐσεβείᾳ ἐνόμιζον. —— ἐπιφθόνως is here taken in a bad sense, *nefariously* (*invidiose.* Betant), so as to excite odium. —— ἄμεινον ἤκουον, *were in greater estimation;* literally, *heard themselves called better.* —— τὰ πολίτων refers to those who occupied a middle position between *the factions, the neutrals in politics, the conservatives.*

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Thus was every species of wickedness prevalent in Greece, and all the qualities of a generous nature disappeared (§§ 1, 2); in this contest, the men of inferior talents almost always had the advantage, since they relied upon boldness and promptitude of action, and crushed their adversaries while off their guard (§§ 3, 4).

1. οὕτω, i. e. in the manner mentioned in the previous chapter. —— διὰ τὰς στάσεις, *by these factions.* Bloomf. cites Schiller's remarks on the thirty years' war in Germany, "that in the long confusion of that war, all bonds of order were dissolved; all regard for human right, or fear of the laws, all purity of morals, was lost. Truth and faith sunk powerless, while force alone ruled with an iron sceptre. Vices of all kinds grew with a rank luxuriance under the shelter of anarchy and impunity; and men fell into the same wildness as the rapined countries they inhabited. No condition was too venerable for insult, no property sacred against want and rapine." —— οὗ.... μετέχει, *of which a noble nature has so great a share.* S. § 191. 2. —— καταγελασθέν, *being ridiculed, scouted,* as we say, *laughed down.* —— τῇ γνώμῃ is to be constructed with τὸ ἀντιτετάχθαι. —— ἀπίστως, *without confidence* in one another. —— διήνεγκεν = κρεῖσσον ἐγένετο.

2. γὰρ implies an ellipsis: and with good reason *for.* —— οὔτε λόγος—οὔτε ὅρκος, "*neither promise nor oath.*" Arnold. —— κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες κ. τ. λ. Arnold says of this passage, that if it is not corrupt, it seems to be at least untranslatable. The exposition of Dobree is adopted by some eminent critics: sensus est, *argumentis et jurejurando minime moti* (Angl. *steeled against*), *ut mox,* chap. 84. § 2. He would supply from the preceding context τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ὅρκου. Arnold says that these genitives cannot be thus understood, nor can κρείσσους simply signify κρείσσους τῶν λόγων. Poppo approves of the explanation of the Schol., ῥέποντες δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς λογισμοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλπίζειν τινὰ πίστιν καὶ βεβαιότητα, προενοοῦντο μᾶλλον, ἵνα μὴ πάθωσιν αὐτοὶ κακῶς (cf. Bekker's Schol.). For my part, I see no better solution than that of Dobree, λογισμῷ being translated, *as a matter of calculation,* opposed to what is done under a sudden impulse. —— μὴ.... ἐδύναντο, *they were provident against suffering* (any thing) *rather than disposed* (literally, *able*) *to have confidence* (in promises or oaths).

3. γνώμην is the accusative synecdochical. —— ὡς τὰ πλείω, *for the most part.* —— τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεές, their own mental deficiency.

To this μὴ....ὧσι responds, as καὶ ἐκ....προεν-βουλευόμενοι answers to καὶ τὸ....ξυνετόν. Construct τὸ ἐνδεὲς as the object of τῷ δεδιέναι.

4. οἱ δὲ refers to the persons whose talents were of a higher order. —— προαισθέσθαι. Supply οἰόμενοι elicited from καταφρονοῦντες. —— καὶ ἔργῳ....ἔξεστιν, *and that there was no need of their taking by force what they could gain by management.*

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

These excesses were for the most part first committed at Corcyra, where through desire of plunder or revenge, or to promote party interests, men proceeded to the most horrible atrocities, and the whole manner of life was confounded for a season (§§ 1, 2); the evil also perpetuated itself, one act of violence preparing the way for another, and serving as a pretext for further atrocities (§ 3).

1. ἐν δ' οὖν κ. τ. λ. The historian now returns to a consideration of these acts of violence as they took place in Corcyra. —— αὐτῶν refers to τὰ ἔργα in III. 83. § 3 (end). —— προετολμήθη καὶ ὁπόσα κ. τ. λ. The construction, according to Arnold, is προετολμήθη—ὁπόσα—δράσειαν—γιγνώσκοιεν—ἐπέλθοιεν. Cf. Mt. § 527. Krüg. connects καὶ ὁπόσα with τὰ πολλά. —— Construct ὑπὸ τῶν—παρασχόντων with ἀρχόμενοι. —— διὰ πάθους, *passionately.* —— οἵ τε—ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιόντες, *those who entered upon the contest on an equality* with their opponents.

2. βίου = *method* or *manner of life.* —— ἐδήλωσεν—οὖσα. See N. on I. 11. § 3. —— κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου. See N. on III. 83. § 2. —— τοῦ προὔχοντος is to be considered as a neuter, and corresponds to τοῦ δικαίου going before. —— ἐν ᾧ refers to τὸ κερδαίνειν. As it respects μὴ in ἐν ᾧ μή, see N. on ὅστις, I. 40. § 3. —— τὸ φθονεῖν = ὁ φθόνος. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 678. 3. *a.* —— σφαλεῖσι. See Jelf's Kühn. § 675. *b.* —— ὑπολείπεσθαι. Repeat ἀξιοῦσι.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

The Athenian fleet departs from Corcyra (§ 1); a remnant of the aristocratical party seize upon some forts on the opposite continent, whence they carry on a war of plunder with those on the island, and so cut off their supplies as to produce a famine (§ 2); they also send ambassadors to Lacedæmon, but not receiving any assistance they cross over to the island, take possession of Mount Istone, and thence make depredations upon the country (§§ 3, 4).

1. οἱ μὲν οὖν κ. τ. λ. The thread of the narration is here resumed from chap. 81. —— πρώταις in reference to the subsequent acts of

violence, detailed in this chapter and in IV. 46–48. —— *ὁ Εὐρυμέδων.* The conduct of this commander was far different from that of Nicostratus, who with a small force acted the part of a mediator, and prevented the excesses to which the Corcyræans afterwards abandoned themselves.

2. *τῆς....γῆς*, i. e. the mainland opposite to Corcyra. Most of these powerful islanders had continental possessions opposite to them.

3. *περὶ καθόδου*, *respecting their return* (from exile), *their restoration.* —— *διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον.* Mitford remarks upon this as an ill-judged measure, since they could have founded a powerful city on the continent. But it should be remembered that this step was taken for the recovery of what belonged to them, and of which they had been unjustly deprived.

4. *ὅπως....γῆς*, *in order that they might despair of doing any thing else than conquering the country.* The reader will be reminded of the course pursued by Hernando Cortez, who destroyed his fleet at Vera Cruz in order to compel his troops to conquer or die. After *ἄλλο τε* supply *πρᾶξαι.* Cf. Mt. § 488. 11. —— *τὴν Ἱστώνην.* Bloomfield thinks that this was a lofty eminence situated at the head of the rivulet Santa Barbara, directly in view of the Old Port, not more than two miles from the situation, which Col. Leake supposes to be the one occupied by the ancient city.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

The Athenians send a fleet to Sicily, in consequence of a war which had sprung up between the Syracusians and Leontines, the former of which people were considered as belonging to the Peloponnesian confederacy (§§ 1, 2); the Leontines, on the ground that they were Ionians, ask aid of the Athenians, which is granted them (§§ 3–5).

1. *ἐς Σικελίαν.* We have in this place the beginning of the intermeddling of the Athenians in the Sicilian affairs, which in the end proved so disastrous to them.

2. *γὰρ* introduces the origin of this expedition. —— *ἅπερ—ἐτάχθησαν, which had been reckoned in the alliance* (*πρὸς τὴν—ξυμμαχίαν*).

3. *οἱ -ῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι.* "He says *the allies of the Leontines*, rather than *the Leontines and their allies*, because the argument of an old alliance already subsisting could only, so far as we know, be used by the Rhegians, and not by the Leontines themselves." Arnold.

Gorgias Leontinus was said to have been the chief of the embassy here sent to Athens.

4. *βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε.* "Ita orditur, quasi postea sit dicturus *πρόπειράν τε ποιεῖσθαι*, sed perinde pergit, ac si scripserit *τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὔτε βουλόμενοι.*" Poppo. —— *ἄγεσθαι, to be imported.* —— *πρόπειραν, a previous experiment.* —— *εἰ, whether.* —— *τὰ....γενέσθαι* is the subject of *εἴη.* —— *σφίσι* depends on *ὑποχείρια γένεσθαι.*

5. *καταστάντες—ἐς Ῥήγιον = having arrived at Rhegium and established their head-quarters there.* See N. on I. 18. § 2.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

In the winter of this year the plague visits Athens a second time and sweeps off many of its citizens (§§ 1-3); at the same time there are many earthquakes (§ 4).

1. *ἐκλιποῦσα....παντάπασιν, at no time it having altogether ceased.*

3. *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων (from those that were enrolled) = οἱ ἐκ καταλόγου* (VI. 43), *those on the list for service.* These belonged to the class of the zeugitæ. See N. on III. 16. § 1.

4. *οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοί, those numerous earthquakes* whose frequency made them so well known. Such is the sense which Arnold affixes to the article.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

The Athenians in Sicily undertake an expedition against the Æolian islands (§ 1); a description of which islands is briefly given (§§ 2, 3); these the Athenians ravage, after which they sail away by Rhegium (§ 4).

1. *ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι.* Cf. III. 86. § 1. —— *τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους*, i. e. the Lipari islands.

2. *νέμονται, cultivate.* It is nearly equivalent to *γεωργοῦσι* below.

4. *προσεχώρουν* refers to the islanders, and *ἀπέπλευσαν* to the Athenians.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

The usual summer-incursion of the Peloponnesians into Attica is prevented by the earthquakes (§ 1); the earthquakes and inundations of the sea, which occurred in Orobiæ, Atalante, and Peparethus, are noticed, and their physical causes considered (§§ 2–4).

1. Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου. Archidamus died about A. C. 427. Cf. Clint. Fast. Att. See N. on I. 80. § 1.

2. I have followed Poppo, Krüg., Bloomf., and Arnold, in putting a comma after κατεχόντων, because the author does not mean to say, that the earthquakes were particularly prevalent at Orobiæ, but that, while they were prevalent elsewhere, the convulsion here spoken of took place in Eubœa. —— ἐπελθοῦσα. The best of our modern critics are unanimous in the belief that ἐπανελθοῦσα is the true reading. Render then ἐπελθοῦσα....ὑπενόστησε, *having retired from what was then land, and rising in a towering wave, it came upon a part of the city, and the one portion* (of the invading flood) *washed the land away* (so as to form a permanent inundation), *and the other portion subsided* (so that the land reappeared). For the sense here given to κατέκλυσε, cf. Liddell and Scott.

4. κύματος ἐπαναχώρησίς τις, *a retiring back of the sea.* —— οὐ γε, *yet it did not overflow* = *there was no inundation.*

5. ἄνευ σεισμοῦ (= εἰ μὴ σεισμὸς ἦν) contains the protasis. —— οὐκ—γενέσθαι, *it does not seem to me that such a thing could happen.* For ἄν with the infinitive, cf. S. § 215. 5.

CHAPTER XC.

Among other operations of the Athenians in Sicily, they undertake an expedition against Mylæ (§§ 1, 2), which they soon compel to surrender and join the confederacy (§ 3); afterwards the Messenians are also brought to terms and give hostages (§ 4).

1. ἄλλοι than those in which the Athenians engaged. —— καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται, *even the Siciliots themselves.* The words are in apposition with ἄλλοι. —— λόγου, *of notice.*

2. Μυλάς. Mylæ was situated on the neck of a peninsula on the

northern coast of Sicily, nearly west of Messene. —— *φυλαί*, *companies*. —— *πεποιημέναι*, *who had made*. For this middle signification of the verb, cf. Mt. § 493. *d*. —— *τοῖς* depends on *ἐνέδραν*. See N. on *ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις*, I. 73. § 1.

4. *τἆλλα πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι*, *furnishing other pledges* (of good behavior); literally, *the other* (securities) *as pledges*, etc., inasmuch as *πιστὰ* is the predicate, like *ἐχυρά*, I. 32. § 2.

CHAPTER XCI.

The Athenians send a fleet under Demosthenes to cruise around Peloponnesus, and another under Nicias against Melus (§ 1); this latter fleet failing in their attempt to subjugate the Melians, proceed to Oropus, where the hoplites disembark, and marching to Tanagra ravage the territory, after which they return to the ships (§§ 2–5); Nicias then after ravaging the maritime parts of Locris returns home (§ 6).

1. Δημοσθένης, *Demosthenes*, was one of the most celebrated commanders in the Peloponnesian war, and figures largely in the subsequent history. His fortune, however, did not equal his abilities. —— Νικίας. See N. on III. 51. § 1.

2. *γὰρ* introduces the reason why the Melians were invaded. They were islanders, and yet (*καὶ*) were unwilling to render obedience to the Athenians or join the confederacy.

3. Ὠρωπόν. See N. on II. 23. § 3. It was not in reference to this situation of Oropus opposite the Eubœan coast, that *τῆς πέραν γῆς* (which some would change to *τῆς Πειραϊκῆς*) is added.

4. Ἱππονίκου. He was the father-in-law of Alcibiades, and one of the richest men in Greece. —— Εὐρυμέδοντος. The same person who commanded at Corcyra (cf. III. 80. § 2; 85. § 1), from which Bloomf. thinks his conduct there was not displeasing to the Athenians. —— *ἀπὸ σημείου*. Cf. II. 90. § 4. —— *τὸ αὐτό*. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 8. § 14.

5. *ὅπλα* of those who had fallen in the engagement.

6. *οἱ δὲ* refers to those who had sallied forth from the city (under the command of Hipponicus), and *οἱ δὲ* to the hoplites who belonged to the ships.

CHAPTER XCII.

The Lacedæmonians, in order to render assistance to the Trachinians and Dorians, and obtain a favorable base of naval operations against Athens, set about founding the colony of Heraclea in Trachinia (§§ 1–3); they first consult the Delphic oracle, and having received a favorable response send out colonists, who rebuild the place and construct docks (§§ 4–6).

1. Οἰταίων. Müll. (Dorians, I. p. 49) thinks that these were Ænianes. There is not, however, sufficient reason to suppose this. Cf. Poppo's Proleg. II. p. 303; Leake's North. Greece, II. p. 27.

2. προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, *to join themselves.* —— δείσαντες.... ὥσι, i. e. they feared that they afterwards would be deprived of the liberty, which was secured to them by the terms of the alliance.

3. Δοριῆς....Λακεδαιμονίων (cf. I. 12. § 3). See N. on I. 107. § 2.

4. γνώμην εἶχον, *took counsel.* See N. on II. 86. § 5. —— καὶ.... καθίστασθαι, *and at the same time the city seemed to be favorably situated in respect to the war with the Athenians.* For the construction of πολέμου, see N. on καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται, I. 36. § 2.

5. τῶν περιοίκων. It appears from this that the Periœci took part in the Spartan colonies, although they were undoubtedly the οἱ πολλοί, and not the leading men in the colonies. —— ἔστιν ὧν = ἐνίων. See N. on I. 65. § 3. —— Ἀλκίδας. "A decent way of laying on the shelf, an officer who had so evinced his unfitness for great affairs." Bloomf.

6. ἐκ καινῆς, *de integro.* —— ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν. It lay nearly west of Thermopylæ. —— εὐφύλακτα. For the neut. plur. of the adjective in the predicate, instead of the neut. sing., cf. Mt. § 443. 1.

CHAPTER XCIII.

The Athenians, supposing that the colony was established for operations against Eubœa, at first view it with alarm (§ 1), but without cause, for the Thessalians so harassed the colony that it gradually wasted away (§ 2); and the harsh and imperious conduct of the Lacedæmonian directors, also impeded its prosperity (§ 3).

1. τῆς....ξυνοικιζομένης, *when the city was thus jointly colonized.* —— ἐπί, *against* (in a hostile sense). —— τὸ Κήναιον. This was the western extremity of Eubœa, and nearest to Heraclea.

2. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν· οἵ τε Θεσσαλοὶ κ. τ. λ. The construction, as it was begun, demanded φθείροντες καὶ—πολεμοῦντες, since αἴτιον is properly the predicate. The distance of the participles from οἵ τε Θεσσαλοί, and the intervention of other participles, caused the writer to change the construction and employ verbs. Thus αἴτιον δὲ ἦν becomes a phrase like τεκμήριον δέ, σημεῖον δέ. Cf. Mt. § 809. *b.* —— ν δυνάμει....χωρίων, "*being in great power in those parts.*" Bloomf. —— καὶ ὤν = κἀκεῖνοι ὄν. Krüg. —— ἐπὶ in ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ is not to be taken in the sense of *against*, *to the injury of* (as Krüg. after the Schol. interprets), but signifies locality, in the sense of *by* or *near*. Cf. K. § 296. II. 1. a. —— ἰσχύι is the dative of manner.

3. οὐ μέντοι ἥκιστα κ. τ. λ. Here we have another instance of the want of tact and affability in the Lacedæmonians, which was every where so prejudicial to their interests. An issue less disastrous also could hardly have been expected in an enterprise, where Alcidas was one of the leaders.

CHAPTER XCIV.

The Athenians under Demosthenes, after some successful exploits, proceed to Leucadia (§ 1); the Acarnanians fail in persuading Demosthenes to attack the city (§ 2), for at the instance of the Messenians, he is induced to make an expedition against the Ætolians (§ 3); the reasons for this enterprise, and the order in which the Ætolians are to be attacked (§§ 4, 5).

1. οἱ....νεῶν. Cf. III. 91. § 1. —— Ἑλλομένῳ *Ellomenus.* Col. Leake (North. Greece, III. p. 23) conjectures this to be the same as the present port Kliminó, which seems to be a corruption of the ancient name. —— Λευκάδα, i. e. Leucas the capital of the island.

2. τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς refers to some territory out of the peninsula, which the Leucadians possessed.

3. καλὸν is the predicate and belongs to ἐπιθέσθαι, which is the subject of the sentence. —— καὶ before ἦν connects προσποιήσειν to ἐπιθέσθαι. Bloomf. with good reason conjectures that γε should be substituted for τε after Ναυπάκτῳ. —— τὸ....ταύτῃ, "*ceteros ibi incolas continentis.*" Bothe.

4. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος—εἶναι. Supply ἔλεγον referring to the Messenians. —— διὰ πολλοῦ, *at a great distance* (from each other). See N. on II. 39. § 3. —— οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον, sc. ὄν. Cf. Mt. § 549. Obs. 8.

5. Ἀποδώτοις. This tribe inhabited the upper sources of the Eve-

nus, and being nearest to Naupactus, was doubtless the object of the greatest enmity on the part of the Messenians. —— Ὀφιονεῦσι. The Ophioneans lay farther inland, in a north-easterly direction from the Apodotians. North of these and still farther inland lay the Eurytanians. See Kiepert's map of Ætolia. —— προσχωρήσειν. Supply ἔλεγον or ἐκέλευον.

CHAPTER XCV.

Demosthenes being thus induced to make an expedition against the Ætolians, partly out of good-will to the Messenians, and partly because he thought that he could thus penetrate the Bœotian country, sets out from Leucas and coasts along to Sollium (§ 1); the Acarnanians being displeased at his rejection of their advice, refuse to unite in the enterprise (§ 2); but Demosthenes sets out with the rest of his forces for the interior, where he expects to be joined by the Ozolian Locrians (§ 8).

1. τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι = *by his wish to oblige the Messenians.* —— τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις ξυμμάχοις. Reference is had especially to the Acarnanians and the Amphilochians. —— ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν. Cytenium lay on or near the Pindus, one of the upper streams of the Cephissus, and was nearly south of Heraclea (III. 92. § 1). Demosthenes chose the northern route, because the southern, which placed Parnassus on his left, would have led him through the country of the Delphians, who always favored the Lacedæmonians. —— ἀκόντων Ἀκαρνάνων. It will be recollected that the Acarnanians wished Demosthenes to invest Leucas (cf. III. 94. § 2), and therefore they were averse to this expedition against the Ætolians. —— ἤδη has here the local signification *of immediately after, from this point.* Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 720. 4. *a.* —— οὖν in ἅρας οὖν is resumptive, the thread of the narrative being interrupted by the parenthesis. Cf. Mt. § 625.

2. τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν. Cf. I. 137. § 3. —— τοῖς ἐπιβάταις. These troops correspond to our *marines.* It appears from this and several other passages, that ten marines were the usual complement to each vessel.

3. Οἰνεῶνος. Col. Leake (North. Greece, II. p. 616) thinks that their territory bordered on Naupactus, from which it was separated by the river Morno, i. e. the Hylæthus.

CHAPTER XCVI.

Demosthenes passes the night in the precincts of the temple where Hesiod died (§ 1); he marches into Ætolia, and takes Potidania, Crocylium and Tichium, with the intention afterwards of attacking the Ophioneans (§ 2); but the Ætolians in view of this expedition, which had not escaped their notice, all unite in the common defence (§ 3).

1. *ἐπορεύετο* refers to Hesiod. His object appears to have been to go as far as possible from Nemea. Bloomf.

2. *Εὐπάλιον.* Col. Leake (North. Greece, II. p. 618) fixes the location of this place a little inland from Erythræ, which formed, as he supposes, its harbor. Inland and bordering upon this was Potidania, although first reached in the march of Demosthenes. Still farther in the same direction and lying in the valley of the Mornó (see N. on III. 95. § 3), were Crocylium and Tichium. In Kiepert's map of Ætolia, Eupalion lies south of the line of the towns Potidania, Crocylium, and Tichium. —— *ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας* (see N. on III. 94. § 3) depends upon *στρατεῦσαι.* —— *ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας, after having retreated upon Naupactus.*

CHAPTER XCVII.

At the advice of the Messenians, Demosthenes does not wait for the Locrians, but marches against Ægitium and takes it by storm (§§ 1, 2); but the Ætolians rally for its defence and attack the Athenians from all quarters (§ 3).

1. *ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον.* Cf. .III. 94. § 4. —— *τὴν δ' ἐν ποσὶν* (sc. *κώμην*), *the town which lay in his way.*

2. *τῇ τύχῃ.* Cf. Mt. § 399. *c.* —— *ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι.* Cf. III. 95. § 3. —— *Αἰγιτίου.* Ægitium is placed by Kiepert on the right bank of the Mornó, north of Potidania. —— *ψιλῶν* is taken adjectively by Krüger. —— *γὰρ* after *ὑπέφευγον* introduces the reason why the place was taken at the first attack. The men had deserted it for a higher and stronger position.

3 *διώξεις* and *ὑπαγωγαὶ* are in apposition with *τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη.*

CHAPTER XCVIII.

The commander of the archers being slain, that body is dispersed, whereupon the hoplites, wearied out and hard pressed, retreat (§ 1); being unacquainted with the way many of them are slain, and those who survive with great difficulty reach Œneon whence they had set out (§§ 2, 3); the Athenians bury their slain by treaty and return to Athens (§§ 4, 5).

1. *αὐτοῖς* is regarded by Bloomf. as a dat. commodi, *arrows for their use.* But why not regard it as put for the adnominal genitive, *their arrows?* Cf. Kr. § 48. 12. N. 2. —— *οἱ δὲ* refers to the Athenians, inasmuch as *οἱ τοξόται* is a subordinate subject. —— *οὗτοι* refers to the archers, and *αὐτοὶ* to the Attic hoplites. —— *χαράδρας, ravines, beds of torrents.* —— *αὐτοῖς.* See N. on *αὐτοῖς* supra.

2. *ποδώκεις, swift-footed,* is a poetic word.

4. *ἡλικία ἡ αὐτή, the very flower.* The men who fell constituted the strength and flower of the army.

5. *ὁ ἕτερος.* S. § 77. 2. —— *Προκλῆς.* Cf. III. 91. § 1. —— *Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον κ. τ. λ.* This is the first instance given in this history, of a general fearing to return to Athens after an unsuccessful expedition.

CHAPTER XCIX.

The Athenians sail to Locris, and take a fort situated on the Halex.

1. *οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναῖοι.* Cf. III. 86. § 1; 88. § 1; 90. § 2. —— *Λοκρίδα.* These Locrians were a people of Magna Græcia, being a colony of the Locri Opuntii from Greece. They were distinguished by the appellation of Epizephyrii. —— *περιπόλιον = φρούριον.* Schol. *Ἅλικι.* The Halex was a small stream in the most southern part of Magna Græcia, a little west of the promontory of Heracleum.

CHAPTER C.

At the request of the Ætolians, the Lacedæmonians fit out an expedition against Naupactus (§§ 1, 2).

1. *πρότερον*, the expedition of the Athenians against Ætolia, of which the relation has just been given. —— *διὰ....ἐπαγωγήν*, i. e. "propterea quod [Naupactii contra ipsos] adduxerant Athenienses." Haack.

2. *Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Τραχῖνι.* Cf. III. 92. 1. —— *οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται.* Arnold suggests that the design of the appointment of two associate commanders, was that they might succeed to the command one after the other, upon the death of their superior. If so then *οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται* would signify the other two Spartans, who together with Eurylochus, made up the number of Spartan citizens usually employed in foreign commands.

CHAPTER CI.

The army being collected at Delphi, the Spartan commander succeeds, through the terror of his approach, in detaching most of the Ozolian Locrians from the Athenian interest (§§ 1, 2).

2. *Φωκέων ἔχθος*, i. e. the hatred borne to them by the Phocians. As the Athenians were the powerful friends of the Phocians, so these Amphisseans wished to secure the favor and protection of the Lacedæmonians. It is to be remarked that between the Locrians and Phocians there had existed an enmity from the time of the Persian war. —— *δυσεσβολώτατος*, *most difficult of approach.* —— *ἔπειτα Ἱπνέας κ. τ. λ.* The tribes whose names follow belonged to the Ozolian Locrians.

CHAPTER CII.

All things being ready Eurylochus marches against Naupactus, and being joined by the Ætolians, ravages the territory and takes Molycrium (§§ 1, 2); but Demosthenes with the Acarnanians whom he had summoned to his aid, throws himself into Naupactus and defends the place (§§ 3, 4); whereupon Eurylochus turns away and concerts with the Ambraciots a combined invasion of Acarnania and Argos Amphilochium (§§ 5–7).

1. *αὐτῶν = belonging to them* (i. e. the Locrians). Cf. Kr. § 47. 5. N. 5.

2. *καὶ οἱ* is employed in reference to the subject, *οἱ μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου* implied in *γενόμενοι δ'*. —— *Μολύκρειον*. See N. on II. 84. § 4.

3. *μετὰ....Αἰτωλίας*. The preposition *ἐκ*, by the constructio prægnans (see N. on I. 18. § 2), gives to this passage the sense, *after the events which happened in Ætolia, and the retreat from that country*. —— *προαισθόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ*. Cf. *ὧν....αἰσθόμενοι*, I. 57. § 6.

4. *τῶν νεῶν*. Cf. III. 94. § 1; 105. § 3.

5. *ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα*. Poppo and Goel. think that this was the ancient name of the town of Calydon. Others think that it was the name of the district, which afterwards took its name from its chief towns Calydon and Pleuron.

CHAPTER CIII.

The Athenians in Sicily attack Inessa, but are unable to take it (§ 1); as they depart from the place their rear-guard is attacked and suffers much loss (§ 2); Laches afterwards defeats the Locrians and despoils them of their arms (§ 3).

1. *οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ*. The scene now changes to Sicily, where some inconsiderable operations of the Athenians were described in III. 99. § 1. —— *κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι = being governed with harshness and severity*. —— *αὐτοῖς* depends on *ξυνεπολέμουν*. —— *ἐπ' Ἰνησσαν* is to be constructed after *ἐπελθόντες*. Inessa lay north-west of Catana about midway between that place and Ætna.

2. *Ἀθηναίων* depends upon *ὑστέροις = the rear of the Athenians*.

3. *Λοκρίδα*. Cf. III. 99.

CHAPTER CIV.

The Athenians purify Delos, by digging up all the coffins, and forbidding that any persons shall be suffered to die there, after which they institute the festival called Delia (§§ 1, 2); it is evident from the Hymn on Apollo, that anciently there were games and musical contests in the island (§§ 3–5); but the games had long been suspended, until they were at this time restored by the Athenians (§ 6).

1. *δὴ* is employed here in an ironical sense (*forsooth*), to show that this was a mere pretence on the part of the Athenians, and that no such oracle was given. —— *νήσου* depends on *ὅσον*.

3. *περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν* refers to the inhabitants of the circumjacent islands.

4. *προοιμίον* = *ὕμνου*. —— *ἀλλ' ὅτε*. Arnold follows Haack and Poppo in editing *ἄλλοτε*. It will be seen that as Thucydides cites these lines, there are many discrepancies between his text and that of the existing MSS. of Homer. The fact is all to which I have space to call the attention of the reader.

6. *μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον*, "sent the choral bands of dancers with sacrifices." Arnold.

CHAPTER CV.

The Ambraciots make an expedition as they had agreed, against the Amphilochian Argos, and lay siege to Olpæ (§ 1); part of the Acarnanians go to the relief of Argos, and part watch the motions of Eurymachus (§ 2); they confer the chief command on Demosthenes, and call in to their aid the Athenian fleet which was cruising around Peloponnesus (§ 3); the Ambraciots also send to their city for aid (§ 4).

1. *ὥσπερ....κατέσχον* = *as they had promised to Eurylochus when they detained his army*. ——"Ολπας. This place lay a short distance north-west of Argos. Cf. Kiepert's map. —— *πότε* is to be taken with *τειχισάμενοι*.

2. *Κρῆναι*, *Crenæ* (i. e. *Wells*), is placed by Kiepert a short distance south-west of Argos and south-east of Olpæ. Some, however, suppose that it lay some distance inland, east of Argos Amphilochium. But in this case, I do not see how it could be selected as a favorable

place, to watch the motions of Eurylochus and prevent his junction with the Ambraciots.

3. *πέμπουσι....Δημοσθένην.* This was honorable alike to the character and talents of Demosthenes, and gave him a fine opportunity to retrieve his credit, which had suffered from the failure of his enterprise against the Ætolians.

CHAPTER CVI.

The Peloponnesians succeed by a rapid march in forming a junction with the Ambraciots at Olpæ (§§ 1–8).

1. *ἐν* in *ἐν Ὀλπαις* following a verb of motion (*ἥκοντας*) involves the idea of rest, which followed the motion of the troops to Olpæ. Cf. K. §300. 3. a. —— *Προσχίου.* This town lay east of the Achelous, on the route from Molycrion to Actium. It will be seen that the Peloponnesians turned off from this road, and took a northern route, which led direct to Argos, through the towns Phytia (which Col. Leake regards as the present *Porta*), Medeon, and Limnæ. They probably passed along the eastern borders of the territory belonging to the two last-mentioned towns, as they turned to the right and crossed Mount Thyamis, in order to enter the valley of a small stream which flowed between Argos and Crenæ towards Olpæ.

3. *νυκτὸς ἤδη.* This march seems to have been performed in one day. If so, it must have been accomplished with the obstruction of little or no baggage.

CHAPTER CVII.

Having thus united their forces, the Peloponnesians and their allies encamp at Metropolis, soon after which the Athenian forces enter the gulf (§ 1); the ships blockade Olpæ, and Demosthenes, who is chosen general-in-chief, makes preparation for an engagement with the enemy (§ 2); the forces being drawn out against each other, Demosthenes places in ambuscade 400 men (§ 3), after which the battle commences (§ 4).

1. *Μητρόπολις.* This place on Kiepert's map is put N. W. of *Argos*, and N. E. of Olpæ, about equidistant from the two places. —— *ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσίν.* Cf. III. 105. § 3.

2. *ὑπὸ....κατείχοντο*, "aut domi retinebantur ab hoste, qui fines eorum transgressus erat, quo minus Argivis subsidio venirent; aut Ambraciæ, tanquam obsides." Haack. Cf. III. 114.

3. *καὶ μεῖζον γάρ*. See N. on III. 70. § 3. —— *περιέσχε* (= *ὑπερέτεινεν*. Schol.), sc. *αὐτοῦς*.

4. *παρεσκεύαστο*. See N. on I. 46. § 1. —— *ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι*, "*ranged in separate corps*, i. e. each tribe or town by itself in contradistinction to *ἀναμὶξ* just after." Bloomf. See N. on I. 3. § 5.

CHAPTER CVIII.

The Peloponnesians falling into the ambuscade are thrown into confusion, and betake themselves to flight (§ 1); also the Ambraciots, after defeating those opposed to them, are charged by the victorious division of the enemy and routed with great slaughter (§§ 2, 3).

1. *τῷ κέρᾳ*, i. e. with their left wing. —— *τὸ—ὅ*. Cf. Kr. § 43. 4. N. 17. —— *Μεσσήνιοι*. See N. on I. 103. § 4.

2. *πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος ἀπεδίωξαν* = *they pursued them from the field of battle to Argos*. The student should notice the force of the prepositions.

3. *διεσώζοντο ἐς τὰς Ὄλπας*, "*reached Olpæ in safety*. There is a prægnans constructio in *ἐς*. See N. on I. 18. § 2. Olpæ here refers to the hill of that name. Cf. III. 107. § 2. —— *στρατοῦ* depends on *μάλιστα*. —— *ἕως ὀψέ*. A brief expression for *παρέτεινεν ἕως ὀψὲ καὶ ὀψὲ ἐτελεύτα*. Lobeck on Phryn. p. 47, cited by Krüger. Cf. *μέχρι τοῦδε ὡρίσθω*, I. 71. § 4.

CHAPTER CIX.

The Spartan commander, on the following day, makes proposals to Demosthenes respecting the departure of the Peloponnesians and the burial of the dead (§ 1); a private agreement is entered into with the Peloponnesians, by which they are allowed to depart home without molestation, the design of Demosthenes being to leave the Ambraciots defenceless, and also to bring the Lacedæmonians into discredit for thus deserting their allies (§§ 2, 3).

1. *Μενεδαΐος*. Cf. III. 100. § 2. —— *πολιορκήσεται*. See N. on III. 52. § 1. —— *λόγον*. See N. on I. 57. § 5.

2. τοὺς ἑαυτῶν—ἀποθανόντας, "*those of their own people who are dead.*" Bloomf. —— ἀναχώρησιν—οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι, *did not grant by treaty a retreat to all.* See N. on III. 24. § 3. —— βουλόμενος—χρήζων, sc. Δημοσθένης, in reference to whom as the chief commander Thucydides here employs the singular. —— ψιλῶσαι, *to lay bare* (of all support from the Peloponnesians) = *to render defenceless.* —— ξενικὸν in reference to the Peloponnesians. —— τὸ ἑαυτῶν = *their interest.* —— προυργιαίτερον = προτιμότερον. Schol. According to Krüger the other member of the comparison is ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Ἑλλήνων, elicited from the preceding context.

3. ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε = *as well as their circumstances would permit* (ὡς ἦν αὐτοῖς δυνατόν. Bothe).

CHAPTER CX.

Demosthenes hearing of the approach of a body of Ambraciots to reinforce Olpæ, forms ambuscades and preoccupies the strong positions in the line of their approach, and then prepares to meet them with his army (§§ 1, 2).

1. ἀγγελίαν. Cf. III. 105. § 4. —— τῶν γεγενημένων, i. e. the defeat of the Peloponnesians and the Ambraciots (III. 108).

2. προλοχισοῦντας refers to μέρος τε by the *constructio ad sensum.* See N. on I. 136. § 1. Cf. Xen. Anab. II. 1. § 6.

CHAPTER CXI.

The Peloponnesians, under pretence of going forth for food and fuel, steal away, and having gone some distance from Olpæ quicken their pace (§ 1); the Ambraciots who were with them follow on (§ 2); these the Acarnanians kill but permit the Peloponnesians to go away (§ 3); such of the Ambraciots as escaped repair to Agræa, where they are kindly received by king Salynthius (§ 4).

1. καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο, "*and those with whom the covenant had been made.*" Bloomf. —— πρόφασιν is to be taken adverbially.

2. οἱ ἄλλοι. Cf. III. 109. § 2. —— ἔξω ὁδοῦ. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 8. § 17.

8. τὶς = ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος. Schol. This use of τὶς is approved by Bothe, and results from the repeated action implied in the aorist.

4. Ἀγραΐδα. This country was probably situated inland from Limnæa (cf. Leake's North. Greece, IV. p. 252), although I do not find it laid down on any of the maps before me.

CHAPTER CXII.

The Ambracian reinforcement advances to Idomene, and encamps on the lesser of two hills, the other having been preoccupied secretly by Demosthenes (§ 1); at the first dawn this general having disposed his forces with great skill, falls upon the Ambraciots and puts them to flight (§ 2), but all the passes being seized beforehand, they are slaughtered in great numbers and very few escape to their homes (§§ 3–8).

1. Ἰδομένη. Kiepert places this eminence a short distance north of Metropolis. Col. Leake (North. Greece, IV. p. 250) regards it the same as the mountain now called Macrinoros, receiving its name from its elevation by which it could be seen (ἰδέσθαι, ἰδόμενος) distinctly from the sea. The northern part of this mountain was called Idomene Minor, the southern part Idomene Major, whence the plural form Ἰδομέναι (III. 113. § 3).

5. τρέπουσι refers to the Athenians.

7. ἐς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν χωρήσαντες, "*resorting to every mode of escaping* (from their foes)." —— ἅμα....ξυντυχίᾳ = *at the very time when this affair took place.* —— βαρβάρων is employed as an adjective with Ἀμφιλόχων.

CHAPTER CXIII.

A herald having been sent by the Ambraciots at Olpæ to obtain leave to remove the dead slain in the first battle, conveys the intelligence of this second defeat to those at Olpæ (§§ 1–5); some remarks are made by the historian on the greatness of this calamity (§ 6).

1. ἐκ....Ἀμπρακιωτῶν, i. e. those who had survived the first battle (τῆς πρώτης μάχης. Cf. III. 108), and were at Olpæ. —— καὶ τῶν = καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν.

2. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, sc. ξυνεξιόντων from the preceding ξυνεξῆ-εσαν. Bloomf. —— σφῶν, i. e. the Ambraciots in whose behalf the herald had been sent. —— εἶναι, sc. τὰ ὅπλα. Schol.

3. Θαυμάζοι—τεθνᾶσιν. This change to the direct oration imparts great vivacity to the narration. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 9. § 28; II. 1. § 3. —— ἐν Ἰδομέναις, i. e. those who had been defeated at Idomene. The clause οἰόμενος....Ἰδομέναις is parenthetic.

4. ταυτὶ = *these here.* —— φαίνεται, sc. διακοσίων εἶναι. —— ἐκεῖ-νος refers to the herald. —— οὐκ....ἐστίν, *then indeed they* (i. e. the arms) *do not belong to those who fought with us* (i. e. on our side). —— ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς....ἀποχωρήσει are the words of the herald, and καὶ μὲν....ἐμαχόμεθα is spoken by the interrogator. —— καὶ μὲν δή, "*aye but truly.*" Bloomf.

5. ἀνοιμώξας....νεκρούς. We learn the greatness of this calamity by its effect on the herald, who in his overwhelming grief thought no longer of the commission upon which he was sent. So we are told that after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, they were so oppressed with their misfortunes, as to no longer think of asking permission to bury their dead.

6. ὡς....πόλεως, *for the size of the city.* Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 869. 5, where ὡς with a substantive is said to have the sense of, *as might be expected, as is proper*, etc.

CHAPTER CXIV.

Demosthenes returns to Athens with the spoils which had been selected for him, but the spoils which fell to the other Athenians are captured on the voyage home (§ 1); the Acarnanians and Amphilochians conclude a peace and defensive alliance with the Ambraciots (§§ 2–4).

1. πλέοντα ἑάλω, "*were captured while on their voyage.*" Bloomf. Cf. III. 51. § 2. —— ἐξηρέθησαν is put in the plural to conform with πανοπλίαι, which, although in apposition with τὰ μὲν the subject, yet stands nearest the verb. Cf. Kr. § 63. 1. N. 3. —— τῆς Αἰτωλίας = ἐν τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ.

2. Σαλύνθιον. Krüger, Bloomfield, and several other critics and editors read Σαλύνθιου.

3. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὥστε. Cf. Jelf's Kühn. § 836. 4. Obs. 2. c.

CHAPTER CXV.

The Athenians in Sicily having made a descent upon Himera sail to the Æolian islands, and then to Rhegium, where Pythodorus, who had come out with a reinforcement, takes the chief command (§§ 1, 2); the reasons are briefly given for the sending out of this reinforcement (§§ 3, 4); Pythodorus sails against the Locrians, and is defeated by them in battle (§ 5).

1. Σικελιωτῶν. Bloomfield contends strongly that Σικέλων is the true reading.

3. πλεύσαντες to Athens. —— περιοψόμενοι. See N. on I. 24. § 6. —— τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης—εἰργόμενοι. Cf. II. 85. § 1.

4. ἅμα δὲ....ποιεῖσθαι. There was much practical sense and sagacity in thus retaining their naval skill by practice. Compare the remarks of Pericles, I. 142. §§ 7–9. Cf. also II. 85. § 2.

5. καὶ νικηθεὶς....ἀνεχώρησεν. Bloomf. remarks on the delicate way in which by relating this circumstance, Thucydides points out the inferiority of Pythodorus to Laches.

τερος.

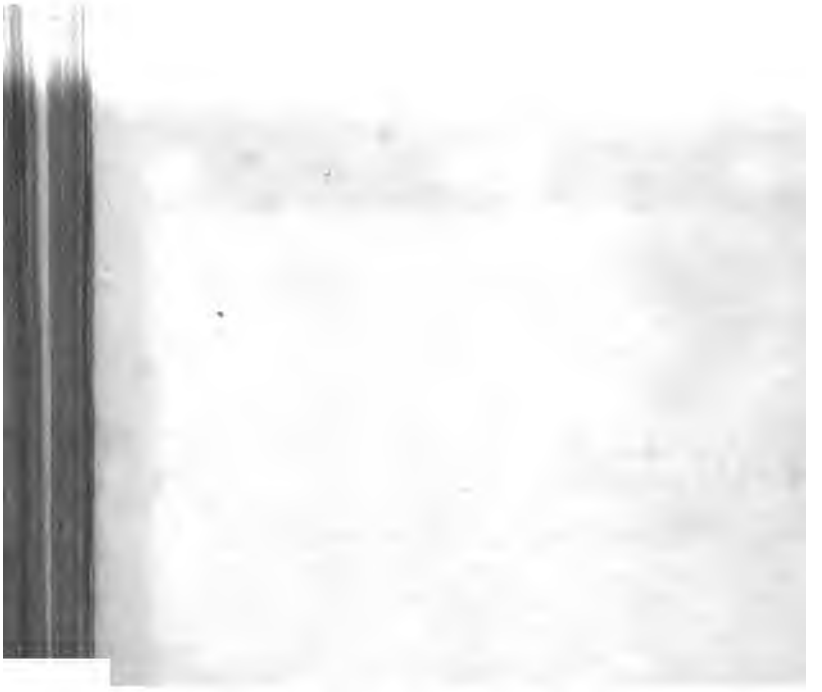
CHAPTER CXVI.

The historian notices the eruption of Mount Ætna which took place at this time (§§ 1, 2).

1. ἐῤῥύη—ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρός, *there burst forth a stream of fire*, i. e. a stream of lava. Bloomfield says that the article refers (κατ' ἐξοχήν) to the one as being well known. Cf. S. § 167.









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